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FURTHER RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF THE CREED[1].

IT is but two short years since an article headed 'Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed' appeared in the opening number of this JOURNAL. During that time the labours of which some account was then given have been vigorously prosecuted; and it may not be without interest if we take up and continue our *résumé*. Just one small change ('History' for 'Origin') may be made in the title, so as to cover the ground a little more adequately.

The most prominent event in this period has been unquestionably the completion of Prof. Kattenbusch's great work *Das Apostolische Symbol, seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche* [*The Apostles' Creed: its Origin, its Historical Sense, its*

[1] Kattenbusch, Dr. Ferdinand: *Das Apostolische Symbol.* Band ii. Leipzig, 1897–1900.

Kunze, Dr. Johannes: *Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntnis.* Leipzig, 1899.

Clemen, Dr. Carl: '*Niedergefahren zu den Toten.*' Giessen, 1900.

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Harnack, Dr. Adolf: *The Apostles' Creed*, tr. Rev. Stewart Means, ed. T. Bailey Saunders. London, 1901.

Wiegand, Dr. Friedrich: *Das Apostolische Symbol im Mittelalter.* Erster Teil. Leipzig, 1899.

Dörholt, Dr. Bernhard: *Das Taufsymbolum der alten Kirche.* Erster Teil. Paderborn, 1898.

Callow, Rev. C.: *A History of the Creeds.* London, 1900.

Primitive Position in the Worship and in the Theology of the Church] (vol. i, 1894; vol. ii, part 1, 1897; part 2, 1900: Leipzig, Hinrichs). I give the title at some length (not quite in full, but sufficiently for the purpose) as the shortest way of conveying an idea of the manysidedness and comprehensiveness of the contents.

On this ground alone Dr. Kattenbusch's work would have a just claim to be accounted 'great,' because the execution amply fulfils the promise of the title. It is within its range almost as exhaustive as a book can be. The one omission that has been noted—that of direct work upon the MSS—is, it is true, thrown into some relief by the conspicuous part which that form of research played in the contributions of Dr. Kattenbusch's most eminent predecessor, the Jewish-German-Norwegian scholar, C. P. Caspari. But where the field is so vast it would be wrong to grudge a division of labour; and Dr. Kattenbusch has given us more than enough to be thankful for as it is.

Writing as an Englishman I cannot help pausing for a moment to express regret that we in England should have so little to put by the side of these immense researches. In the editing of texts and commentaries we keep pace fairly well. The best English work under this head for the last century (and it nearly all proceeds from Cambridge!) may bear comparison with anything anywhere. It is chiefly in the treatment of *subjects*, in the massive treatises that build up a whole science *a fundamento ad culmen*, that not our theologians alone, but our scholars generally, are wanting. There is one illustrious exception in the work of Westcott and Hort on the Text of the Greek Testament; next perhaps would come our contributions to Liturgiology, culminating in Mr. Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*; and quite a respectable place would be held by the researches of the last generation (Heurtley, Swainson, Lumby, Hort, Ommanney, and now of Mr. A. E. Burn) on the Creed. But what have we to set against such books as Krumbacher's *Byzantine Literature*, Zahn's *History of the Canon* and *Introduction to the N.T.*, Harnack's *History of Doctrine* and *Early Christian Literature*, Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*, Holtzmann's *New Testament Theology*, and the like? It is much to be hoped that some of our younger men may gird up their loins to follow these noble but humiliating examples.

Dr. Kattenbusch's *Apostles' Creed* belongs quite to the same category. It was hinted in the previous article that it has suffered somewhat in point of form from the fact that it has been spread over so wide an extent of time. We learn from vol. i, p. 37, that Dr. Kattenbusch began his researches in 1882, and from the preceding page that 'in substance' (*sachlich*) his present book had been finished in 1889, and that his work since that date had been all of the nature of revision. And the difficulty will be at once apparent of incorporating the work of others (as Dr. Kattenbusch has done in the most scrupulous and vigilant manner) as well as his own in a frame-work determined so long beforehand. It was impossible under these circumstances that the book should not suffer. But all we can say is that the critic who would make much of defects due to this cause would be intent upon dilettantism rather than upon science.

One of the leading characteristics of Dr. Kattenbusch is the extraordinary truthfulness and modesty with which he registers facts and opinions that make against his own conclusions as carefully as those which make for them. The paragraph in which he begins his final summary deserves to be quoted as a specimen of the moral aspect of the true scientific temper.

> 'I do not like to speak of "results," because, as I insisted in the Preface to vol. i, it is very clear to me that a great deal must happen before the questions which attach to the Apostles' Creed are fully solved; perhaps they will never all be solved completely. I know how much, in problems as complicated as that which I have been discussing, depends upon the point at which one begins, and the observations one comes upon first. The points of view which thus force themselves upon one easily become prejudices. I do not think that I am more in danger than other men of holding obstinately to these. But I gladly regard the leading ideas which run through my now completed work for the present only as *hypotheses*. Perhaps by the reasons which I have given for them I may have established some claim to have them seriously tested' (ii 956).

Whether we agree with Dr. Kattenbusch or do not agree with him, whether we are attracted or repelled by his minute and laborious investigations, we shall at least go away with profound respect for him as a man.

I do not think that I can do better than string the criticisms

that I may have to offer in this essay, not only on Dr. Kattenbusch but upon the other writers enumerated at the outset, upon the thread of the conclusions which Dr. Kattenbusch has so modestly described as 'hypotheses.' I venture to think that they present rather varied degrees of probability; and I am glad to find myself not without support in the estimate I am inclined to form of some of them.

1. The broadest proposition which Dr. Kattenbusch has set himself to prove is that the Old Roman Creed, the Apostles' Creed in its oldest and simplest form (R), *lies at the base of all like-constructed creeds.*

This proposition will meet with a good deal of assent[1], so far as it applies to the creeds of the *West*. It only perhaps needs to be qualified by the reserve that a certain number of clauses and expressions seem to have come in gradually in the course of the history *from the East*[2]. Such would be the clause *creatorem caeli et terrae*, which does not appear in the Apostles' Creed before the seventh century, though it is found at an earlier date in interrogations (Hahn, *Bibliothek*[3], § 31 f, g, also p. 41 note 52 *ad fin.*), the epithets *passus*, *mortuus*, *catholicam*, and perhaps the clause *vitam aeternam*.

Interesting problems gather round all such accretions, both those which finally held their ground and those which did not. As an example we may take the expression *resurrexit* vivus *a mortuis*, which is characteristic of the Spanish creeds (Hahn, *Bibl.*[3], §§ 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 69, cf. 242), but is also found in Nicetas of Romatiana, and in the newly-published Syriac *Testamentum* appears in a form which is rendered *reviviscens ex mortuis* (Kattenbusch, ii 968). From the fourth century onwards there are constant traces of sporadic influence of the East upon

[1] Dr. Clemen in particular is one of those who do not assent to it (*Niedergefahren*, &c., pp. 52–65). In any case the statement can only be made as a rough formula, subject to many qualifications. All that I should be prepared to say is that there is a rather marked tendency in Western creeds to approximate to the Roman type. How this tendency is to be conceived as operating, especially in the first beginnings, is a question that we shall do well to keep open for the present.

[2] Dr. Kattenbusch remarks (ii 966) that while many of these intrusive elements came from the East, it does not follow that they were imported from Eastern creeds; and he thinks that probably they were not. I am not sure that I can go with him in this, at least as to such additions as *creatorem caeli et terrae, passus, mortuus*.

the West; and although this is no doubt mainly due to increased intercourse, yet the comparative absence of such influence in the earlier period may in part mean nothing more than the want of evidence.

It is another and a much larger and more debated question, whether the Eastern creeds in a body are also to be traced to the same Roman root. We saw in the previous article how the view that they were was maintained by Kattenbusch and Harnack, but under opposition which seemed to be increasing rather than diminishing. This question will meet us again presently under (5). In the meantime we note that Kattenbusch speaks of this part of his theory as 'hypothesis' rather than induction (ii 957). He describes himself as in some degree sceptical of his own conclusion, though rather less sceptical of this than of any other.

2. The one point in the whole of his construction, in regard to which Dr. Kattenbusch appears to feel the greatest confidence, and to which he attaches the highest value, is his conception of *the fundamental character of the Old Roman Creed.* And no doubt this is both interesting and important.

He thinks that this original creed, the parent of all others, was no fortuitous concourse of atoms, no gradual crystallization of current forms and phrases, but that it was from the first a definite artistic creation, the product of a single mind and the expression of an individual conception of the sum of Christian teaching[1].

He seeks this conception not, as others have done (more particularly on the strength of the use of the term μονογενής), in the school of St. John, but he sees in it rather an outcome of the teaching of St. Paul. He believes that the Creed was composed under the fresh impression that Jesus was the true Messiah, and that the proof of His Messiahship was conducted on Pauline lines, and in yet living antithesis to the teaching of the Synagogue.

It is to be observed that although Kattenbusch and Harnack are allies on the question of the relation of the Eastern creeds to the Western, they differ considerably on the ultimate origin of

[1] See, however, p. 958. Dr. Kattenbusch does not think that the author of the creed coined a new vocabulary; he made use of phrases—especially from Scripture and from the Eucharistic liturgy—already existing.

the latter. Not only does Kattenbusch place the origin of the Roman Creed some forty years earlier than Harnack, but he stands alone in the emphasis with which he insists that it had a definite personal author (see especially ii 329).

All that Dr. Kattenbusch says on this head is highly interesting, and will well deserve weighing when the problem of the ultimate origin of the Creed comes up for discussion. For myself I cannot but think that the place which it occupies in his researches is rather premature. We want to be quite sure what is the oldest form of the Creed before we can speculate profitably as to its author. The most crucial problem is to determine whether there were two types of creed current in the second century or only one. When we have settled this, we can go on to discuss which is the older.

I should be willing enough to think that the Roman Creed had an individual author (bishop or prophet), if I could satisfy myself, with Kattenbusch, that no competing or earlier form existed. But when we examine the evidence (Irenaeus, Justin, Patres Apostolici), it seems to me to point quite as distinctly to the existence of another type, the characteristic features of which reappear in the Creeds not of the West but of the East.

Here lies the real crux of the problem, and this is the point that I believe we need first to determine. We need to go over once more the second-century evidence with a view to see which type really preponderated. No doubt much has been done in the way of collecting parallels to the Apostles' Creed, especially by Harnack, both in his larger edition of the *Apostolic Fathers*, vol. i, part 2, pp. 115–142, and in Hahn's *Bibliothek*[3], pp. 364–390. But both Harnack and Kattenbusch have had their minds so filled with the Western type of creed that they have not been equally regardful of the traces of the Eastern type. And although these traces have been pointed out by Loofs in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1894, p. 679, in JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, i, p. 22, and now also by Kunze, *Glaubensregel*, p. 33 f, and by Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 80, I believe that the evidence is capable of considerable additions, and that indeed it will be found to be of quite imposing volume.

I will just give a single illustration. In my previous article I argued, very tentatively and provisionally, that the Eastern

forms ἕνα θεόν, ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (I should not have written Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν), as being apparently the more controversial, were likely to be later than the bare Roman form which lays no stress upon the unity. But what are the facts? There seems to be what might be called a continuous chain of evidence for the fuller form leading up to St. Paul himself. It may be worth while to set this down.

1 Cor. viii 6 ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἷς Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα . . . καὶ εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα.

Eph. iv 4–6 ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν Πνεῦμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν, εἷς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα, εἷς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν.

Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* xlvi 6 ἢ οὐχὶ ἕνα Θεὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; καὶ μία κλῆσις ἐν Χριστῷ;

Ignat. *ad Magn.* vii 2 πάντες ὡς εἰς ἕνα ναὸν συντρέχετε Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα.

Ibid. viii 2 εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὅτι εἷς Θεός ἐστιν, ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ad Philad. iv σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.

Hermas, *Mand.* i 1 πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας. [We may compare *Sim.* ix 13. 5 οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ Κυρίῳ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα, ἔσονται εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα, καὶ ἓν σῶμα, μιᾷ χρόᾳ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτῶν. Also *ibid.* 7 λαβόντες οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἐνεδυναμώθησαν, . . . καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἓν πνεῦμα καὶ ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν ἔνδυμα. Note the connexion between the πνεύματα (which are ἅγια πνεύματα, 13. 2) and the ἓν πνεῦμα = πύργος μονόλιθος, 13. 5.]

These are only a few jottings from the Apostolic Fathers bearing upon a single, though important, point. I should much like, if I could find time, to pursue the inquiry through the other writers of the second century. Of course I do not mean that the passages to which I have called attention are so many definite allusions to an Eastern form of creed. To determine exactly at what point such allusions begin is a delicate matter, and one

for which we are not as yet prepared. But the gist of the argument is that at any moment in the whole chain, from St. Paul downwards, we might have had a creed which laid stress on the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit, as well as on the ἓν βάπτισμα or μία κλῆσις.

In the face of such evidence, and with the consciousness how much more lies behind the one slight specimen that has been given, I should wish to withdraw entirely any *a priori* arguments that I may have used and to hold my judgement in suspense for the fuller collection which I desiderate. I am convinced that this is the only sound method, and until it has been carried out thoroughly I am afraid that I must regard Dr. Kattenbusch's speculations as resting on an insecure foundation.

3. Dr. Kattenbusch is of opinion that 'there is no reason to doubt that R *had its origin in Rome*.' He believes, as we have already in part seen, that it was composed about the year 100 by some prominent member of the Roman Church—either bishop or prophet. He thinks—in this agreeing with Kunze and Zahn—that the Creed was probably in use at the time when Marcion, Valentinus, and Justin were settled in Rome; but he admits that this is not capable of positive demonstration. At the same time he does not regard his view as depending for its validity on this hypothesis. He considers it to be in any case the most probable explanation of the facts.

It is interesting to observe that the alternative to Rome which Dr. Kattenbusch favours is not Ephesus, with Caspari and others, but rather Antioch (see both pp. 959 n. and 618 f.). This, I confess, had already occurred to me, and on the same ground—the points of contact in leading ideas, temper, and method with the writings of Ignatius. Between Rome, Ephesus, and Antioch there can be little doubt that the choice must lie. But if either of the latter is chosen, I conceive that it would support by preference the further alternative that the most primitive form of creed was rather of the Eastern type than of the Western.

As yet, however, it seems to me that all these hypotheses belong too much to the region of speculation. I am much inclined to agree with an opinion expressed, I believe, some time ago by Dr. Loofs—who, I may remark by the way, is the only

writer on these subjects to whom Kattenbusch has hardly given the place to which he is entitled—that the real key to the situation is in Irenaeus. Until the whole class of questions that culminate in Irenaeus has been worked out, it seems to me, as I have implied, that any conclusions must be purely provisional.

4. On the assumption that the Creed had its origin in Rome Dr. Kattenbusch sketches its probable *subsequent course* as follows:

'In the West it had certainly reached, in the course of the second century, Gaul and Africa, and perhaps all districts that possessed Christian congregations. To the western end of Asia Minor it also made its way during the second century, but not before the middle of it, perhaps in connexion with Polycarp's visit to Rome [in 154]. For the Churches of Corinth, Athens, Thessalonica, &c., we have no materials. Although not a matter of course, it is yet altogether credible that it had spread over those regions. But beyond the province of Asia I could discover no clear traces of the diffusion of a creed like R. For Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c., for the districts of Syria and Palestine, as well as for Egypt, materials failed me. In the case of Origen I seemed to see indications of acquaintance with a creed such as R, perhaps with R itself, but under such circumstances that I did not feel justified in drawing the conclusion that such a creed was recognised in Egypt. As all the Oriental creeds that are either known in the fourth century, or can be in part conjectured for the third, led up to Antioch as their starting-point, I began with the Creed of Antioch by inquiring whether and in what way it was dependent upon R; and I came to the supposition that R was received at Antioch after the fall of Paul of Samosata [*c.* 272 A. D.], undergoing some dogmatic adaptation to the necessities of the time. Beyond the limits of the diocese of Antioch I did not think that R had at that time penetrated, and indeed within that wide diocese I did not suppose that it had everywhere obtained recognition. In Egypt and in the interior of Asia Minor I thought that N [the *Nicenum*] was the first to be recognized as a "creed"; and that accordingly in these parts not until the victory of the Nicene Christology in the years 360–370 did a formula like R come to be used in baptism or attain to similar theological and ecclesiastical importance' (ii. 960 f.).

The reader will, I think, be glad to have this concise exposition of Dr. Kattenbusch's view of the gradual diffusion of the Creed; the more so as the geographical districts are carefully mapped out and discriminated, with due regard to the absence of

evidence. He should only perhaps just be reminded that in the last two or three sentences the conjectural element is considerable, and I conceive also precarious. It will be seen that the outline thus given would have to be entirely recast either on the supposition, to which Dr. Kattenbusch tells us that he was himself at one time inclined, that the Creed had its origin at Antioch, or if we preferred Ephesus to Antioch.

5. Under the next head Dr. Kattenbusch goes on *to define rather more exactly his conception of the course of events in the East.* He allows, however, that just this part of the subject, the history of R in the East [with Kattenbusch it is always R, where we should prefer to speak of 'the Creed'], is that on which his views are most liable to correction.

It is naturally a satisfaction to me to find the opinions which I myself expressed two years ago reinforced quite independently by two writers of the ability of Dr. Johannes Kunze and Dr. Carl Clemen. With Dr. Kunze's third chapter in particular, which is devoted to the history of the Creed in the Ante-Nicene Church, I find myself throughout in the fullest agreement. As compared with the corresponding portion of Dr. Clemen's essay I have rather the impression that whereas in both cases I agree with the results, in regard to Dr. Kunze I am more completely able to follow and endorse the reasoning that leads to the results. Dr. Clemen is one of those writers who, with an extraordinary extent of reading and knowledge, and with an extraordinary power of bringing that reading and knowledge to bear, do not possess in quite equal degree the gift of putting their arguments in a form that is attractive and convincing.

Dr. Kattenbusch replies on pp. 980–984 both to Kunze and to myself[1]; and I gladly admit that what he says may be taken to qualify somewhat the force of the arguments used. I cannot, however, think that he does more than qualify it. For myself I am well aware that there is a great deal more to be said. But while I am ready to allow that, as the case at present stands, neither side can claim a decisive victory, I am not at all shaken in my estimate of the competing probabilities.

I would only point to the increasing evidence since I wrote

[1] He has also reviewed Kunze's book at length, and with characteristic generosity and caution, in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* for Jan. 5 of this year.

that the use of the word ἐπιδημεῖν to denote the Incarnation was a characteristic feature of the Egyptian Creed. Mr. Brightman pointed out, also in the first number of this JOURNAL (p. 93), the indications of this in the recently published Prayers of Serapion. And Dr. Kunze carries back the observation as far as Origen (*op. cit.*, p. 52, cf. p. 53, where, however, I am afraid that I should not feel confidence in the expressions retranslated). Dr. Kattenbusch (p. 981 n.) changes front a little to meet the new evidence. It is an example of the refinement of argument that is characteristic of him; but the simpler conclusion that an Egyptian form of Creed really existed seems to me preferable.

Once again, however, I come back to my belief, that the more decisive issue will be fought on the ground of the second-century writers.

6. Another branch of his researches to which Dr. Kattenbusch attaches importance is that part of them which deals with *the rule of faith*. Here he is met directly by Dr. Kunze, who has taken the same subject as a leading theme of his volume. The difference between them is that whereas Kattenbusch distinguishes sharply between the East and the West[1], holding that in the East the rule of faith was primarily the Scriptures and that in the West it was only the Creed (p. 963), Kunze would make the distinction less sharp, and indeed only one of degree, regarding the conception of the rule of faith as including both the Scriptures and the Creed, but in different proportions according to the genius of different writers. Clement of Alexandria, he thinks, went furthest in the direction of seeking his final authority only in the Scriptures, and Tertullian in seeking it only in the Creed, but neither followed the one authority absolutely to the exclusion of the other.

So far as I have a leaning it is to the side of Kunze, because I think that Kattenbusch tends to exaggerate generally the difference between the East and the West. It may be observed also that a little further on (p. 965) Dr. Kattenbusch expressly

[1] It should be said that in the review just mentioned Kattenbusch considerably modifies his statement of the sharpness of this opposition. He allows that it was quite unconscious on both sides, and he regards the writers of the province of Asia as forming a link between East and West by substituting (mentally) *et . . . et* for *aut . . . aut*.

says that he regards the Scriptures in the West as the *regula disciplinae*, while the Creed is the *regula fidei*, adding that the two things are not to be set in opposition (*Man mache doch daraus keine Gegensätze!*). This would lead one to think that the distinction drawn under the previous head was pressed rather artificially.

But the whole question is subordinate for our present purpose.

7. The same must be said of the next head which deals with another point in the appreciation of the Creed in the Western Church. Dr. Kattenbusch lays stress upon its significance as a *sacramentum*. He paraphrases this by the German word *Heiltum*, which appears to be a coinage. Our nearest equivalent would perhaps be a 'means of grace.' The point would seem to be that the solemn delivery of the Creed to the catechumen, with his acceptance and possession of it, gave him the permanent character of *fidelis*, a character of which he could not divest himself except by deliberate apostasy. The delivery of the creed was thus 'a sacrament within a sacrament'; it is a part, itself sacramental, of the more inclusive sacrament of baptism. This I do not think that there is any reason to question. And it is probably true that the stress laid upon the formal act of delivery was greater in the West than in the East, and was in greater danger of lapsing into superstition.

8. The remaining two heads are concerned with *the history of the Textus Receptus*, or enlarged form of the Apostles' Creed with which we are now familiar (= T in Kattenbusch's notation, which is also adopted by Mr. Burn). Here Dr. Kattenbusch makes the interesting remark that this enlargement of the older creed was not regarded as in any way constituting a new creed[1], and that none of the additions were directed against heresies, but were only intended to make existing clauses more explicit. He is thus of opinion that the interest in which they were introduced was mainly catechetical. The Creed was throughout regarded as perfect, but it seemed that in places a rather greater fullness of statement was desirable.

I do not find it quite easy to reconcile these comments (which

[1] In like manner he holds that when, from the fifth century onwards, the enlarged Nicene Creed came into use in the West, it was so used, not as differing from the Apostles' Creed, but as practically identical with it, and only a further expression of its meaning.

seem to me just, so far as I can judge) with the suggestion that follows immediately upon them that the enlarged form of the Creed acquired its shape especially in the monastic services of the 'Hours.' Catechesis is one thing, conventual services are another. Probably Dr. Kattenbusch only means that, while catechesis supplied the substance, recitation in worship gave the finishing touches to the rhythmical form. But he expressly says that he regards his own remarks under this head as only tentative. Looked at in that light they have the advantage of resting upon very considerable study of the facts. Perhaps in this connexion our own accomplished liturgiologists might have something to contribute.

9. The larger questions about T are reserved by Dr. Kattenbusch for his last head. He had just thrown out the question as to T, as he had done previously as to R, whether or not it was to be referred to a single author. He now asks *Where* (and along with this goes the question *When*) *did the enlarged Creed arise?* He had previously, in chapter x, collected a vast quantity of material bearing on this point. And again, as so often, his most laborious researches seem to end in rather vague and unsatisfactory guessing. I am afraid that the faculty of decisive selection among a multitude of particulars is not one of Dr. Kattenbusch's strong points. His very scrupulousness in this respect tells against him, inasmuch as it keeps before his mind all the varied possibilities at once.

Dr. Kattenbusch starts, with most scholars, from Pirminius (or Priminius, as the extant and nearly contemporary MS of his treatise has the name), *c.* 750 A.D., but even here he leaves it open how far the Creed was his personal confession introduced by him on the field of his missions, or how far it was a creed which he found there already in occupation. A number of indications point, he thinks, towards the Church of Burgundy (Vienne or Lyons), which would make it probable that the enlarged creed was in use by the end of the fifth century, and perhaps even considerably earlier.

Mention was made in the earlier article of Mr. Burn's view, which is also Ludwig Hahn's (ed. 3, p. 29 n.), that the enlarged text had its origin in Rome. Dr. Kattenbusch is decidedly opposed to this (p. 785), and indeed it would seem that Rome was

just the centre in which the old unexpanded form maintained itself longest and with the most obstinate conservatism.

For myself I have not yet seen reason to reject the older view which would connect the origin of T with some such literary centre as the great school of Lerinum, throughout all the first half of the fifth century the most active focus of learning in the West. It is just among disciples of this school, like Faustus of Riez and Caesarius of Arles, that the characteristic peculiarities of T are most conspicuous. And the influence of the school made itself felt as far to the north as the Antiphonary of Bangor[1]. We must remember also that Lerinum would be a natural *terminus* for the most direct line of communication with the East[2].

Kattenbusch applauds (p. 979) a suggestion by Kirsch that the distinctive features in the creed of Nicetas of Romatiana (or Remesiana) in Dacia are due to a back-wave of influence from Gaul. But this is surely to invert the order of things. Duchesne has shown (in his *Origines du culte chrétien*) what a strong set of the current there was—and the current was just at its strongest in the time when Nicetas lived—from behind the Balkans, through Aquileia to Milan. And from Milan it was an easy step to Lerinum. In the Roman Empire the number of really generative centres was not very great. And Lerinum was in the fifth century for the West much what the Palestinian Caesarea had been a century earlier for the East.

One of the most important features in Dr. Kattenbusch's book is his extremely close and elaborate commentary upon the Creed, first in its oldest form, and then in another connexion upon the additions which constitute the *Textus Receptus*. In both cases the primary interest is historical—to set both the original creed and the additions as far as possible in the place which they fill historically.

These sections cover in all some 340 densely printed pages (pp. 471–728 and 874–956); and they are highly characteristic

[1] Among the items bearing on this point is the fact that the *Quicumque*, which I believe to be also closely connected with Lerinum, is one of the oldest witnesses to the *Descensus*.

[2] Both Harnack and Loofs agree in seeking for the origin of the Textus Receptus in Southern Gaul.

of the minute patience and concentrated thought which Dr. Kattenbusch has brought to bear upon his work. I know of no such searching study of every conceivable doctrinal point covered by the Creed, in the light of what appears to be its origin. This part of the book should have an especial value for us in England, because I am afraid that the English students are few who would be capable of a piece of intellectual work so exhaustive and exhausting. Other men labour, and we enter into their labours.

Not less attractive to most Englishmen will be the spirit in which these chapters are written. Dr. Kattenbusch is a Ritschlian, but of a mild and temperate type. He is essentially a Ritschlian of the Right; and in his writings the views of his school appear at their very best. Through the dry details of learning and scholarship, severely repressed and never for an instant giving way to rhetorical unction, we yet cannot fail to see the deep religious interest—the interest of practical religion—which the author has in his great theme. This diverting of learning (which yet never ceases to be learning) from scholastic subtleties and resolute keeping it down to the real life of men is the most conspicuous service that Ritschl has done to the world; and in a writer like Kattenbusch it is not disfigured by brusque depreciation of the past in its most precious moments.

It must not be thought that I am blind to what seem to me the defects of this as of other portions of the work. It is not much less difficult to help losing one's way in the maze of intricate details. The patience of the writer exceeds by far the patience at least of the English reader. There is a want of bold relief, which even the distinction of larger and smaller type does not supply. There is the same hesitancy between conflicting possibilities. And every now and then one longs for the exercise of what we should call a little more robust common sense.

There is nothing more admirable in the book than the treatment of the Second Article, especially of the order Χριστὸν (or, as Kattenbusch would print, to bring out its appellative force, χριστὸν) Ἰησοῦν, and on the full meaning of *υἱόν*. But a number of pages are wasted in considering the possibility (to which Kattenbusch actually inclines) of combining *μονογενῆ* not with *υἱόν* but with *κύριον*. The article before *κύριον*, of course, has to be removed—without evidence. And of course we are not

surprised that in Latin Rufinus, who puts *unicum* at the head of the phrase, should say that it may be construed both with *filium* and with *dominum*. It may also be possible to produce a few examples in which the proper sense of μονογενής has been lost. But apart from the fact that the Biblical examples are all the other way, and should be in themselves quite conclusive, the idea that a Greek writer of any age would tear away a word like μονογενῆ from its natural correlative υἱόν to unite it in a forced sense with κύριον, is one that should not have been dallied with for a moment [1].

We note in passing that Kattenbusch questions, as I cannot but think rightly, the attempt of Harnack [2] to separate between the clause relating to the Holy Spirit and that relating to Mary in connexion with the Virgin-Birth, and to make out that the former is a later addition. The two clauses are already indissolubly combined in Ignatius.

The most difficult problems arise as to the *Descensus ad inferos* (or *inferna*) and the *Sanctorum communio*. We may say that in regard to both of these the monograph of Clemen overlaps the larger work of Kattenbusch, because although the second comes in only incidentally it is treated by Clemen in considerable detail. It is indeed characteristic of this writer to be able to pour forth on any topic that comes up a profusion of facts or references, which have the additional merit of being always precise; though it must be confessed that in his case, as with Kattenbusch, there is the same difficulty of seeing the wood for the trees.

As to the origin of the *Descensus* there is still a certain amount of mystery. It does not seem to be anti-heretical, whether as directed against the tenets of Apollinaris or brought in to support a doctrine of purgatory (Clemen, pp. 24–27). The more probable explanation would seem to be that just in some particular locality or in the mind of some influential individual the doctrine of the Descent, which (as our two writers have well shown) had a continuous existence in the Church from the Apostolic age downwards, was so naturally associated with the Burial that the mention of

[1] If any further argument were needed, the application of μονογενῆ in the Eastern Creeds should have been not less decisive.

[2] Harnack *Ap. Cr.* p. 73 f., cf. Hahn[3] p. 374 ff.; Kattenbusch p. 619 ff.

the one naturally called up the other, and that so in some one Church the two together found a place in the baptismal Creed and from thence passed into the Creed of other Churches.

Can we at all lay our finger upon the Church where this took place? The only one for which we have any direct evidence is Aquileia. And Kattenbusch (p. 898) appears to think that Aquileia was really the centre in which the *Descensus* clause originated and from which it was diffused. We know that before Rufinus wrote (*c.* 400 A.D.) a similar clause (*εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα* [*κατεληλυθότα*]) had already made its appearance in the three allied *formulae* of Sirmium (359), Nike in Thrace (359), and Constantinople (360). Kattenbusch thinks that the Sirmian clause was the original of the other two, and that the Greek was a translation from the Latin. This hypothesis is in accordance with his tendency, which (as we have seen) is to look to the West rather than to the East. Clemen is more inclined to look eastwards, and in this I should agree with him. The Sirmian formula was composed by Mark of Arethusa in Syria; and although we cannot produce from this region a definite creed containing the clause, we can produce two pieces of evidence which are sufficiently creed-like to serve our purpose. One of these is the Letter to Abgarus (Eus. *H. E.* I xiii 20 *πῶς ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν Ἅιδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα καὶ ἀνήγαγεν νεκρούς*). And the other is from the doxology at the end of the Syrian *Didascalia*. For the reason I have given I do not regard this evidence as put out of court by the fact that it does not prove the existence of a creed. Syria—the Balkan peninsula—Aquileia would be the line of stepping-stones that I should be disposed to construct. Exactly at what point in the line the clause was first embodied in a creed we cannot say.

Clemen has an interesting discussion of the present value of the clause. He takes it as meaning a descent *among the dead*; and he regards it as bearing testimony to the fact that there are possibilities of progress and reformation beyond the grave. In this section of his work Clemen quotes freely, as is his wont, from English and American writers.

As Dr. Clemen has contributed a valuable monograph on the *Descensus*, so has a Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. J. P. Kirsch,

contributed another (to fill two volumes, of which one has appeared), not so much specially on the clause in the Creed as on the whole doctrine of the 'Communion of Saints.' Kattenbusch hails Dr. Kirsch as an ally in reversing the common view that the Dacian bishop Nicetas (in whom the clause is first found) was an important link in the transmission of Eastern influence to the West. Dr. Kirsch, like his predecessor, would prefer to assume that Nicetas received his form of creed from Gaul. I have little doubt that, as I have already hinted (p. 14), the common view is more probable.

In regard to the interpretation of the much-debated phrase Kattenbusch seeks to combine two opposite views.

Are we to take *Sanctorum* as masculine or neuter? What may be called the current acceptation would make it masculine; but Zahn, a few years ago, in his brief but valuable treatise on the Creed[1], contended for a neuter signification. He held that *Sanctorum communio* represented originally the Greek κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων, in the sense of 'communion in the *holy things*,' i.e. in the sacraments. His main argument was that the phrase occurs in the Creed just where we might expect that the sacraments would be mentioned, and at the point where there is in fact a reference to Baptism in many Eastern creeds.

Kattenbusch investigates with his habitual elaborateness the use of the phrase, giving, as I think, a neuter sense rather more often than I should be prepared to do. He points out that the masculine is taken with different shades of meaning; sometimes of the whole body of the saints in heaven and on earth; sometimes of 'the Saints' in the narrower sense (as in a treatise attributed to Faustus of Riez); sometimes, as in Africa at the time of the Donatist controversy, the phrase would appear to have been used for the communion of the Church on earth; sometimes it was taken to mean the communion of the saints *with one another*; and at least in one Exposition as an imparting of the virtues of the saints.

From this great variety of interpretation Kattenbusch infers—and no doubt rightly—that the original sense had been forgotten; and going back like Zahn to the Greek, he believes that it was

[1] *Das Apost. Symbolum*, 1893; afterwards translated in the *Expositor*, and published separately (Hodder & Stoughton).

left purposely ambiguous, that κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων meant 'common possession of all that is holy'—whether persons or things, society of the one or enjoyment of the other.

The view would be attractive if it were linguistically admissible. Would a Greek ever leave the distinction of masculine and neuter ambiguous with the deliberate intention of including both? There are one or two instances in the New Testament (e.g. πάντων in Rom. ix 5, Eph. iv 6 and ἐπουρανίων κ.τ.λ. in Phil. ii 10) where such a view is rather tempting. But I cannot find that the best authorities give any countenance to it.

The translation[1] which has just appeared of Harnack's article in the third edition of the Hauck-Herzog *Realencyclopädie* is welcome as a masterly summary of the writer's views as they stood in the year 1896. Enough will have been said in the way of criticism of these views in the previous article. It should however be added, as the translation is without preface or introduction, and no attempt is made to estimate the place of Harnack's contribution in the literature of the subject, that the works that have appeared since he wrote have tended rather to shake than to confirm his more characteristic positions. We have seen that Kattenbusch, his chief ally, shows some signs of wavering on the broad question of the relation of the Eastern creeds to the Roman Creed, where both writers are directly challenged by Kunze and Clemen. Kunze also vigorously assails the date (*c.* 140) which Harnack assigns to the origin of the Roman Creed, and on this point Kattenbusch very definitely parts company with him. The conception of a gradual crystallization of floating formulae about the year 140 and that of direct composition by a single hand about the year 100 are widely removed from each other. Clemen, however, makes more use of the theory of floating formulae not amounting to a creed, though preparing the way

[1] The translation is not quite so good as those which we associate with the name of Mr. Bailey Saunders, who in this case acts as editor. The German S. (*Seite*) is left standing in many of the references. 'Eusebean' (p. 44) has an unscholarly look. And there are several instances in which the translation suffers through want of familiarity with the subject-matter. 'Communal symbol' (p. 43) will hardly convey a meaning—we should say rather 'local creed'; 'is sufficient to determine' (p. 62) should be 'can be used to determine'; we should not speak of the *descensus* as a 'word' (p. 70) but as an 'article' or 'clause'; and 'carried on throughout the Remesiana' (p. 79) should be 'by way of Remesiana.'

for one. I am inclined to think that both he and Harnack make too much use of this theory; not that it has not some substantial foundation, but that they are too easily deterred from presupposing a complete creed by the mere want of evidence that it is complete[1].

Mention should be made of the appearance of the first part of what promises to be a comprehensive work on the Creed by Dr. Bernhard Dörholt of Münster. At present this has not got beyond a sketch of the history of research as applied to the Creed corresponding to pp. 1–37 of Kattenbusch's first volume. Dr. Dörholt writes in the simple, direct, and easy style to which we are accustomed from Roman Catholic scholars; and he has a wide command of the literature of his subject. It is natural that he should bring to notice the writings of some of his co-religionists who are not very generally known. Among these an essay by a Polish Jesuit, Marian Morawski (in *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 1895), puts forward an argument, the conclusion of which would be welcome if it could be accepted. Taking hold of the expression *sub Pontio Pilato*, he infers that by selecting, to fix the date, a procurator of Judaea in preference to emperor or consul, the author of the Creed permits us to see that he was himself a provincial, and that Judaea was his province.

It is indeed a rather remarkable feature in the Creed that this mode of dating the Crucifixion should have been so generally preserved[2]. But it does not follow that the Creed itself was written in Palestine. In 1 Tim. vi. 13 we have St. Paul writing far away from Palestine, and to one who was not himself a native of Palestine, and yet making use of the same mode of dating; which also occurs three times in Ignatius and repeatedly in Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. Clearly the phrase had become a standing formula; and it is probable enough that it assumed this character in Palestine. But it must have already done so when St. Paul wrote to Timothy. The presence of the phrase in the Creed is one proof more that the Creed is essentially

[1] I say this chiefly with reference to Irenaeus and Justin. The fact that their writings do not contain clear indications of the third paragraph should not be held to weaken the unequivocal indications of the other two.

[2] Just as it is also remarkable that 'on the third day' should be so often used to define the time of the Resurrection.

biblical, and in the main stream of apostolic tradition; but it is too much to infer that it was composed in Palestine.

The two other books on our list hardly come within the strict range of this survey. Dr. Wiegand's volume promises to be of much utility for the history of the use of the Apostles' Creed in the Middle Ages, but it only touches the early period by tracing up to its beginnings the custom of commenting upon the Creed and by the account that is given of the early commentaries. The whole subject of catechetical preparation in Western Christendom is systematically treated. It will thus be seen that although the book is important for its bearing on the circumstances under which the Creed was used, the questions with which we have been dealing do not come up.

Mr. Callow's popular account of the History of the Creeds does not concern us for another reason. Though a convenient and useful summary of the results more especially of English work as they stood a few years ago, it hardly comes under the head of 'research,' and still less of 'recent research.' The latest work quoted is Prebendary Ommanney's *Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*, published in 1896. [This author's name is unfortunately misspelt throughout the volume, as also in that of Dr. Kattenbusch.] Even the work of Mr. A. E. Burn does not appear to be known. But as a clearly and brightly written introduction to the earlier stages of the subject the modest and inexpensive book has much to commend it. Its broader canvas and easy flow of narrative and exposition may fitly lead up to Mr. Burn's more analytical methods. But it must not be at all taken to represent the latest and best opinions at a time of great activity.

W. SANDAY.

THE HISTORY OF THE THEOLOGICAL TERM 'SUBSTANCE': PART II.

WE have already noted, in the article published in the January number of the JOURNAL, that the later Schools of Greek Philosophy contributed little to the history of Terms. It must not be supposed that, on that account, their existence went for nothing. They served to change gradually the conception of Reality and thus they seriously affected the meaning of the term now under discussion. It will be necessary to sketch in the merest outline the movement of thought in the centuries immediately before the Christian era, before we come to consider the use of the term *οὐσία* and its associates in Philo and the Neoplatonists.

Plato and Aristotle, and in a much less degree the Stoics, had been the authors of constructive systems of philosophy. Even if the zeal of followers has stereotyped what the wisdom of the masters had left vague, they appeared before the world in a constructive aspect: there were certain definite views of reality which were ascribed to them. The period which follows is not in the same sense constructive. The later philosophers live in large measure on the labours of their greater predecessors; and are at most eclectic, often entirely sceptical. It is this tendency which has most importance for our present purpose. For the form which scepticism took was that of an assault upon the principles of older thinkers: the sceptics denied the validity of the senses and the possibility of knowledge.

It is obvious that there are various ways of affirming sceptical principles. It is open to the sceptic to argue that men are under positive delusion: that what they seem to know of the world is not only inadequate but false. This is the dogmatic type of scepticism, and lies under difficulties no less serious than the ordinary common sense of man which it opposes. But another and less vulnerable type of scepticism is that which offers no

dogmatic account of things, but contents itself with raising doubts, with showing the impossibility of demonstrative proof over a large area of human experience, with undermining the grounds upon which most men rest their beliefs. It is not particularly difficult to argue on these lines, or to cause considerable perplexity by so doing: the real difficulty is to overcome the profound practical convictions of men as to the validity of their experience and the impossibility of ignoring or seriously doubting it. The Greek sceptics admitted the existence of convictions, and granted the necessity of acting on the line of greater probability: they denied that the beliefs of men, however firmly held, were based upon grounds of certainty, but they kindly allowed men to act and think upon any principles that might approve themselves. And thus they were hard to cope with.

Zeller is of opinion[1] that this scepticism led directly to a peculiar conception of reality which prevailed in later times. The attack upon the ordinary beliefs of men, though hard to meet by argument, was unpersuasive: the allowance of popular conviction as a means of practical guidance directed attention to the value of subjective certainty, and so men sought for reality in a transcendental region, beyond the range of the senses and the ordinary run of experience. It is probable that the growth of scepticism, and the general disposition of philosophers to withdraw into themselves, may have had the effect of spreading and strengthening the tendency towards a transcendental view of reality. It has also to be remembered, however, that in one significant phrase already alluded to (*J. T. S.* ii 228), Plato had given a lead in the same direction: he had placed his Ideal Good beyond existence (ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας), and it is this point of view which comes prominently forward in the writers whom we have now to consider. It will not be attempted to describe accurately the views and the use of Terms characteristic of each writer; such treatment would be beyond the scale of the present articles: it is possible only to dwell upon the more important names.

First among these comes Philo of Alexandria. His importance lies not merely in the views actually put forth by him, but also in the fact that he is the first conspicuous example of the contact between Greek thought and Hebrew ideas. As a devout and

[1] *Gesch. d. Griech. Phil.* v p. 69.

convinced Jew the Old Testament, and especially the Pentateuch, was to his mind a certain revelation from God. But he was no less convinced of the essential inspiration of Plato, and laboured to show that Plato and Moses were really in harmony. Besides this, he was strongly under the influence of Stoicism, and Stoic ideas and phraseology appear in his writings side by side with those of Moses and of Plato. It must be admitted that Philo's intentions exceeded his grasp. He aimed, apparently, at presenting in one coherent whole the various elements above described: but he had not the power to bend them to his will. There are, therefore, always inconsistencies in his philosophy, and it is not easy to find any passages, expressive of his views on philosophical subjects, which would suffer no modification if compared with others. At different times different influences were uppermost in his mind, and he therefore expressed himself differently. The present writer is strongly of opinion that in cases where there was a conflict between the Hebrew mode of thinking and the Greek, it was always the former which went to the wall, though he is aware that passages could be found which would seem to bear another interpretation.

The phrase most common in Philo to represent Reality is not *οὐσία* but *τὸ ὄν*. The difference is merely a verbal one, and need not detain us. And it is clear that Philo identifies this ultimate Reality with God. All other forms of being are real in a lower sense. Hence it follows that no conceptions based on reality of the empirical sort, and no arguments derived from ordinary experience, are adequate to describe or to demonstrate the Existence of God. Philo carries this principle perilously near the point of a purely negative conception of God and therefore of Reality. Thus he says[1] *ὅταν οὖν φιλόθεος ψυχὴ τὸ τί ἐστι τὸ ὂν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ζητῇ, εἰς ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀόρατον ἔρχεται ζήτησιν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῇ περιγίνεται μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, καταλαβεῖν ὅτι ἀκατάληπτος ὁ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸς παντί, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἰδεῖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀόρατος.* And again[2] he is even more distinct: God is not like a man, he says, nor even like the heaven or the world; *ποιὰ γὰρ εἴδη ταῦτά γε καὶ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐρχόμενα, ὁ δ' ἄρα οὐδὲ τῷ νῷ καταληπτὸς ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον· ὕπαρξις γὰρ ἔσθ' ἣν καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δέ γε χωρὶς ὑπάρξεως οὐδέν.* At the same time Philo disclaims Stoic

[1] *De Post. Cain.* c. 5, I 229 M.

[2] *Quod Deus Imm.* c. 13, I 282 M.

Pantheism: he will not hear of identifying the world with God[1]. Such realisation as is possible to man of the knowledge of this Supreme Being is attained by resolute abstraction from the turmoil and obscurity of the senses. Sometimes the realisation comes ἐν τοῖς βαθέσιν ὕπνοις, sometimes through the waking pursuit of philosophy[2]: always by ceasing to listen to the senses or even to inferences based on them. Some men reach the belief in God by reflexion upon the world as the effect of a mighty Cause, just as we infer the builder from the existence of the building: οἱ δὴ οὕτως ἐπιλογιζόμενοι διὰ σκιᾶς τὸν θεὸν καταλαμβάνουσι, διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν τεχνίτην κατανοοῦντες. ἔστι δέ τις τελεώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς τὰ μέγαλα μυστήρια μυηθείς, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν γεγονότων τὸ αἴτιον γνωρίζει, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τὸ μένον, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύψας τὸ γενητὸν ἔμφασιν ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λαμβάνει, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἦν τόν τε λόγον καὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον[3].

The last passage has brought into view a new point, viz. the method used by Philo of reconciling his transcendent Reality with the world of ordinary experience. It is here, not unnaturally, that the confusion of his thought reaches its height. Though, as we have seen, beyond all language and all conception, though incapable of coming into contact with the defiling influence of matter, God is δραστήριον αἴτιον (in Stoic phrase)[4] and also φιλόδωρος[5]. He creates, and creates inevitably. But He uses for the purpose the λόγος, the θεῖαι δυνάμεις, and creates first an ideal world, which forms the archetype or pattern of the world of sense and is sometimes identified with the λόγος[6]. The λόγος is sometimes treated as the home of the Divine Powers[7]: sometimes is described as the εἰκών of God[8]: sometimes appears as standing between the world and God, neither ἀγένητος like God, nor γενητός like us, but μέσος τῶν ἄκρων, ἀμφοτέροις ὁμηρεύων, giving assurance to God that the created world will not wholly fall away into ἀκοσμία, and to man that the good God will not

[1] *De Migr. Abr.* c. 35, I 466 M. [2] Ibid. c. 34, I 466 M.
[3] *Leg. All.* III 32, 33, I 107 M. [4] *De Opif. Mundi* c. 2, I 2 M.
[5] *De Sacrificantibus* c. 13, II 262 M.
[6] Cf. *De Sacr.* loc. cit.: *De Opif. Mundi* c. 4, I 4 M.: *De Conf. Ling.* c. 34, I 431 M.
[7] *De Opif. Mundi* c. 5, I 4 M.
[8] Op. cit. c. 6 ad fin., I 6 M., and cf. c 8. In this whole passage the λόγος is treated as the image of God, is identified with the νοητὸς κόσμος, and again the ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς is represented as the image of the Divine λόγος.

ever neglect His own creation[1]. In this passage the λόγος almost acquires a personal character, and escapes from the purely metaphysical region. This is, however, an unusual circumstance. The main drift of the writing of Philo leads us to suppose that he conceived of the ultimate Reality as beyond the reach of sense and of the power of description in any terms borrowed from or based on sense-perceptions. This state of things was due not to any moral defect in man directly, but was simply an expression of bare fact—the fact of the distinction and the incompatibility of matter and reason. The cumbrous and confused way of bridging over the gulf, by means of the Logos and the Divine Powers, only emphasises the main position. With all his devotion for the Hebrew Scriptures, Philo is really attempting to solve a philosophical problem, and offers a philosophical definition of the Real.

When we come to neoplatonism, we have to do with a philosophy that is something more than a philosophy: it has also a religious and mystical interest. It would be beyond the scope of a sketch like this to discuss at length the origin and development of the various notions which we find prevailing among the neoplatonists: we must confine ourselves to describing, as carefully as may be, such views of the chief exponents of this philosophy as are relevant to our present purpose. It is scarcely necessary to mention that in so doing we shall be mainly concerned with Plotinus and Proclus.

Plotinus, of course, started with certain presuppositions which came to him from his predecessors, and especially from Plato. He accepted the distinction between the objects of sense and of reason (τὸ αἰσθητόν and τὸ νοητόν): he was clear that the Real was identical with the One: and that multiplicity and transiency involved departure from the truest Reality. Moreover he wrote and thought in the light of the Aristotelian doctrine of the Categories; and of the same philosopher's formula for the nature of the supreme source of motion νόησις νοήσεως. But he was not satisfied with this as an account of the Ultimate: to his mind it

[1] *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* c. 42, I 502 M. I have taken these references almost exclusively from those books of Philo which have appeared in the edition of Cohn and Wendland: having found, through the painful experience of verifying notes based on earlier editions, how many and how important changes these scholars have made in the text.

still implied an unresolved duality. And thus, following a hint of Plato's (*Rep.* 509 B), he took the step which Philo seems to have been prevented from taking by his Jewish mental associations: he made the Good the primary Being and affirmed its transcendence. It is, and is eternal: but the word 'existence' is not worthy of it: it is beyond and above 'existence,' *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, ὑπερούσιον*. Towards identification with this supreme life, all creation groans and travails: it is the goal as well as the source of all existence.

It is plain, of course, that this conception of a transcendent unity to which all things move will involve very considerable results upon the use of such a word as *οὐσία*. Plotinus speaks of his primary principle as beyond existence; he even uses the phrase *οὐκ οὐσία*[1]: it is also beyond activity and reason[2]. But in spite of all this negation, it is still the true Reality, and subordinate forms of reality depend upon relation to it. No language that we can use avails, the highest categories with which we are acquainted fall short of the real character of this Unity: but still the world of experience is somehow *there* in front of us, and must be dealt with; its reality must be explained in some sort of relation to the Transcendent. For this purpose the idea of the Good is most significant. It was the Good—*τὸ ἀγαθόν*—that Plato had said was *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*; and the universal desire for the Good which is displayed in all forms of life, supplies a means of connecting them with it. So Plotinus can use such a phrase as *ταὐτὸ ἡ ἔφεσις καὶ ἡ οὐσία*[3]: things have reality in so far as they are capable of this desire[4].

When the process by which the world of experience comes into being is looked at from the other side, Plotinus speaks of a series of acts of Generation. This must not be construed as implying acts of will, or acts done in time: the superabundant life of the Primal Unity *οἷον ὑπερερρύη*, and its excess—*τὸ*

[1] *Enn.* V v 6 *ἀνάγκη ἀνείδεον αὐτὸ* (i.e. *τὸ ἕν*) *εἶναι, ἀνείδεον δὲ ὂν οὐκ οὐσία*. Cf. VI ix 3 *ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὔ τι, ἀλλὰ πρὸ ἑκάστου, οὐδὲ ὄν*.

[2] Ibid. I vii 1 *ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας, ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἐνεργείας, καὶ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ νοήσεως. καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο δεῖ τἀγαθὸν τίθεσθαι, εἰς ὃ πάντα ἀνήρτηται, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰς μηδέν*. Cf. III viii 10.

[3] Ibid. VI viii. 15.

[4] Cf. ibid. VI ix 6. (The supreme) *ἐστὶν ὑπεράγαθον καὶ αὐτὸ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀγαθόν, εἴ τι αὐτοῦ δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν*.

ὑπερπλῆρες αὐτοῦ—makes another thing[1]. 'As all things when perfect generate, so that which is always perfect always and eternally generates[2].' Plotinus distinguishes this generation from effluence or emanation. Thus he says, with regard to the emergence of the Soul from the Reason or *νοῦς*, that it is parallel to the process by which the heat of fire both remains in the fire itself, and affects other things. It does not flow out, the inherent heat remains, the other comes into being (ὑφισταμένην)[3]. A little further on in the same chapter[4] Plotinus speaks as if the production of the second Existence were the coming into self-consciousness of the first. Other phrases are used elsewhere, and it is extremely hard to find any one formula that will really describe what is meant. What is clear is that by some process, which still is not in time, the primal Unity generates a second type of Existence, which is an image, but an inferior image of itself, and contains an inherent duality. It may be called either *νοῦς* or *οὐσία*. The second Existence generates a third which Plotinus calls *ψυχή*. It stands to the second, as the second to the first: it is inferior and is an image of it, and it has a downward look towards matter and the sensible world[5]. In fact the soul imposes form upon the formless potentiality which is matter[6]. The Soul derives the forms or ideas, which it thus imposes, from the Reason, and here we find the Ideal Theory of Plato reappearing in modified form. The things we know in the world have reality because they are images of ideal archetypes[7]. The true realities are constituted by thought or Reason; the ideal world exists eternally in an inseparable relation with *νοῦς*. Because of this necessary relation *νοῦς* is not the primal entity; it is always in relation, and this involves plurality. It is definitely on this ground that Plotinus denies to Aristotle's idea of self-reflecting reason its claim to describe the highest form of Being[8].

[1] *Enn.* V ii 1.

[2] Ibid. V i 6.

[3] Ibid. V i 3.

[4] Ibid. V i 7 *πῶς οὖν νοῦν γεννᾷ (τὸ ἕν); ἢ ὅτι τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἑώρα· ἡ δὲ ὅρασις αὕτη νοῦς.*

[5] Ibid. V ii 1, ix 3.

[6] Ibid. V ix 3 *ὕλη παρ' αὐτῆς ἡ τῶν στοιχείων ἄμορφος· . . . ψυχὴν δ' αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέτρασι* (i.e. the four elements) *τὴν κόσμου μορφὴν δοῦναι· ταύτῃ δὲ νοῦν χορηγὸν τῶν λόγων γεγονέναι, ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς τῶν τεχνιτῶν ψυχαῖς παρὰ τῶν τεχνῶν τοὺς εἰς τὸ ἐνεργεῖν λόγους.*

[7] Ibid. V ix 3, 5, 7.

[8] Ibid. V i 9 *Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ . . . χωριστὸν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νοητόν, νοεῖν δὲ αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ λέγων πάλιν αὖ οὐ τὸ πρῶτον ποιεῖ.*

The ideas are constituted by being thought: νοῦς is the ἑστία οὐσίας[1]: it has all things in it, not ὡς ἐν τόπῳ[2], but 'as possessing itself and being one thing with them.' In the material world subject and object are separate, χωριστά[3]: ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἄϋλα, εἰ νενόηται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ εἶναι[4]. It is not the case with the reason that its powers are latent, and that its activity either waits upon the object or brings it into existence by an act of thought: the object and itself are alike eternal.

It has been necessary to dwell at some length upon the philosophy of Plotinus on account of the very great influence it exercised upon the thought of some Church-writers. For the history of philosophy there is no section of the Enneads more interesting and important than the discussion of the Categories[5], but it would take us too far from our purpose to enter upon this here. What has been said already will have made plain the general sense in which Plotinus uses the word οὐσία. It means, as before, the Real Being of things, and as in Plato their true reality lies in their universal aspect. There is a certain element of misfortune and mistake about the descent into the world of Sense[6]: the souls have forgotten their father God: and the origin of their evil was daring, and γένεσις, and the first step in difference, and the desire to be their own (ἑαυτῶν εἶναι). They return from their pilgrimage, as it were, in a strange land, by abstracting themselves from the things of this world, and cultivating the desire for a return into unity with the primal existence from which they ultimately derive their being[7].

The writers subsequent to Plotinus, though important and even interesting to the student of history, do not seem to have made such changes in the meaning of the term Substance, as to make a detailed treatment of them necessary. The transcendent character of the Primal Unity was maintained by all who took their departure from the writings of Plotinus, and the individual characteristics displayed by them were mainly of the nature of

[1] *Enn.* VI ii 8. [2] Ibid. V ix 6. [3] Ibid. 5.
[4] Ibid. VI ii 8. [5] Ibid. VI i–iii. [6] Ibid. V i 1.
[7] Plotinus definitely defends the reality of individual experience in some sense (*Enn.* III i 4, 8) as against Stoic Pantheism: and also faces the question how the individual souls are related to one another and the world-soul (ibid. IV ix, esp. § 5). But the explanation he gives does not alter the drift of his thought, as indicated above.

scholastic developments. The comparatively simple theory of Plotinus of the three primal beings is elaborated by Proclus, for instance, into a highly complicated system of Triads. But the principle underlying the whole is the same: true reality is found not in the region of sensuous experience, but after a gradual process of abstraction from that which is associated with matter to an ideal world, and through that to a unity which cannot be described in any human terms.

It is clear that a word with such associations as we have described would be likely to suffer some change if it should be brought into contact with Christian Theology. The difficulty of deriving any positive action from a Transcendent Being, only to be described in negative terms, was felt by the philosophers, and was greater than anything that was involved in the mystery which shrouded the God of Judaism: the secondary position given by philosophers of the idealist sort to the experience of this life would hardly satisfy those to whom the process of history was a mode of self-manifestation on the part of God.

It is interesting to note the way in which the Church became cognisant of the philosophic problem. The first persons who feel it of importance to bring Church doctrine into contact with philosophy are, of course, the Apologists. And they are mainly concerned to show the absurdities of heathenism. They put their own points clearly and directly; they speak of God by the high-sounding titles which philosophy requires; but they do not attempt to bring their theology within the limits of the language of philosophers. Thus the idea of Substance or *οὐσία* is marked by little change in the writings of Justin Athenagoras and Theophilus. It is a word of rare occurrence, though many of the more transcendent epithets of the Divine Being are claimed for the Christian God [1].

The fact is that the Christian conception of religion was radically different from that out of which the philosophical notion of *οὐσία* emerged; and when this came into contact with Christi-

[1] Cf. Athen. *Leg. ad Graec.* cc. 10, 16. In the latter passage things are said to be divided into *οὐσία* and *σῶμα* by *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου*, and the principle of motion is said to require a primary cause. This shows in how popular and unphilosophical a sense *οὐσία* was used.

anity a considerable disturbance was likely. The Apologists attempted to make Christianity palatable in various ways: by showing the parallelism between their conception of God and that of the philosophers, and by the less promising venture of ridicule. The Alexandrines attempted to formulate it in terms of philosophy. We find, therefore, comparatively little that bears on the history of the word until we reach the Alexandrines.

The *rapprochement* of the philosophers with the Christian theologians would have been easier if the latter could have been in the position of mere learners; but this was impossible. They came to the pursuit of philosophy under a prejudice, which had considerable results. We have seen how Philo had reached a transcendent idea of God on the basis of philosophical speculation applied to Jewish ideas, and how little weight the Jewish conceptions had in the result. There was all the chance of a similar history when the thought of Alexandria came in contact with the highly developed Judaism of St. Paul and St. John. Both parties, the philosophers and the theologians, looked upon God as the ultimate Reality, or at least the source of all reality. But there was a tendency among the philosophers to regard God as ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας; and this made the doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit a difficult one to state.

Clement of Alexandria, for instance, was a well-trained theologian and a devout Christian. But he was also a philosopher with a very strong metaphysical gift; the abstractions of metaphysics had more than an attraction for him; he clearly believed in them as a solution of the problem of being. Hence we find him describing the transcendence of God in the following language: 'How can that be described, which is neither genus, nor differentia, nor species, nor individual, nor number; and neither accident, nor that to which the accident belongs? Nor would one rightly call him a whole; for the word *whole* is applied to magnitude, and he is father of wholes; nor must one speak of parts of him: for the one is indivisible. And for this reason also he is infinite, not conceived as beyond the power of tracing out, but as being independent of spatial dimensions, having no limit. And thus he is without form and without name; and if

at times we use a name for him, it is not in its true sense; if we call him One, or the Good, or reason, or absolute reality, or father, or God, or Lord, we speak not as bringing forward his name; but owing to our incapacity we use fair names, that the mind may be able to rest on them and not wander over other things[1].' In another interesting passage[2] he indicates the philosophical method by which this idea is attained; and this method is abstraction. We abstract from a thing physical qualities, then spatial dimensions, till we reach a point, a monad, so to say, having position; if we then get rid of the position, the monad is conceived (*μονὰς ὡς εἰπεῖν θέσιν ἔχουσα· ἧς ἐὰν περιέλωμεν τὴν θέσιν μονὰς νοεῖται*[3]). It is plain that here we have a purely philosophical conception of God, or rather of the ultimate principle of reality, and that to bring such a being into contact with the world is a matter of no small difficulty. Clement is partly helped by a doctrine of the Son as a mediator, not altogether unlike the Logos of Philo, and partly by the use he makes of the Pauline contrast between Faith and Knowledge. Those who are on the lower plane of Faith do not reach the metaphysical altitudes of the true Gnostic; the literal sense of Scripture is for them, and the lower stages of spiritual insight. The Gnostic sees through these lower forms into the region of true reality, and thus the difference is explained as in part a difference of capacity in the observer.

The theology of Clement is the first result, and not a very coherent result, of the frank admission of philosophical ideas, especially that of reality, into the region of the Christian Faith.

In Origen we find a much wider acquaintance with all forms of learning than in Clement, and some very clear indications of the hold which Greek philosophical ideas had obtained on his mind. Thus there are signs of the Greek philosophical view of matter. It is eternal, and the material creation also[4], and it is an impediment to the pure vision of the soul. This last point almost lays Origen open to a charge of Docetism. He thinks that it was by an 'intelligible,' not a sensuous, touch that Jesus healed the leper[5]

[1] *Strom.* V xii 82, 83.

[2] Ibid. xi 72.

[3] Dr. Bigg (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 63, n. 2) tells us that Clement uses the terms *οὐσία* and *ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἑνός* of God, but not *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*. Considering the description quoted above, this is almost an unnecessary reserve.

[4] *De Princ.* I ii 10.

[5] *c. Cels.* I xlviii.

(νοητῶς μᾶλλον ἢ αἰσθητῶς ἥψατο τοῦ λεπροῦ), and he even seems[1] to deny that our Lord's Body was physically human at all, in any strict sense. In all this we have the survival of the opposition between αἴσθησις and νόησις, and of the ascription of superior reality to νοητά. But it must be remembered that we have also many passages bearing in the opposite direction; and these Docetic phrases are rather indications of the prevailing tendency of Origen's mind in regard to reality than precise dogmatic statements.

As regards the knowledge of God, Origen shows himself alive to the difficulties arising in connexion with philosophy. Like so many of his predecessors, he thinks of the Father as inaccessible in Himself, but revealed through the Son. 'Much is the argument concerning reality (τῆς οὐσίας) and hard to be understood; and especially whether the true reality that is fixed is also incorporeal; in order that it may be discovered whether God is beyond reality in dignity and power, Who gives a share in reality to those to whom He gives it according to His own Word and to the Word himself; or whether He Himself is reality —only He is called naturally invisible in the phrase about the Saviour, which says "who is the image of the invisible God," and is implied to be incorporeal by means of the word "invisible." The question should be raised also whether we should call the only-begotten and first-born of all creation reality of realities, and idea of ideas, and origin, but (say that) his Father and God is beyond all these[2].' Here is raised the question whether current philosophy will apply precisely to the theological conceptions, or will require modification. The drift of thought is towards the complete transcendence of the primal source of being, but will this phraseology suit the Christian view of God? On two points Origen is clear: (1) that in the Incarnate we have a true, if mediate, knowledge of God[3]; (2) that the movement towards the Incarnation was governed, if we may so say, by moral motions; it was not a metaphysical process of mechanical emanation[4]. God is changeless and beyond adequate conception, but He is not incapable of Justice and Goodness; and he speaks of the Incarnation as a condescension, and says of it

[1] *c. Cels.* VII xii–xvii.
[2] Ibid. VI lxiv.
[3] Cf. ibid. VII xliii.
[4] *De Princ.* II vi.

(c. xiv in the passage cited below) that 'for it there is no need of change on His part, as Celsus supposes that we say, nor variation from good to bad, or from noble to base, or from happiness to unhappiness, or from best to worst. For remaining without variation in nature He condescends to human fortunes by forethought and providence[1].'

It scarcely needs to be stated how great a change is implied here. The argument of Celsus cited above is the old argument of Plato against all manifestations of God[2]. The gods, he argued, cannot appear in any lower shape because they cannot change. And this conception of them went with the belief that true reality never changes; hence we have the long history by which a succession of thinkers strove to reconcile the changing and the changeless. Origen's statement makes a new departure. Justin had seen that the Generation of the Son was to be reconciled in some way with the changelessness of the Essence of the Father[3], and had connected it with the Father's will. Origen by his phrase *πρόνοια καὶ οἰκονομία* rises to the conception of a Sovereign will, ruling over changeful phenomena, but Himself *τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἄτρεπτος*. Origen uses the same line of argument in answer to the strictures of Celsus upon the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus; and this goes a long way to correct the suspicion of Docetism in regard to the Incarnation[4]. But the fact that some degree of inconsistency still remains shows how strong a hold philosophical ideas retained upon his thought.

The phraseology of Origen cannot fail to have caused perplexity in the minds of many who were accustomed to philosophic thinking. That the primal Essence should remain changeless, and yet pass through the series of changes represented by the Incarnation, must have seemed a contradiction. We cannot, therefore, wonder that a variety of modes of expression should

[1] *c. Cels.* IV xiv *μένων τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἄτρεπτος συγκαταβαίνει τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασιν.* The whole passage cc. xiv–xvii is of the greatest importance in this connexion.

[2] *Rep.* ii.

[3] *Εἰπὼν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην γεγεννῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός, δυνάμει καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας* (*Dial. c. Tryph.* ch. 128).

[4] A perilous phrase occurs in the passage from which we have derived the above quotation (*c. Cels.* IV xv), the *λόγος . . . οἱονεὶ σὰρξ γίνεται, σωματικῶς λαλούμενος.* But the context preserves it. We have quoted mainly from *c. Cels.* because in this work Origen is in definite conflict with a Pagan thinker, and because the work is preserved in Greek, which is not the case with the larger part of the *De Principiis.*

have been tried which would fall in more nearly with the demands of philosophical language. Those heresies which represent the Trinity of Persons as a series of temporary manifestations of a single transcendent Being, are cases in point. They would seem to retain the triplicity, and yet diminish its philosophical effect by insisting on its temporary character.

But the real crisis came in connexion with the Arian controversy, for in this a word formed from *οὐσία* served as the watchword of the contending parties. This word, of course, was *ὁμοούσιον*. There was much against the word. It was not scriptural[1]. It had philosophical associations of a doubtful sort. Those who thought matter was the ultimate reality would have interpreted it 'of the same material.' There are cases in Plotinus where it means 'of the same species,' almost equivalent to *ὁμοειδής*[2]. Then besides its philosophical associations it seems to have been used in Gnostic circles. It occurs in Irenaeus four times, and in each case in connexion with some description of the Valentinian system of aeons. Also the word *consubstantialis* appears in Tertullian[3], again apparently in connexion with heretical phraseology. It is even said by Athanasius[4] and Hilary[5] to have been condemned at the Council of Antioch as having been misinterpreted by Paul of Samosata: but this condemnation does not appear in the Acts of the Council.

In what sense, then, was this term applied in the controversy? St. Athanasius is its main exponent; and it is clear that in his mind the special philosophical associations of it have largely dropped out. He uses the word as a bulwark for a certain fact in which he believes, namely, that in whatever sense the Father is God, in the same sense the Son is God: *ὅλος θεός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός*, he says[6]. So he will not endure the weaker word *ὁμοιούσιον*. 'You know yourselves, and nobody can question,' he writes[7], 'that the term *like* is used not *ἐπὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν*, but of forms and qualities: in the case of *οὐσίαι* not likeness but sameness would be affirmed. At any rate man is said to be "like" man not in nature but in fashion and figure: in nature they are of one kind

[1] Ath. *de Syn.* c. 36.

[2] Cf. *Enn.* IV iv 28 and vii 10, where the soul is said to have *ξυγγένειαν καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον* in regard to God.

[3] *Adv. Herm.* xliv ad fin. [4] *De Syn.* c. 43. [5] Hil. *De Synodis* c. 81.

[6] Ath. *c. Ar.* iii 6. [7] *De Syn.* c. 53.

(ὁμοφυεῖς). And again man is not said to be "unlike" dog, but of a different nature (ἑτεροφυής).' There is no talk here of the ultimate meaning of οὐσία, but merely an assertion of the logical value of a particular phrase. The meaning of οὐσία is determined by its reference. 'When we hear *I am that I am* (ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ὤν) . . . we understand nothing else but that simple and blessed and incomprehensible essence of Him that is: for though we are unable to comprehend what He is, yet when we hear the phrases Father and God and All-Sovereign, we understand that nothing is implied but this very essence of the Existent one[1].' The οὐσία of God is the real being of God, however that may be further defined, and the names used for God imply reference to it: He is not distinguished, so to say, from His οὐσία. So the word ὁμοούσιον implies a real duality within this real nature, and is distinct from a product of the action of the Divine Nature, which, as we speak, might have been otherwise. There need be no confusion between the Father and the Son: nor is there any parallel between the Generation of the Son and the act of Creation[2].

By degrees the necessity of theological expression produced a definite distinction between two words that had originally much the same meaning, οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. The latter, which seems to have had Stoic associations, was applied like οὐσία to the real being of a thing, but always had an inclination, as it were, towards the idea of individual subsistence—a signification which was shared by the verb ὑφίστασθαι[3]. The two words were used as synonymous shortly before the Arian controversy, e.g. in the Acts of the Council of Antioch which condemned Paul of Samosata[4]. Origen uses ὑπόστασις in both senses in one chapter[5]; and Athanasius in the *Tome to the Africans* identifies the two words[6], while in the *Tome to the Antiochenes* he describes the council held by himself at Alexandria in A.D. 362

[1] *De Syn.* cc. 34, 35.

[2] Cf. *c. Ar.* i 29 (and contrast Orig. *De Princ.* I ii 10), and a long and important passage in ch. iv of the Third Oration against the Arians.

[3] Cf. Plot. *Enn.* II v 5, ix 6; VI i 7, ii 4; and Orig. *c. Cels.* VI 65 ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος Παῦλος ἐξ αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, παριστὰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν πάντων ὑποστάσεως ἐν τῷ 'Εξ αὐτοῦ, &c. The word is found in Arist. *Meteor.* IV v 6 in the sense of a sediment at the bottom of a liquid: also in the spurious *De Mundo* iv 21.

[4] Routh, *Rell. Sacr.* iii p. 290.

[5] *In Ioan.* ii 6 (Brooke 71. 7, 16).

[6] c. 4.

in which both phrases, *μία οὐσία μία ὑπόστασις*, and *μία οὐσία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, were accepted as legitimate and orthodox [1]. It is to be noticed that *τρεῖς οὐσίαι* was never regarded as legitimate. Hence we are not surprised to find that *ὑπόστασις* and not *οὐσία* finally determines itself into the sense of person. The distinction is carefully and deliberately drawn by Basil [2].

The formula thus attained, *μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, is that which has ruled Greek Theology. The author who writes under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, in the interests of a neo-platonic philosophy, reverts to a negative and transcendent view of God such as we find in Plotinus and still more in Proclus, and treats all definitions or precise statements about God as mere approximations [3]. But the formula as above stated is the normal and accepted one. If we ask, then, in what terms we can describe the history briefly sketched above, the answer would seem to be that the changes in the meaning of the word *οὐσία* move from metaphysics towards psychology. We have the history of a struggle to substitute psychological or personal associations for those which were metaphysical and almost mechanical. We traced the development in the meaning of the word from Plato to Philo, and saw how the universal and abstract aspect of things took the place of the concrete and individual. We noted Origen's new departure in the use of the idea of *πρόνοια* and *οἰκονομία*: we then find Athanasius indifferent to the precise meaning of *οὐσία*, but steadily insisting on the relation between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit which is traceable within the one *οὐσία*. The philosophers themselves were alive to the fact that the Church claimed to modify the current views of reality: Porphyry, for instance, complains that they are dissatisfied with the penetration of Plato [4]. It may be questioned whether the metaphysical associations ever completely disappeared from Greek theological thought. Doubtless the word *ὑπόστασις* was the right one for the purpose required [5]: but it was a metaphysical word and

[1] *Tom. ad Ant.* cc. 5, 6. [2] *Ep.* 220, 3. [3] Cf. *De Div. Nom.* c. 2.

[4] Porph. *Vit. Plot.* c. xvi *ὡς δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας οὐ πελάσαντος.*

[5] It is interesting, to those who connect *πρόσωπον* with *persona* in the theological use, that the word *ὑφίστασθαι* sometimes means 'to play the part of,' 'to represent.' Thus in Heracl. Pont. *Homer. Alleg.* c. lxv, Proteus *τὴν προμήτορα τῶν ὅλων ὑφίσταται γένεσιν*: several other instances occur in the same work.

implied a metaphysical rather than an ethical view of personality [1].

It is not, perhaps, fanciful to see in the formula adopted by the Greeks, as opposed to the Latins, to express the Procession of the Holy Ghost, a sign of the metaphysical character of the associations still lying round these words. The Greeks maintain that the Holy Spirit proceeds *from* the Father *through* the Son, expressing by the two prepositions two distinct and precise relations: while the Latin phrase, *from* the Father *and* the Son, seems rather to express the co-operation of two personalities, conceived almost as independent.

However this may be, there is no question as to the general drift of speculation as exemplified in the history of the word *Substantia*. It would seem that *οὐσία* was originally translated into *essentia*. Seneca [2] gives this Latin equivalent for the Greek term and quotes Cicero as his authority; and so also Quintilian [3]. *Substantia* appears in Quintilian [4] as opposed to *coniectura*; and in another place in a quasi-psychological sense as 'stability' [5]. Later on we find the words used almost as synonyms, as by Apuleius [6]. In Tertullian the word *essentia* is rare, but *substantia* is comparatively common in the sense of *nature* [7], and he distinguishes *persona* from it [8]. The most important writer, however, in this connexion is Augustine; for it fell to him to provide the terminology in which the Trinitarian doctrine was to be formulated in the West. Augustine had acquired in the course of his life elements of learning from every available source: and the most important of these was neo-Platonism. This came to him not in the original Greek, probably, but in Latin Versions. It may be due to this that he seems to have derived from it ideas

[1] Note especially the conception of human personality which arises in the course of the *De Duabus Voluntatibus* of John of Damascus.

[2] *Ep.* lviii 2.

[3] *Inst. Or.* III vi 23. Quint. does not quote Cicero.

[4] Op. cit. III ii 5.

[5] *Inst. Or.* VI, Proem. § 7 'substantiam altae et placidae mentis': cf. Hebr. iii 14 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως.

[6] Apul. *Dogm. Plat.* I vi 'οὐσίας, quas essentias dicimus, duas esse ait [Plato] per quas cuncta gignantur, mundusque ipse: quarum una cogitatione sola concipitur, altera sensibus subici potest. . . . Et primae quidem *substantiae* uel *essentiae* deum primum' &c.

[7] *Adv. Prax.* c. 27, where, speaking of the Lord, he says, 'Sic et Apostolus de utraque eius substantia docet,' and quotes Rom. i 5: cf. op. cit. cc. 8, 12, 26.

[8] *Adv. Marc.* V xi; *Adv. Prax.* 12.

and principles and not words. In his great work *On the Trinity* we find him alive to the discussions arising upon the words *substantia* and *essentia*[1]: but his characteristic contribution to the doctrine lies not here at all, but in the elaborate working out of analogies between the Holy Trinity and the operations of the soul of man. Tertullian had already noticed this analogy[2], but it did not take a large place in his writings. Augustine spends the larger portion of Bks. VIII—XV of the *De Trin.* in discussing it. It would take us beyond the limits of our subject to set this out in full. We allude to it here because it seems to us to represent the triumph of neo-platonic psychology over neo-platonic metaphysics. The drift of the metaphysics is, as we have seen, in the transcendent direction: the primal Unity disappears behind reality into a region of which nothing can be said. But in the case of Plotinus there is a strong anti-pantheistic element which leads him to defend with great vigour the reality of individual soul. It is not very clear how he would define the relation of the individual to the Soul of the World; in one place he compares it to the relation of particular sciences to science as a whole[3]. But there is no doubt that he does somehow maintain the right of the individual to call himself real. Thus he says[4]: 'In the same way, if also in the case of the All the All is to be one, acting and suffering, and (if it is not true) that one thing depends on another according to causes always having reference to some further cause, then it is not true that all things depend on causes, but all things will be one: thus we shall not be ourselves, nor any work of ours: we do not even think ourselves, but our deliberations will be the thought of another: nor do we act, just as our feet do not kick, but we by means of our limbs. But (this cannot be), for it must be that each individual *is*, and that our actions and thoughts are real, and that the good and base actions alike depend on each one, and that we must not ascribe to the All at any rate the production of the base actions.' Thus Plotinus makes a stand for the individual. And his position is made easier because of his analysis of thought into its constituent elements. Aristotle distinguished *νόησις* and *τὸ νοητόν*, and

[1] Cf. *De Trin.* VI iv, v, §§ 7–10, and a large section of Book VII.
[2] *Adv. Prax.* c. 5.
[3] *Enn.* IV ix 5.
[4] Ibid. III i 4, and cf. ibid. i 8.

regarded *νόησις νοήσεως* as the final term in the scale of being. Plotinus thinks this inadequate. The ideal Unity, argues Plotinus, must be beyond *νόησις*, because in this there is always duality; *οὐδ' ἡ νόησις νοεῖ ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔχον τὴν νόησιν. δύο οὖν πάλιν ἐν τῷ νοοῦντι γίνεται. τοῦτο δὲ* (i. e. *τὸ ἀγαθόν*) *οὐδαμῇ δύο*[1]. Thus instead of *νόησις* and *τὸ νοητός*, we have *νοῦς*, *νόησις* and *τὸ νοητόν*. It is this triple conception of psychical acts which St. Augustine takes as his starting-point in his endeavours to make the Trinitarian doctrine partly intelligible. He passes by with comparative indifference the complicated questions which the Greeks raised over the word Substance, and strikes out a line of his own on the basis of a doctrine of the Soul[2].

Thus the history of the word Substance in connexion with one of the main theological problems of which we spoke at the beginning is Greek. It has been sometimes said that in this matter Greek philosophy triumphed over, and imposed its own limits upon, Christian theology. We cannot accept this account of the facts. The Greek doctrine, as we have pointed out, retained to the end traces of its metaphysical origin and associations, but so far as Athanasius went it represented a clear and definite change from the philosophical conception of reality, which was strained to the cracking point by having to bear the weight of the new doctrine of God.

In a succeeding article it is proposed to sketch the history of the word 'Substance' in regard to the other great theological dogma with which it has been connected—that of the Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist. It will be found that the history affords a marked contrast to that just described.

T. B. STRONG.

[1] *Enn.* V vi 6; cf. VI ix 6.

[2] The Hymns to the Trinity of Victorinus Afer (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. viii) are of great interest. The language is almost entirely metaphysical, but they form an important stage in the development from neo-platonism to Augustine.

[Since the above article was in type I have read Mr. Bethune-Baker's learned and interesting essay 'The meaning of Homoousios in the "Constantinopolitan" Creed' (*Texts and Studies* vii 1). With much of it I am in cordial agreement: but I cannot think that the author has given sufficient weight to the influence of Greek philosophy in his account of the word. I hope to return to this point later on in the pages of the JOURNAL. T. B. S.]

THE CLEMENTINE LITERATURE[1].

SOME apology is I think due for asking your attention to a subject which is only a bypath of Church history. My excuse must be that when I received the kind invitation of your Divinity Professors, the Clementine literature happened to be the work on which I was engaged; and although in my opinion this literature is out of the current of the main Church life, and although, as Prof. Harnack insists, it has had little influence on the development of Christian doctrine or life, yet it has been raised into adventitious importance by much modern speculation, and it is necessary for every investigator of early Christianity to decide for himself what historical value these documents may possess. These lectures, then, make little pretence to originality; they have not the excuse of representing either profound study or new discoveries or original views; they simply aim at formulating such tentative conclusions as I have been able to arrive at after a still incomplete and only half-finished study of these very curious documents as part of the remains of the early Christian Church.

The works we are studying form a portion of the very numerous apocryphal writings ascribed to Clement of Rome. They contain a considerable amount of doctrinal teaching presented in the shape of a religious novel or romance, in which are narrated the story of the wanderings of Clement in search of truth, the preaching and missionary journeys of Simon Peter, his contests with Simon Magus, and the reunion of Clement with the lost members of his family—with his father, mother, and two brothers. These narratives we possess in the following documents.

[1] The following article is the first of two lectures delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, at the kind invitation of the Divinity Professors. It seemed best to publish it as it was delivered, with the correction of a few errors. The second lecture dealt almost exclusively with Simon Magus. The matter of it forms the basis of the article under that heading in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* vol. iv.

i. The *Clementine Homilies* in Greek (Κλήμεντος τῶν Πέτρου ἐπιδημίων κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή) in twenty books, of which at present there are two MSS known.

ii. The *Clementine Recognitions*, at present divided into ten books. Only the Latin translation, made by Rufinus about the year 400, is now extant. Of this there are numerous MSS; every monastery of any size possessed a copy, but no edition has been yet published making any wide use of the materials.

iii. A *Syriac Version* containing three books of the *Recognitions* and five of the *Homilies*, but in an order different from that of our other authorities. The MS which contains them seems to date from the year 411.

iv. Two later *Greek Epitomes*, of little value for the text.

v. Late *Arabic Epitomes*, published in *Studia Sinaitica*, vol. v.

Of these we need for the present only concern ourselves with the Homilies and Recognitions. But it may be remarked that among the steps necessary for the proper study of the Clementine literature is the formation of adequate editions making use of all available material.

It will be convenient first of all to give a short abstract of the contents of the Homilies, and then to state the main divergences of the Recognitions.

The Homilies begin with an account of Clement and of his early religious and moral impulses, of the unsatisfying character of the current philosophic teaching, of the rumours that reach Rome concerning the new Prophet who has arisen in the East. Inspired by this rumour and by some unknown teacher, Clement sails to Alexandria; there he meets Barnabas, and at his suggestion follows him to Caesarea, where he finds Peter. Peter is preparing to contend with Simon Magus, but first of all gives some preliminary instruction to Clement on the right use of scripture: the scriptures have been corrupted, and passages which speak against God are to be rejected as spurious. Then two former disciples of Simon, Nicetas and Aquila, give an account of his origin and teaching, and after that comes the dispute between Peter and Simon, Simon undertaking to prove from the scriptures that there is more than one God, and that he whom Peter called God is not the highest God, for he is without foresight, imperfect,

incomplete, and exposed to every form of human passion. The disputation is stated to last three days, but as a matter of fact only one day's dispute is given. At the end it is found that Simon has fled by night to Tyre, and is there deceiving the people by his magic. Clement and some others of the companions of Peter are sent to Tyre, and Simon flees to Sidon, leaving behind some of his disciples.

At Tyre a long dispute takes place between Clement and Apion, a follower of Simon, which is an elaborate condemnation of the unreality of the popular mythology. Peter comes to Tyre and Sidon; Simon goes to Berytus; Peter follows him, and after a slight altercation Simon goes to Tripolis; Peter again follows him, and Simon flees into Syria.

At Tripolis Peter remains a long time. We have several discourses in which he puts forward various curious speculations. There Clement is baptized, and then they go on towards Antioch in Syria, by Orthosia and Antaradus. Then comes the story of Clement's 'recognitions' of the various members of his family. Their story must be shortly related:—Clement's father, Faustus, was of noble birth, a relative of the emperor; his mother's name was Mattidia. Faustus had two twin sons, Faustinus and Faustinianus, and afterwards Clement. Mattidia has a vision that unless she and her two elder sons leave Rome for ten years they will all perish. They are sent to Athens for educational purposes, but are never heard of again. After making many inquiries Faustus himself goes after them, and he too disappears. Since then Clement has heard nothing of any of his relations.

As Peter and his companions are on the way to Antioch, permission is given by the apostle for a day's excursion to the island of Aradus, in order to see some remains of the works of Phidias. There they meet an old beggar woman; Peter engages in conversation with her, and discovers that she is Clement's mother. The 'recognition' follows. It appears that the story she had told of the vision had been a fiction. It had been invented in order to procure for her the means of escaping from the adulterous attentions of her husband's brother. On the voyage she and her two sons had been shipwrecked, and they had been drowned. When the whole party meet once more, and the story is told, another 'recognition' follows. Nicetas and

Aquila prove to be the two brothers of Clement, who had been saved from the wreck and sold into slavery by their captors. Mattidia is shortly afterwards baptized. After the baptism they all retire to bathe and pray: they are watched by an old man who undertakes to prove to Peter that all his time has been wasted, that there is no such thing as God or Providence, that all things are the result of fate (γένεσις), being dependent upon the action of the stars. This theory is refuted partly by a long discourse, partly (although only in the Recognitions) by actual fact. The old man tells the story of how his wife had been born under an horoscope which had compelled her to commit adultery, and to end her days by a death at sea. This he said had actually happened. She had been guilty of adultery with one of her slaves, as he had learnt from his brother, had invented a story of a vision so that she might escape without detection, and in a voyage to Athens had been drowned with her two sons. Needless to say that this is Faustus, that Peter has the happy fortune both to disprove the astrological theories and to unite Faustus to the lost members of his family, who had been separated from him by the devices of the wicked brother-in-law.

The whole party now proceed to Laodicea by Balaneae, Paltus, and Gabala. Simon Magus reappears on the scene, and a long dispute takes place between him and Peter concerning the unity of the Godhead and the existence of evil. Then Faustus, the newly discovered father of Clement, goes to see Simon. Simon by his magical arts succeeds in making the face of Faustus like his own, and then departs to Antioch, where he accuses Peter of being a magician. Cornelius the centurion has been ordered by the emperor to arrest all magicians. It is for this reason that Simon has made the face of Faustus like his own, and has thus been able to escape to Judaea. Faustus then goes to Antioch, and uses the appearance which Simon has given him to destroy the influence of the latter. The people think that he is Simon: in Simon's name he recants, confesses his deceit and impostures, and Peter is sent for to come to Antioch.

The story as told in the Recognitions covers largely the same ground, but there are important differences. Omitting many minor details and postponing the question of variations in doctrine, these are as follows:—

(*a*) In the Homilies, as we have seen, there are two disputes with Simon—one at Caesarea, the other at Laodicea. In the Recognitions there is only one—that at Caesarea—and in that the same ground is covered as in the two disputes of the Homilies.

(*b*) In the Recognitions the journey along the coast to Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus is very much curtailed, and the part of Simon is throughout much attenuated.

(*c*) The dispute between Clement and Apion is entirely omitted in the Recognitions, but a large part of the subject-matter is preserved in other contexts.

(*d*) The discourses of Peter at Tripolis are in the Recognitions fuller and more complete.

The first question we must necessarily ask, with these two versions before us, is, What is their relation to one another? Which of the two is the earlier? There have been various opinions. One set of writers has maintained that the Recognitions are the original, another that the Homilies are. This much may quite safely be maintained, that neither of them could have been produced out of the other. Both have marks of priority. The diversity of opinion among critics is itself a proof that some wider solution must be found than either of those suggested. Both documents, in the form in which they at present exist, must be modifications of some common original.

Before we go any further it will be convenient to ask here what external information we may possess which will help to guide us.

1. Prefixed to the Homilies are three documents: (1) a letter of Peter to James; (2) a Protestation to be made by any one who receives a copy of the work; (3) a letter of Clement to James. The origin of these documents has been, like much else, a subject of discussion, and it has been maintained that they are later than the writing to which they are attached. If I may express my own personal opinion, they seem to me to come from exactly the same source as the Homilies and Recognitions themselves. They deal with the same subject-matter. Both the letters were known to Photius, that of Clement was known to Rufinus. The latter thought it later—later, that is, than the time of Clement, which no one would doubt—but had translated it elsewhere. The attestation therefore is good, and

the arguments by which a date later than that of the literature has been supported do not seem to me cogent. The letter of Peter to James begins 'Peter to James, the Lord and Bishop of the Holy Church.' It refers to books of his preaching, *βίβλοι τῶν ἐμῶν κηρυγμάτων*, which he has sent and which have to be carefully guarded. They are not to be trusted to any one, either Jew or Gentile, until he has been tested. The letter also refers to a falling away that has been caused by a certain *ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος*, who has taught a creed full of lawlessness and levity. The second document contains the Protestation which James imposes on any who are to receive copies of the book. The 'preachings of Peter' are only to be given to one who has been tested for six years, has been baptized, and has made a solemn promise (for it is unlawful to take an oath), by all the elements, that he will preserve the books secret and inviolate. The third document is addressed as follows:—'Clement to James, the Lord and Bishop of Bishops, who ruleth Jerusalem, the Holy Church of the Hebrews.' It relates the death of Peter, his ordination of Clement, and a series of directions which he has given for the government of the Church. At the end, Clement relates how he was bidden to send an epitome of his own thoughts from childhood, and of the discourses and acts of Peter from city to city (*τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ* [sc. Peter] *κηρυχθέντων λόγων τε καὶ πράξεων*), also of Peter's death. So Clement concludes by saying that he is sending an epitome of the preaching of Peter, which the latter had already written down.

These letters seem to me to be simply intended as an elaborate attestation of the documents which we possess. The charge of secrecy is of course intended to explain why nothing has been known about them for 150 years or so. Peter himself is made to attest his own teaching, and to refer to what we shall see are the two great subjects of his discourses, *μοναρχία* and *πολιτεία*. Clement gives an account of his acts and journeys, and through him, as is fitting, the rules as to organisation are made to come. The work or works thus attested would be (1) the preachings of Peter, with some reference to Simon Magus; (2) a story of Clement; (3) acts and preachings of Peter from city to city. We may note further that the book is always referred to in the plural, as *βίβλοι*.

2. Prefixed to his translation of the Recognitions is a preface by Rufinus. He tells us that there were two editions of the ἀναγνώσεις (*sic*) or Recognitions, and that the story of the transformation of Simon (he means, I presume, Faustus) is not found in one collection. He admits that he has not preserved the order of the original, and that there are several things which he has omitted. He has left out a dissertation *de ingenito Deo genitoque*, and some other things which clearly went beyond his intelligence. Although he says that in other matters he gave not only the subject-matter but even the words of the original, we may safely conclude that his excisions were considerable. As he had two versions of the work before him, he would feel at liberty to use matter from either; and he would omit anything which he thought dull, unedifying, or unorthodox. We may notice that he too speaks not of a single book, but of a collection of books—*corpora librorum*.

3. Coming now to direct external testimony, the first writer that it is important to mention is Origen[1]. In the commentary on Genesis, he quotes a passage which is contained in the tenth book of the Recognitions as containing the words which Clement spoke to his father in the fourteenth book of the περίοδοι (ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις). Also in the commentary on Matthew[2] he quotes *Recogn.* vii 38, but not exactly. Both of these are later works of Origen. They show that he had before him a work at any rate partially identical in subject-matter with our Recognitions, but with a different division into books, and perhaps a different arrangement. This book he calls the περίοδοι.

4. Eusebius[3] unfortunately looks upon this literature with the contempt that he always felt for anything that did not come up to his own standard of orthodoxy. He tells us that besides the Epistles there existed under the name of Clement other lengthy and verbose writings, that they were of quite recent origin, that they contained dialogues of Peter and Apion, and that they were very unorthodox. Considerable difficulty has been made about these dialogues of Peter and Apion, because as

[1] Origen, *Philoc.* 23. [It should be noted, however, that Robinson *Philocalia of Origen*, p. l, gives reasons for supposing that the quotation was really made by Basil and Gregory in illustration of Origen.] All necessary quotations will be found in Harnack, *Altchristliche Litteratur* p. 219 ff.

[2] Origen, *in Matth. Comm. series* 77 [Delarue iii 894].

[3] Eus. *H. E.* iii 38.

a matter of fact the only Apion dialogues we possess are between Clement and Apion. But it may be noticed that the expression is not 'dialogue' but 'dialogues,' and I do not see why it should not refer to different dialogues in which Peter and Apion respectively take part, in both cases with Clement: there was no need to mention the latter because he is the subject of the chapter. We may notice that Jerome as usual quotes Eusebius and as usual inaccurately, and that his inaccuracies are followed by most other writers.

5. Epiphanius tells us that the Ebionites[1] made use of books that are called the 'Journeys of Peter,' written by Clement (ταῖς περιόδοις καλουμέναις Πέτρου, ταῖς διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφείσαις). He assumes that they were genuine works which had been very much corrupted by these heretics, and gives a list of their errors.

6. The last testimony that it is necessary to quote is that of Photius[2]. He knew a work under the name of 'The Recognition of Clement the Roman' or 'The Acts of Peter.' To some copies there were prefixed a letter of Peter, to others a letter of Clement. He conjectures that this would imply two different recensions, but does not as a matter of fact appear to have found them. The contents were (1) the work called 'The Acts of the Apostle Peter'; (2) the dialogues with Simon the Sorcerer; (3) the 'Recognition' of Clement and his father and his other brothers. He also refers to a dialogue between Peter and Apion, but this information seems to come straight from Eusebius.

As far as the arrangement and plan of the work goes, we may now suggest some tentative conclusions, first saying two things by way of preface. In the first place we must recognise what is a common characteristic of apocryphal and heretical works. They have no fixed standard of text. Their aim was in all cases speculation or interest, not orthodoxy, and the copies therefore might vary indefinitely. Anything interesting might be inserted, anything that appeared prolix or unattractive might be omitted. Any change or improvement which might occur to the copyist might be made. Hence such documents will always present a very complicated problem, and any solution must be tentative.

[1] Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx 15.
[2] Photius, *Bibliotheca* codd. 112, 113.

A second reason for hesitation and diffidence is the example of our predecessors. The number of critics who have attempted anything beyond the simplest problems, and have been justified by success, is very small: we have an instance in connexion with Simon Magus of the way in which late discoveries have completely disproved the conjectures of even a competent critic. Asking you, then, to believe that I make these suggestions with becoming modesty, I would put before you the following conclusions.

(i) It may be admitted that, as far as regards the dispute with Simon, the Recognitions have preserved the original form of the work. The original narrative contained a three days' dispute at Caesarea only, concerning the one God and the origin of evil, and probably represented Simon as fleeing to Rome as the result of it.

(ii) But we can trace part of the reason why the alteration in the Homilies was made. The story of Simon and Faustus was no part of the original work. It was, we may suppose, an Antiochene legend, introduced as a later embellishment. The addition of this made a connexion between the two necessary, and so the contests during the journey to Antioch were introduced—in a very attenuated form in the Recognitions, in a fuller form in the Homilies. But they were no part of the original work.

(iii) The dialogue between Clement and Apion is out of place where it occurs in the Homilies; whether its present form is due to the author of the Homilies, or whether it belonged to the original collection, we have no means of ascertaining.

(iv) The original form consisted rather of a collection of works than of a single book, works not connected together as ours are. We may notice that almost all the writers whom we have quoted speak of a collection of books: and the story, as we have it, falls into some four well-marked divisions;—the complete story of Clement, *Recogn.* i and vii–x; the dispute with Simon; the journeys and discourses of Peter; the dialogues of Clement and Apion.

(v) To these different parts some of the different names in the various passages quoted may have been appropriated, and have passed from one part to the whole. The letter of Peter may have belonged originally to one part, the letter of James to another. But as I hope to show as we proceed, they are all

products of one design and plan, coming from one writer or group of writers, and we have no need to inquire about older sources which in all probability did not exist.

Let us pass on to the further and more important subject—the doctrine and ecclesiastical system of the work. We may, I think, group the writer's ideas under three headings:—

1. Monotheism: the divine μοναρχία.
2. A somewhat strict morality (πολιτεία).
3. A curiously heterogeneous ecclesiastical system.

1. The main idea of the writer is the unity of the Godhead. 'The true word is that there is one God, the Creator of the world, who is just, and will render to every man according to his works.' In these words we have put before us the purpose which controls the whole of the work, and everything else, whether philosophy or speculation, is subordinate to it. Negatively we find the writer defending this creed against the cultivated heathen, against the heathen crowd, against astrology and fatalism, against every form of what the writer believes to be Christian heresy. There is a certain amount of literary propriety in the choice of characters. Apion, the old adversary of the Jews, is made the representative of cultivated polytheism, and his opponent is Clement. The heresy attacked is mainly that of Marcion and the belief in two Gods: Simon Magus, the only heretic of the New Testament, who was believed to be the origin and source of all heresies, is here made the antagonist. There is also a passage to which we shall refer later in which the belief that the Son of God must be God is disputed.

So far negatively—now positively. What, to begin with, is the source of knowledge? It is Revelation. A comparison is made between the Revelation which comes from prophecy and Greek philosophy. Philosophy is uncertain, the mere result of opinion, constantly changing. Any one is able to believe just what he likes. But Revelation is certain. The test of truth is the power of prophecy. Any one is able to judge whether a person has rightly foretold future events. If he finds such a person, he must believe him implicitly. If he finds a mistake, he must hold that he has not rightly understood him. To a certain extent Revelation is contained in the scriptures,

that is, in the Old Testament. But not every one can use them, for they are interpolated. This it is not safe to confess publicly, but the true believer must be taught the mystery of the scriptures (τὸ μυστήριον τῶν γραφῶν), i.e. that those things are true which tell us what are the true things about God. Γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι, 'Be ye good money-changers,' is the maxim given. The Law as a matter of fact did not come from Moses, for it tells us of the death of Moses. The way to distinguish the true from the false is by the authority of the true Prophet, who was Himself foretold by the Law. As He had said that not one jot or tittle of the Law should pass away, it was obvious that anything He had destroyed was not the Law. All this is a somewhat bold and arbitrary way of dealing with difficulties, but it helps to remind us how acute the Old Testament difficulty then was. Marcion had put clearly before the Christian world the antithesis of the Old and New Testaments, and was really only stating in an impossible way exactly what we should say in a possible way. He saw that the conception of God in the Old Testament was different from that in the New Testament. The habit of mind of the time compelled him to assume a different entity for every different conception, and he felt it necessary to suppose the existence of two Gods. We accept exactly the same facts, but speak of the historical evolution of the idea of God or of a progressive revelation. So again, the writer of the Clementines says that those parts of the Law which Jesus accepted are genuine. We say that the Old Testament must be interpreted through the New, which has taken to itself the permanent elements of the Law.

Our ultimate authority is the true Prophet. But how are we to find Him? The fulfilment of prophecy is our criterion. To Peter He has been revealed by a sudden inspiration. But also He may be learnt by the knowledge of syzygies or antitheses. There are the celestial antitheses, in which the better precedes the worse, heaven and earth, day and night, sun and moon, life and death, light and dark, Adam and Eve. Then in their terrestrial counterparts, owing to the existence of free-will, i.e. sin, the worse precedes the better, i.e. God corrects what is done wrong by the perverseness of man. Here the order is Cain and Abel, the raven and the dove, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and

Jacob, Aaron and Moses, Elijah and John, Simon and Peter, Antichrist and Christ. The main cause of all error is, we are told, the imperfect apprehension of the doctrine of antitheses. Simon is the left-handed power of God, and of those that have not God. Peter was sent second, since first comes disease, then healing. This is one of the strange speculative elements of the work, yet its meaning is never made clear. But behind it, and behind so much Gnostic speculation, is the attempt to explain how error could exist. A similar explanation must be given of some curious speculations about male and female prophecy, the element of error coming into life through what is feminine and imperfect.

At any rate Christ is the true Prophet who will enable us to distinguish what is true from what is false in the scriptures, and the name by which He is habitually known is 'the Prophet' or 'the Prophet of Truth.' He is the Son of God, but not God. He distinctly said that there were no Gods apart from the Creator of the world; He never announced that He Himself was God, but pronounced those blessed who recognise Him as the Son of God who made all things. He is only God in the sense that all men are. Yet the miraculous birth appears to be accepted, and the Jews are mistaken who said that Christ was Son of David but not Son of God. He had been incarnate before in Adam and Moses, and was the last of the line of prophets. We have not time to develop and repeat a great deal of curious speculation that occurs about the origin of evil, about the two kingdoms, the kingdom of this world and the kingdom of the world to come, about the fall of man through the female principle, about the law that children born at certain times of the year are necessarily evil.

Another element which pervades these writings is the belief in the existence of magic and witchcraft, and consequently a doctrine of demonology. It is difficult for us to realise what a prominent element the belief in magic was in the early days of Christianity. It was probably the most powerful of all the forms of false teaching which the Church had to combat. Its reality was believed in equally by its devotees and by the Christian preacher who denounced it, only the latter considered it the work of evil spirits, and that Christ was stronger than they were. Recent discoveries of papyri, and investigations like those of Frazer in the *Golden*

Bough have brought home to us the strength and persistency of magical beliefs. Their sway is universal, they are the most subtle and persistent opponents of higher creeds. In his dealing with magic as elsewhere, therefore, our writer reflects his own times. An elaborate demonology helps to explain the existence of evil. Simon the typical false teacher is also the magician who practises every form of black art. All right opinion is opposed to him, but the reality of his power and of the existence of the demons is unquestioned. The angels of the lower heavens, grieved at the revolt of men, came upon earth to win them back. But they themselves were won over, married the daughters of men, and taught them magic and the art of healing. Hence sprang the giants, their spirits became demons, and the demons have power over men if they eat of the tables of demons. It illustrates very clearly the current ideas connected with the sacrifices when we are told how these demons have no power except on those who worship them in some way, and that it is by eating of the table of demons, i.e. of course by partaking of the sacrificial feast in the idol temples, or eating of any unclean food, that a man is in danger from them. Baptism alone will cleanse from all such evil.

It is not, I think, wise to go into further detail on the subject of the teaching, because by doing so we are liable to obscure the main object of the work, i.e. the defence of the Divine Unity or Monotheism. All the curious superstitions, or the fragments of philosophy, where the writer vacillates between sublime truths imperfectly worked out and trifling fancies, are introduced simply to defend his main theories. The various difficulties of his time, the value of the Old Testament, the origin of evil, the existence of error and ignorance, are treated more or less satisfactorily, but the ultimate aim of all is the defence and establishment of what we may call an Historical Unitarianism. And the further aim is to find a common basis for Judaism and Christianity. 'There are two Prophets, Jesus and Moses, and God accepts any one who believes in and carries out the teaching of either.'

One point now must be touched on in concluding this section of our subject—the relation to St. Paul. The writer evidently knew St. Paul's Epistles. He was clearly prohibited, by the date at which he put his narrative, from any open reference to the

Apostle, but—with the possible exception of one passage—there is not the slightest sign of anti-Paulinism, and nowhere is there any opposition to St. Paul. No doctrine which St. Paul preached is attacked; but on the other hand there is a complete absence of any idea of Redemption or Atonement. St. Paul's particular teaching has had absolutely no influence on the writer. Any one acquainted with the Gnostic systems knows how largely the idea of Redemption has influenced their speculations. Our writer, like the Gnostics, is fond of speculation, but he is untouched by the idea of Redemption. Christ is a prophet, and only a prophet.

2. But we must be passing on to our next point, the ethical teaching: side by side with the canon of unity is the canon of life (*κανὼν τῆς πολιτείας*). The writer has a strict, in some directions a very strict, rule of life: an ideal morality and formal regulations are curiously mingled together. The service pleasing to God is summed up as follows:—To worship God only, and to believe only in the Prophet of truth; to be baptized unto the remission of sins, and thus by the most holy birth to be born again to God through the water of salvation; to take no part in the table of demons, that is in things offered to idols, or dead, or strangled, or captured by beasts; not to live impurely; to observe the times of purification; to be temperate, given to good works, doing no wrong to any; to look for life eternal from God who is all-powerful; to seek it by prayers and supplications. In one word, to keep 'the law of the Jews,' to do to another all that a man wishes for himself, to practise philanthropy. God is invisible, but man is made in His image. The image of God is man, not idols, and we must honour God by doing good to man who is made in His image. Absolute poverty is to be the rule of life, because man, if he wishes to enjoy the future kingdom, ought—by a curious idea of the just balance of good and evil—to have no share in the present kingdom: therefore *πᾶσι τὰ κτήματα ἁμαρτήματα*. Wine and meat are apparently forbidden, but marriage is enjoined; for it again is an instance of the greatness of 'unity.' The only passage in which the writer approaches eloquence is in the eulogy on the chastity of the faithful wife.

There are two kingdoms. The Prophet of truth, when He came

among us, taught us that the God and Maker of all things gave to two persons, as it were, two kingdoms, to the good man and to the evil, giving to the evil man the kingdom of the present world with law, so as to have power to punish the unjust, but to the good, the eternal life which is to be . . . For those who have decided to win the things of the kingdom which is to come it is not right to have any share in the things of this kingdom, except water alone and bread, and these just sufficient for life (since it is not lawful for any one willingly to die), and also one garment, 'for it is not permitted to stand naked, because of the sun that seeth all things.'

The various difficult moral questions are discussed, just as are the difficulties of theology—how far is a belief in goodness consistent with the distribution of rewards and punishments in this life, the need of immortality, and so on.

There is in the moral teaching just the same curious relation to Judaism as in the theology. The writer claims to be the defender of the law—*εἷς θεός, εἷς νόμος, μία ἐλπίς* is his motto—but it is not the Jewish law. The Jewish law is a forgery. The true law was that delivered by tradition from Moses to the Seventy, the law of Christ which the true prophet has taught. This is described and spoken of as the law of the Jews, but the writer really knows nothing at all about Judaism. He never has been a Jew or brought in contact with Jews. He has been brought up in a curious moral atmosphere in which a Christian morality has been combined by tradition with some strange and curious customs. As in theology, he is attempting to put forward a compromise in which Judaism and Christianity may meet.

3. The third main idea on which he insists is that of certain points of Church order. He is a strenuous maintainer of Episcopacy, and in accordance with ecclesiastical tradition he makes Clement the mouthpiece through whom the apostolic ordinances are given. The letter of Clement narrates how he was made bishop by Peter, and gives an address of Peter describing the order and functions of the ministry. At each place that Peter visits we are told how he organises the church and appoints the bishop. Episcopacy is to the writer another instance of the value of unity, as are Monotheism and Monogamy.

Side by side with Church order, very great stress is laid upon

baptism. 'For thus did the Prophet swear to us, saying, Verily I say unto you, unless ye be born again with living water into the name of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghost, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.' Do not think that if you are the most pious man that was ever born, but are unbaptized, you can have any hope. By baptism a man is free from evil spirits, and has power over evil spirits in others.

So far the writer adopts the current ecclesiastical system, but he adds a habit or custom of daily washing. The Eucharist with him is with bread and salt and probably water; there is also a curious oath by the four elements which each initiated member of the Church has to take.

Enough detail has been given to show the curious jumble in the writer's mind. Whence did all these elements come?

The source of certain of them is known. About the year 222, a certain Alcibiades of Apamea appeared in Rome with a book called the 'Book of Elkesai'—so Hippolytus tells us; and the doctrine which it taught is also known from a fragment of Origen and from the account of some obscure heretics—Ebionites Ossenes or Sampsaeans—described by Epiphanius. A large number of the more curious customs and speculations of the Clementines are clearly identical with tenets of these heretics, and may reasonably be believed to have the same source: such are the successive incarnations of Christ, abstinence from meat, repeated washings, discouragement of virginity, the oaths by the powers of nature, the Eucharist in bread and water. The same heretics also taught the doctrine of the two kingdoms, and called Christ the Prophet of truth.

Now is all this an original element in the Clementines? It is necessary to ask this question because a theory has been propounded by Dr. Bigg[1], that the original elements were orthodox and the Ebionite or Elkesaite element was a later addition or corruption. His object is to account for the curious combination of episcopal orthodoxy and heretical teaching. But it seems to me that his theory can hardly be accepted, and that he is really turning the documents upside down. The answer to him is, I think, simply this, that in the more orthodox form of the work—the Recognitions—the orthodoxy has been gained by the elimination

[1] *Studia Biblica* vol. ii p. 157.

of what is most clearly unorthodox, and the general phraseology is still Ebionite; for instance, Christ is always called the Prophet or the Prophet of truth. Moreover Elkesaite or Ebionite doctrines are found in passages which do not belong to the Homilies. Personally I have no doubt that the heretical elements form part of the original form of the work. How then do we account for the growth of the work with its Catholic elements? I would make the following suggestions.

(1) We know that there was a body of Jewish Christians who accepted the doctrine of the Virgin birth, and who in the time of Justin were considered by him sufficiently orthodox to be members of the Church. Now our author accepts the Virgin birth, he calls Christ the Son of God, he accepts too the Trinitarian formula for baptism. All this might suggest that he belonged to some such community. Moreover his Judaism is very slight. He accepts the compromise of Acts xv, and he carefully avoids any attacks on St. Paul, although he has not learnt much from him.

(2) Being a member of such a body, he would naturally accept the Church order of the day, and his organisation is just that which would belong to the end of the second or beginning of the third century.

(3) He has no desire to form a sect. He wishes to guide the teaching of the Church. This again will exactly harmonise with the date we have mentioned. We know it as the period of the Monarchian Controversies. It was the time when the Church had to defend the divine unity against Gnosticism and Polytheism, and when it had to answer the question, How is your belief in the divinity of the Son consistent with this unity? Tradition made Christ the Son of God, and gave Him divine honours. When the question was asked, there were ultimately only two solutions: on the one side the doctrine of the Trinity, on the other Unitarianism. Our author shares the traditional belief of the Church that Christ is the Son of God, and he has the baptismal formula; but he goes back from these. In an acceptance of the divine unity he will find a common standing for Judaism and Christianity. And so he defends Unitarianism against the Church teaching that the Son of God must be God, as well as against Polytheism and Marcionism.

The following points then seem to me clear:—There is a distinct doctrinal unity about the whole collection of works. This represents not so much a sect as an individual, although an individual brought up under peculiar conditions. Whatever the exact form which the work originally took, it was, like a very different series of works, the Leucian Acts, the creation of the imagination of the author. Some traditions may have given him hints, the customs and usages of the sect in which he was brought up suggested some less important elements; but for our purpose, whether as regards doctrine or ecclesiastical organisation, it is the product of a curious, versatile, unequally developed mind, writing at the close of the second or beginning of the third century. As a story the work was a success, as a contribution to serious thought it was a failure. Harnack is right in setting it aside in working out the development of Christian thought. It is not important as preserving old traditions, nor as contributing much to the future. But it has an interest, and a very definite one, as a picture and representation of the age. Its very superstition, its very inequality, its curious want of selection and proportion, its combinations of elevated philosophy imperfectly understood with a somewhat degraded imagination, make it an admirable reflex of much of the thought of the time. Magic, Astrology, Fatalism, Platonism, Stoicism, scraps from the Universities and scraps from the gutter, made a typical picture of what many people thought and believed when Christianity was striving to introduce a more healthy rule of life and thought. The Clementine literature is outside the current of Church life; it did little to help the development of Christian thought: but it reflects and represents many phases of the times of failing heathenism which our imagination would quite fail to realise without its assistance.

A. C. HEADLAM.

DOCUMENTS

AN ENTIRE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE 'APOSTOLIC CHURCH ORDER.'

ALTHOUGH the Greek Text of the 'Apostolic Church Order' has been edited some six times, and of late with considerable critical apparatus by such eminent scholars as Funk and Harnack, the text is nevertheless far from perfect. As the Greek codices are but few, the versions are of great weight in settling doubtful readings. The Ethiopic was published by Ludolf, the Bohairic by Tattam, the Sahidic by Lagarde, a fragment of the Syriac (about two-fifths) also by Lagarde, and a fragment of the Latin quite lately by Hauler. I am happy to be able now to add to these a complete Syriac translation, which owing to its fidelity is of primary importance. This Syriac version is contained in Cod. Cantab. O. o. 1, 2, or the so-called 'Malabar Bible,' where it takes the third place in the Syriac Octateuch, viz. immediately after the two books of the 'Testament of the Lord'[1]. Although this Codex is of considerable age (xi or xii century) and therefore of proportionate importance, it is in parts so illegible that an edition from it would have been impossible, if the kindness of Monsignor Rahmani, the Uniat Patriarch of Antioch, had not enabled me to obtain photographs of his Mosul Codex, in which, foll. 348 *a*, col. 1—349 *a*, col. 1, the 'Apostolic Church Order' is found written throughout in a beautifully clear hand. The text of the latter I found to be practically identical with that of the Cod. Cantab., the variants being all very slight and only touching orthography: the Codex Sangermanensis (Lagarde's text) is somewhat more divergent. The Sahidic version has as yet not been made use of in the critical

[*The text follows on* pp. 60–73 : *the introduction is continued on* p. 74.]

[1] The numbering of the foll. in C. is not consecutive, because some dozen leaves at the end, having become loose and at some time entirely detached from the volume, have been fixed in again at haphazard, glued on strips of paper by an unskilful hand.

[Cod. Mosul. fol. 348 *a*, col. 1.][1]

[2] ܗܕܐ ܕܝ ܡܫܬܡܫܢ [3] ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܩܕܝܫܐ [.] ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܬܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ. [4] ܕܒܐܝܠܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܕܐܬܐ. ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ
ܕܡ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܗ ܕܥܒܝܕܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ [col. 2] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܩܕܝܫ.
ܐܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܟܝ. ܕܒܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܕܒܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܦܝܦܝܐ
ܕܐܬܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ [*lege* ܕܡܫܝܚܐ] ܕܒܬܡܐ ܕܡܢܝܢ. ܡܘܟܝܢ ܕܐܡܬܩܡܐ.
ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܡܩܡ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܩܡܝܢ. ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝ: ܠܐ ܡܝܟܝܢ
ܕܐܬܡܫܝܚ: ܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܟܠ ܕܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܘܩܝ ܕܝܢ: ܐܢܐ
ܕܡ ܠܘܩܡ ܢܝܟ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܩܢܝܢ. ܒܕܡܩܝ ܒܢܦܫ [5] ܟܡܐ
ܡܝ ܠܐ ܩܡܝ ܡ ܢܝܟ ܡܫܝܚ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܐܝܟ ܟܡܐ ܟܕ ܟܡܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ
ܕܕܒܐ. ܡܢܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܡ ܡܫܝܚ ܠܐ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ. ܡܩܡ ܟܝ ܟܡܝܢ [6] ܩܕܝܫ
ܟܡܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܟܝ ܡܫܠ ܟܡ ܩܕܝܫ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܐܝܬܐ. ܐܝܟܐ ܕܟܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܝܬ ܕܟܡ ܕܡ ܢܝܢ
ܡܢܐ. ܩܠܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܢܝܢ[.] [7] ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܒ ܟܝܢ ܐܬ. ܡ ܢܝܟ
ܕܡܫܝܚ ܕܡܢܝܢ ܕܡܢܝ ܡܫܝܚ [8] ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܟܝ: ܠܐ ܢܗܘ ܕܐܦ
ܡ ܡ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝ ܢܗܘ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܟܡ. ܒܕܐܦ ܟܡܘܟ
ܕܡܘܟܠܐ ܒܗ ܡ ܟܦܝܢ. [9] ܕܡܢܐ ܒܫܡ ܕܐܦ. ܒܫܡ ܕܐ
ܕܐܬܪܝܡ [10] ܕܐܦܪܝܡ. ܡ ܡ ܕܐ. ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܡ ܡ ܡ

THIRD BOOK OF CLEMENT. TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

1. REJOICE, O sons and daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. John and Matthew and Peter and Andrew and Philip and Simon and James and Nathanael and Thomas and Cephas and Bartholomew and Judas, son of James, we being all by command of our Lord Jesus Christ gathered together, as He commanded us: 'Before you are about to divide the eparchies by lot, [first] reckon the places of number (*sic*): the authority of bishops, the seals of the priests, the attendance of the deacons, the instructions of the readers, the blamelessness of the widows, and all things that are required for the foundation and the stability of the Church, in order that when they know the pattern of these heavenly things, they may be warned and keep themselves from all fault, knowing that they have an account to give in that great day of judgement of the things, which, having heard, they did not keep.' And He commanded us to send forth His words into all the world.

2. Therefore it seemed good unto us, for a testimony and admonition of the brotherhood, that we should, as far as our Lord had revealed to each one of us, according to the will of God through the Holy Ghost, enjoin upon you words of admonition.

3. JOHN SAID: Brethren, as we know that we shall have to give account concerning the things that have been commanded us, let us not be accepters of persons, one of another, but in case any one is thought to say anything not suitable, let him be contradicted.

Now it seemed good unto all that John should speak first.

4. JOHN SAID: There are two ways, one of life and one of death; but there is much difference between these two ways; for the way of life is this: first, Thou shalt love God, thy Maker, from thy whole heart, and thou shalt praise Him that redeemed thee from death;

ܥܡ ܡܪܝܐ. ܗܘ ܥܒܕ ܐܝܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܪܝܐ . ܘܐܡܪ ܥܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܐܝܟ ܢܚܡܐ. ܗܘ ܥܒܕ ܐܝܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܬܐ. ܗܟܝܡ ܕܥܕܘ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ
ܢܚܡܗ ܗܘܝܠ. ܡܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܦܠܓܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܙܒܢ ܐܢܐ ܕܥܕܘ ܡܢ ܟܘ. ܐܠܐ
ܐܢܐ ܠܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ. ܢܘܢ ܥܡ ܗܘ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ. ܗܘ ܐܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ.
ܦܠܓܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܥܡ ܕܩܠܐ ܗܟܝܡ : ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܐ [.] ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ
ܠܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ. ܠܐ ܐܙܠ. ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟܠ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ. ܠܐ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܬܐ. ܠܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܐ ܕܝܠ. ܐܠܐ ܥܡ ܕܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ.
ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܟܝܡ ܕܦܢܟ. ܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܠܐ ܗܘܗܝ. ܠܐ ܐܡܝ ܕܠܐ.
ܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܕܒܥܐ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܐ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܥܐ.
ܕܐ ܕܝ ܗܕܡܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܥܐ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠܐ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ
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ܐܠܐ ܡܕܡܢܐ. ܠܐ ܐܡܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܐ ܕܥܐ ܕܐ ܡܢܟ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܐ ܕܢܥ.
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[1] C. ܐܝܠܐ. [2] L. ܐܝ.

[3] C. fol. 315 *b*, col. 1. Right side of top of column destroyed, hence only words here and there legible.

[4] L. ܡܕܡܢܐ. [5] L. ܐܠܐ. [6] L. ܡܢ.

[7] L. ܐܝܠܐ. [8] L. ܡܢ. [9] C. again legible.

[10] L. ܡܢ.

[11] In C. from here onward the letters are here and there retraced in black ink by a much later hand.

[12] L. ܡܢ ܐܝ. [13] L. ܡܢ.

which indeed is the first commandment; and a second is: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; which indeed is the second commandment. These are they on which hang all the Law and the Prophets.

5. Matthew said: Whatsoever things thou wouldest not should be done unto thee, even those do not thou unto another; that is: whatsoever thou hatest, do not to another. The teaching of these words speak thou, O our brother Peter.

6. Peter said: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not be a sorcerer, thou shalt not be an enchanter, thou shalt not kill a child at the birth, neither after it has been born shalt thou kill it, thou shalt not covet what is thy neighbour's, thou shalt not break thine oath, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt not cherish anger, thou shalt not be double-minded, nor double-tongued, for a double tongue is a snare of death; thy speech shall not be vain nor lying, thou shalt not be over-reaching nor rapacious, neither an accepter of persons, nor of evil disposition, nor a boaster; thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour, neither shalt thou hate any man, but some thou shalt rebuke, and on some thou shalt have mercy, and for others thou shalt pray, and others thou shalt love more than thyself.

7. Andrew said: My son, flee from all evil and from all the like of it. Thou shalt not be a man of anger, for anger leadeth to murder, for wrath is a male demon; thou shalt not be envious, nor quarrelsome, nor passionate, for from these things arise murder.

8. Philip said: My son, be not full of concupiscence, for concupiscence leads to fornication and inflameth men towards it, for concupiscence is a female demon, and the former destroys with anger, the latter with pleasure, those into whom they enter. But the way of the evil spirit is the sin of the soul, and when she has a little place of entrance, she enlarges as it were herself, and she brings that soul unto all evil things, and she does not let that man look and see the truth. Let there be measure to your wrath, and within a short space

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govern and restrain it, lest it should hurry you into an evil deed. For wrath and evil pleasure, when they tarry long with a man, in a while become demons, and when a man yields to them they swell up in his soul and become larger, and they lead him to deeds of wickedness, and they mock him and take a delight in the ruin of the man.

9. SIMON SAID: My son, speak not foul things, neither be of high looks, for from these things arise adulteries.

10. JAMES SAID: My son, thou shalt not be a soothsayer, for this leads thee to idolatry, nor an enchanter, nor a teacher of strange and pagan teachings, nor a purifier[1], neither shalt thou desire to know these things [nor to hear them], for from all these arise idolatries.

11. NATHANAEL SAID: My son, thou shalt not be a liar, for lying leads to theft, nor a lover of silver, neither vainglorious, for from all these things arise thefts. My son, thou shalt not be a murmurer, because murmuring leads to blasphemy, nor proud and lifted up, neither a thinker of evil things, for from all these arise blasphemies: but be thou meek and humble, because the meek and humble inherit the kingdom of heaven; be thou long-suffering, merciful, a peacemaker, pure in heart from all evil, and ever peaceable, good, keeping and trembling at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou give thy soul (neither shall thy soul walk, ܗܠܟ) with the haughty, but with the righteous and the poor shalt thou have thy conversation; the dispensations that befall thee consider as good things, knowing that without God nothing happens.

12. THOMAS SAID: My son, him who speaketh to thee the Word of God and is to thee the cause of life and giveth thee the seal in Christ, him shalt thou love as the apple of thine eye; remember him by night and day and honour him as God, for where the Lord's power[2] is spoken of there is the Lord. Thou shalt seek his face daily and the rest of the saints, in order that thou mayest find rest in their

[1] Pretending to cleanse by lustrations and charms; *περικαθαίρων*.

[2] The Syriac retains the play on words of the Greek (*κυριότης—κύριος*), and as English idiom does not allow the use of 'lordship' here, I venture to translate 'the Lord's power' in order to preserve the point. The Bohairic ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙⲙⲉⲧϭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛϧⲏⲧϥ: 'where the "word of lordship" is' does not really represent a different Greek: cf. the Sahidic.

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[2]ܠܡܟܡ ܕܢܪܡ. ܡܠܝ. [3]ܡܐܢܐ. ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܐܢ. [4]ܟܡܡܡܡ ܠܐ ܕ ܕܐܒܢܘܬ
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words, for in cleaving to the saints thou shalt be sanctified. Thou shalt honour him as much as thou art able with thy sweat and with the labour of thy hands, for if the Lord has deigned to give thee spiritual food and drink and eternal life at his hands, much more art thou bound to present to him perishable and temporal food, for 'The labourer is worthy of his hire,' and 'The ox that treadeth out [the corn] thou shalt not muzzle,' and 'No man planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruits thereof.'

13. CEPHAS SAID: Thou shalt not make schisms, but thou shalt pacify those who contend, and thou shalt judge uprightly; thou shalt not accept persons in rebuking him who is in transgression, for riches are of no avail before the Lord, neither doth He give preference to the mighty nor doth beauty profit, but with Him there is equality for all things. In thy prayer thou shalt not hesitate which shall be: Yea or Nay. Thou shalt not stretch out thy hand for receiving, whilst thou closest it from giving. If thou hast anything in thy hand, give it as a redemption for thy sins; neither shalt thou hesitate in giving, nor yet when thou givest shalt thou murmur, for know thou who is the good Bestower of thy reward. Thou shalt not turn thy face away from him who is in need, but thou shalt share with thy brother at all times, and thou shalt not say that they are thine, for if in things that perish not ye are fellows, how much more in corruptible things?

14. BARTHOLOMEW SAID: We exhort you, brethren, that while there is time and ye have those with you amongst whom to practise good works, ye withhold not anything at all that ye possess, for the day of the Lord is near, in which all things perish together with the evil one, for our Lord shall come and His reward with Him. Unto yourselves be lawgivers, unto yourselves be good counsellors, being taught of God. Keep those things which thou hast received, adding nought unto them neither taking away from them.

15. PETER SAID: Brethren, the remaining matters of instruction the Scripture shall teach; but the things we have been commanded we will command and teach.

16. ALL SAID: Let Peter speak. If there should be in a place few men and not many people of those who are able to make an election of a bishop, to the extent of twelve men (?), let them write to (?)

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the churches which are near, where there is a church established, in order that when from thence three men, chosen and approved, have come, they may elect one who is worthy, if there is a man who has a good repute from the Gentiles, if he is not a sinner, if he is not full of anger, if he is a lover of the poor, if he is modest, if he is not drunken, not a fornicator, not an oppressor or a slanderer, or an accepter of persons, or the like of these. It is a good thing if he be without wife, but if not, he should be from (*sic*) one wife, one who can impart discipline[1], one who is able to explain the Scriptures, but if he knows not letters, he shall be meek and humble, and in love towards all men he shall abound, lest in anything the bishop be blamed of the many.

17. JOHN SAID: The bishop who shall be appointed, when he knows the zeal and the love of God of those who are with him, shall appoint two priests whom he shall have proven.

ALL replied to this and said: Not two, but three, for there are twenty-four priests, twelve at the right and twelve at the left.

18. JOHN SAID: Well do ye remember, my brethren; for those at the right, when they have received the vials from the archangels, offer to the Lord, but those at the left bear rule over the multitude of the angels. It is befitting then that those should be priests who have already for some time been separated from the world, removed some way from intercourse with women, generous towards mankind, accepting the person of no man, sharers in the Mysteries[2] with the bishop and fellow helpers, gathering together the people, rejoicing[3] with the shepherd and giving him rest. The priests who are at the right, however, have the care of those who labour at the altar, that they give praise and blame[4] where it is needful. But the priests, who are at the left, have the care of the multitude of the people, that they be quiet[5] and without tumult, taught as they are beforehand to behave in all submission. But when a man, being admonished, answers rebelliously, those who are at the altar, being of one mind, shall unanimously condemn such a man to what he meriteth, in order that the rest also may have fear,—lest, accepting one another's persons, the evil-doers spread, and the evil feed on the multitude and spread like a cancer and all be taken captive.

19. JAMES SAID: The reader shall first be appointed, after he has been tried with much trial, not loquacious, not a drunkard, not

[1] Sah. translates 'having children' *παίδων μέτοχος*.

[2] The Syriac—literally: 'sons of the mysteries' [or 'secrets'] 'of the bishop'—need mean no more than 'secretaries to the bishop'; but the Greek *συμμύστας* suggests that the true reference is to the Concelebration of the Eucharist.

[3] One word in Syriac as in Greek, *προθυμουμένους*.

[4] Two words in Syriac.

[5] *εὐσταθήσῃ*.

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a jester, well-behaved, well-inclined, listening to reason, of good will, that at the Lord's assemblies on the first day of the week he arrive before the others, obedient, familiar with the [Divine] histories, knowing that he takes the place of an evangelist, for[1] that he fills the ears of the ignorant shall be considered as written before God.

20. MATTHEW SAID: Three deacons shall be appointed, for it is written that by the mouth of two or three witnesses is established every word of the Lord. Now they shall be tried in all service[2], witnessed to by all the congregation, once only married, bringing up children, modest, meek, peaceable, not murmuring, not double-tongued, not wrathful, for wrath brings a wise man to ruin, neither accepting the person of a rich man nor oppressing a poor one, not using much wine, very ascetic and laborious, spurring [others] on in hidden good works, urging and forcing those of the brethren who have possessions to stretch out their hand to give; and they shall themselves also be liberal in giving and be fellow sharers, honoured by the people with all honour and authority and reverence, diligently looking for those who walk not orderly, with some using instruction, with others persuasion, with others admonition and rebuke, others who show complete contempt dismissing, knowing that those who are contentious, or despisers, or slanderers, rank themselves in opposition to Christ.

21. CEPHAS SAID: Three widows shall be appointed: two, who persevere in prayer, because of all those who are in temptations and for revelations and instructions concerning what is required; but one, who, abiding with those who are tried by sickness, is of good service, watchful, informing the priests of what is necessary: not lovers of filthy lucre, avoiding much wine in order that they may be able to watch in the night service of those who are sick, and in whatever other good works one desires to do; for these things too are the first good treasures of the Lord.

22. ANDREW SAID: Deacons, doers of good works, by night and day they shall go round in every place, not neglecting a poor person and they shall not accept the person of a rich one, but they shall know him who is straightened [by poverty], and they shall not let him lack he 'blessings[3],' but those who are able they shall urge to lay up for themselves treasures in good works, paying ready heed to the words of our Teacher: 'Ye have seen Me hungry, and ye have not given Me to eat.' For those who have ministered well and without reproach have prepared for themselves the degree of shepherds.

[1] The Syriac seems to have read τὸ ἐμπιπλεῖν (ܗܘ ܕܡܡܠܐ), but the terse saying runs best if we read τὸ ἐμπιπλοῦν (part. neut.). Words spoken to the ignorant are never lost but written down before God.

[2] 'Diaconate' Syr.

[3] Syr. read εὐλογία instead of λογία = 'collection.'

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23. PHILIP SAID: The layman shall obey the commands for laymen, submitting to those who are constant at the altar. Every man in his place shall please the Lord. Show no enmity to one another concerning what is appointed [on points of rank?]. Let every one [remain] in that wherein he was called by God. Let not the one hinder the course of the other, for neither do the angels work anything beyond whatsoever is appointed unto them.

24. ANDREW SAID: [It would be] very good, my brethren, if we established ministries for the women.

25. PETER SAID: Having given commandment and directions concerning all these things, we have come thus far. Now we will give careful teaching concerning the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood.

JOHN SAID: Ye have forgotten, my brethren, that our Teacher, when He asked for the bread and the cup, and blessed them, saying: 'This is My Body and My Blood,' did not permit these [the women] to remain with us.

26. MARTHA SAID (concerning Mary): I saw[1] her laughing between her teeth exultingly.

MARY SAID: I did not really laugh, only I remembered the words of our Lord and I exulted; for ye know that He told us before, when He was teaching: 'The weak shall be saved through the strong.'

27. CEPHAS SAID: We ought to remember several things, for it does not beseem women that they should approach the Sacrifice with heads uncovered, but with heads covered.

28. JAMES SAID: How then with regard to the women can we fix any ministry, except that they strengthen and keep vigil for those women who are in want?

29. PHILIP SAID: Lo, brethren, this we tell you with regard to liberality in giving: He that doeth good works lays up and prepares for himself a good treasure, for that the workman lays[2] up a treasure for himself in the kingdom shall be reckoned as written before God.

30. PETER SAID: These things, brethren, we have commanded, not by constraint, as if we had power over any one, but as being commanded by our Lord. We beseech you to keep the commandments, not taking anything from them, nor adding unto them, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be praise, world without end. Amen.

The third book of Clement is finished. The teaching of the twelve Apostles.

[1] Syr. possibly: 'she saw.' See note, p. 79: perhaps ἰδού, 'behold.'

[2] Syr. read an infinitive ܗܘ ܥܒܕ ܕܣܐܡ.

not yet divided the lands among you; before (πρὸ τοῦ lit.) you divide them among you so that each one take his place according to your number, *fix* the dignities of the bishops,' &c. The first part of the sentence seems faulty, the Bohairic by a slight change (twice omitting the letter ⲧ) reads, '*we* had not yet divided the lands among *us*,' and treats it as a parenthesis. The word 'fix' (ⲧⲱϣ) is possibly meant as equivalent for καταλογίσασθε.—Syr. συναθροισθέντων πάντων ἡμῶν. Syr. ܩܕܡ ܕܡܛܠ ܕܬܦܠܓܘܢ 'before you are about to divide' is a perfectly natural construction, whereas the Greek πρὸ τοῦ μέλλετε κ.τ.λ. is simply an impossibility. To look upon Μέλλετε κ.τ.λ. as a quotation (as Harnack seems to do, printing Μέλλετε with capital Μ) is hardly feasible, and has the Syriac against it. Syr. (ܬܚܫܒܘܢ) reads καταλογίσασθε instead of -σθαι, and restores the syntax of the Greek.—Syr. τόπους ἀριθμοῦ, for these last words see Sah. above.—Syr. ἀξίαν. Syr. παρεδρίαν.—Syr. ܘܫܘܪܐ ܘܫܬܐܣܬܐ = θεμελίωσις, but the Sah. also uses both words ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ . . . ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'and all other things whereby to make the foundation of the Church strong.'—Sah. λόγον θεοῦ. Syr. τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ εἰς ὅλην, κ.τ.λ.

2. In the Sah. the clause πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν . . . νουθεσίαν is lifted out of the phrase and added on at the end in freer rendering. According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. reads not νουθεσίας (Harnack), but νουθεσίαν.—Sah. θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός.—Syr. ܡ̈ܠܐ ܕܥܘܗܕܢܐ 'words of remembrance,' instead of μνησθεῖσι λόγου.

5. Sah. Syr. et Cod. Ottob. πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι μηδὲ σὺ ἄλλῳ ποιήσεις τουτέστιν ὃ σὺ μισεῖς ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιήσεις.—Sah. σὺ δέ ὦ πέτρε ἀδελφέ μου τὴν διδαχὴν δίδου αὐτοῖς τούτων τῶν λόγων.

6. Sah. et Syr. put οὐ φαρμακεύσεις before οὐ μαγεύσεις.—Sah. instead of οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις only ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲣ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫ 'thou shalt not lie.'

7. Sah. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲅ̄ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ 'and hate all evil,' instead of καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

8. Sah. adds ⲛϫⲛⲁϩ, σφόδρα or βίᾳ, after πρὸς ἑαυτήν.—Sah. reads, 'and if the δαιμόνιον of anger joins the one of lust, then they destroy those who shall receive them'; of the latter part of this reading there is a trace in Cod. Vindob. εἰσδεχομένους αὐτά.—Sah. instead of βραχεῖαν εἴσδυσιν σχῇ has 'when he sees a small place where to enter.' Sah. inserts (after κακά) πνεύματα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς, and omits ἐπί before πάντα.—According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. has εἰδεῖν, not ἰδεῖν.—Sah. omits κατὰ ἐπίτασιν.—Sah. ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣ ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'when they have dominion over a man,' for the Greek ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος. According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. seems to have ἐπιστρέψεται.—

apparatus; Harnack refers to it only a few times and did not study the Sahidic text itself. Its value is indeed less, I should think, than that of the Syriac, as it gives now and then a deliberately new turn to a Greek sentence, which of course can hardly be wondered at in the clumsy Coptic. Still, in several instances it helps largely to restore the correct text, and in other instances, where it agrees with the Syriac, its testimony is almost decisive. I have therefore collated the Sahidic throughout. In the notes which follow the text I have gathered together the result of a study of both texts in comparison with the Greek; this is done, however, in such a way that I do not repeat the critical apparatus of Harnack, but only complete it[1]. As of importance for the general question of authorship, date and sources, attention may be drawn to the heading in the Syriac, [illegible] (or perhaps [illegible]) [illegible], and also to the changes in ch. xv. Furthermore, as the Syriac version is now known in its entirety, it is no longer possible to suppose that the Syriac as published by Lagarde is a version of the mutilated Greek recension preserved to us in Codd. Ottob. et Mosq.; the Syriac translator possessed the complete Greek text. The fact that Lagarde's fragment is of equal extent with Codd. Ottob. et Mosq. may still have its origin in some marginal notation of the Greek original, or may, both in the Syriac and the Greek, be the result of a comparison with the [illegible].

NOTES.

1. The title of the present Syriac, [illegible], is the simplest form occurring in any text or version at present known; it is probably also the most original, as it coincides with the title of the famous document which it endeavoured successfully to supplant [cf. Harnack, *Didache*, p. [illegible]]. Lagarde's Syriac omits the word 'twelve,' and adds "in which those words are contained which each of the apostles spoke."—Sah. adds ἡμῶν after [illegible] and [illegible].—Syr. and Sah. add ἡμῶν after [illegible].—Sah. ([illegible]) 'Saith John,' &c.—Sah. [illegible]. Syr. [illegible].—Sah. [illegible] ἡμῶν.—Sah. omits [illegible], adds [illegible] after [illegible] ἡμῶν.—Sah. [illegible]: literally, 'You have

[1] My sincere thanks are due to Canon Armitage Robinson, who generously put at my disposal the notes he made some years ago of the readings of the Vienna MS.

not yet divided the lands among you; before (πρὸ τοῦ lit.) you divide them among you so that each one take his place according to your number, *fix* the dignities of the bishops,' &c. The first part of the sentence seems faulty, the Bohairic by a slight change (twice omitting the letter ⲧ) reads, '*we* had not yet divided the lands among *us*,' and treats it as a parenthesis. The word 'fix' (ⲧⲱϣ) is possibly meant as equivalent for καταλογίσασθε.—Syr. συναθροισθέντων πάντων ἡμῶν. Syr. ܩܕܡ ܕܥܬܝܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܬܦܠܓܘܢ 'before you are about to divide' is a perfectly natural construction, whereas the Greek πρὸ τοῦ μέλλετε κ.τ.λ. is simply an impossibility. To look upon Μέλλετε κ.τ.λ. as a quotation (as Harnack seems to do, printing Μέλλετε with capital M) is hardly feasible, and has the Syriac against it. Syr. (ܬܣܡܟܘܢ) reads καταλογίσασθε instead of -σθαι, and restores the syntax of the Greek.—Syr τόπους ἀριθμοῦ, for these last words see Sah. above.—Syr. ἀξίαν. Syr. παρεδρίαν.—Syr. ܘܫܘܪܪܐ ܫܘܬܐܣܬܐ=θεμελίωσις, but the Sah. also uses both words ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ . . . ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'and all other things whereby to make the foundation of the Church strong.'—Sah. λόγον θεοῦ. Syr. τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ εἰς ὅλην, κ.τ.λ.

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5. Sah. Syr. et Cod. Ottob. πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι μηδὲ σὺ ἄλλῳ ποιήσεις τουτέστιν ὃ σὺ μισεῖς ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιήσεις.—Sah. σὺ δὲ ὦ πέτρε ἀδελφέ μου τὴν διδαχὴν δίδου αὐτοῖς τούτων τῶν λόγων.

6. Sah. et Syr. put οὐ φαρμακεύσεις before οὐ μαγεύσεις.—Sah. instead of οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις only ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫ 'thou shalt not lie.'

7. Sah. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲅ̄ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ 'and hate all evil,' instead of καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

8. Sah. adds ⲛϫⲛⲁϩ, σφόδρα or βίᾳ, after πρὸς ἑαυτήν.—Sah. reads, 'and if the δαιμόνιον of anger joins the one of lust, then they destroy those who shall receive them'; of the latter part of this reading there is a trace in Cod. Vindob. εἰσδεχομένους αὐτά.—Sah. instead of βραχεῖαν εἴσδυσιν σχῇ has 'when he sees a small place where to enter.' Sah. inserts (after κακά) πνεύματα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς, and omits ἐπί before πάντα.—According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. has εἴδειν, not ἰδεῖν.—Sah. omits κατὰ ἐπίτασιν.—Sah. ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣ ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'when they have dominion over a man,' for the Greek ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος. According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. seems to have ἐπιστρέψεται.—

Sah. ⲛⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲁ ⲛⲟϭⲛⲉϭ = χλευάζοντες or ὀνειδίζοντες. This is perhaps a clerical error: compare ⲛⲟϭ 'great,' and ⲛⲟϭⲛⲉϩ ὀνειδισμός.

11. Sah. and Boh. instead of κλοπήν have βλασφημίαν, perhaps a clerical error; compare ⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉϥϫⲓⲟⲩⲁ with ⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ.—Sah. omits ἁπάντων. According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. has not ἁπάντως (Harnack) but ἁπάντων.—Sah. ϩⲉⲛⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉϥ ⲙⲓϣⲉ 'quarrels,' instead of βλασφημίαι; as βλασφημία occurs immediately before, the Sahidic reading seems preferable.—Sah. 'let *him* (ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ) be meek,' Boh. 'be *thou* meek.'—Sah. κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.—Sah. εἰρηνοποιός, ἐλεήμων.—Sah. καὶ φυλάσσων αὐτούς after ἤκουσας, whereby the sense of the passage is restored.—Sah. instead of ἀναστραφήσῃ has ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲩⲝⲁⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ 'while thou increasest more.'

Syr. ܡܣܪܗܒܐ ܘܡܬܚܪܐ = αὐθάδης. ܡܟܝܟܐ ܘܢܝܚܐ = πραΰς. Syr. ܐܝܠܝܛܐ instead of ἄκακος.

12. Syr. ἐν χριστῷ instead of ἐν κυρίῳ. Syr. adds 'holy' after σφραγίς.—Cod. Vindob. has μνήσθητι, not μνησθήσῃ.—Sah. ἁγιασθήσεται, the same in Cod. Ottob.—Sah. and Cod. Ottob. ἠξίωσέ σε δι' αὐτοῦ δοθῆναί σοι. Sah. after τροφήν adds πνευματικόν, and after πότον, πνευματικήν.—Sah. after ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲃⲏⲕⲉ adds ϥⲥⲏϩ ⲅⲁⲣ 'for it is written.'

13. Sah. paraphrases εἰρηνεύσεις κ.τ.λ. (ⲉⲕⲉϩⲉⲧⲡ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲓϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ) 'reconcile him who quarrels that they be in peace with one another.' It is possible, however, that the reading of Mosq. συνάψαι τινὰ μάχην πρὸς ἕτερον is in some way connected with this: ϩⲉⲧⲡ = συνάψαι.—Sah. with Cod. Ottob. ἐλέγξας (ⲉⲕϫⲡⲓⲉ). Sah. instead of τινά has τὸν ἁμαρτόντα [ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ] which is not improbably the true reading, as the present text τινά is somewhat odd, and as the Syr. indirectly supports it by its add. ὄντα (τονα[μαρτ]οντα).—Syr. Lagarde ἀξίας, Syr. Mos. and Cantab. ἀξίαν. Sah. ἀξίωμα, but also as *object*, not *subj.*, of the verb.—Sah. ⲙⲉϥⲧⲙⲁⲉⲓⲉ = 'he does not justify, acquit.' The change of subj. in προκρίνει and ὠφελεῖ is very awkward, but text and versions are too explicit.—Syr. πᾶσι neut. [ܠܟܠܗܘܢ]. Sah. has κρίμα δίκαιον instead of ἰσότης and omits πάντων.—Syr. Lag. ταῖς προσευχαῖς. Syr. Cantab. and Mos. with Sah. τῇ προσευχῇ.—Sah. after διψυχήσῃς adds 'thinking whether what thou askest will be or not.'—Syr. adds after πότερον ܡܕܡ.—Syr. Lag. ἀνταπόδομα, Syr. Cantab. and Mos. ἀνταποδότης. Syr. μισθοῦ σου. Sah. ὅτι θεός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς [ⲛⲁⲙⲉ] ὁ τοῦ μ. ἀντ.—Syr. Mos. and Cantab. πάντα χρόνον, Sah. 'in everything.' Sah. τῷ δεομένῳ.—Sah. ἐν τοῖς ἀφθάρτοις ... ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς. Syr. with Cod. Vind. φθαρτοῖς.

14. Sah. ἐρωτῶ, the same as in 30 (ϯⲥⲟⲡⲥ). Sah. ἐφ' ὅσον inst. of ὡς. Sah. seems to have read εἰς οὓς ἐργα[γαθεῖν δύνα]σθε (ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲛϭⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲁⲩ).—Syr. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ (for εἰς οὓς) 'with' or 'by whom.' The Greek text as it stands is very harsh, if not impossible. According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. has καὶ ἔχεται εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθαι.—Syr. reads ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἔχητε with Cod. Vind., Sah. also omits ἐξουσίαν but adds ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲁϥ.—Syr. ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܣܝܡܝ ܢܡܘܣܐ, 'unto yourselves be lawgivers,' although absent from the Greek, is supported by Sah. Boh. Ethiopic and by the Epistle of Barnabas.

15. Sah. ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί.—Syr. and Sah. read ὑμᾶς after διδάξουσιν, but the Sah. is somewhat different throughout: 'Men, brethren, *all* the other precepts of the Holy Scriptures *suffice to* teach you; let us, however, speak what we have been commanded. Then [τότε] it pleased all to let Peter speak.'

16. Sah. 'When there is a place with few faithful men in it, the number not yet having increased so as to enable them to arrange a ψήφισμα,' &c. — Syr. ܓܒ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܣܝܟܐ = ἐκλεκτοί. — Syr. (ܢܒܚܪܘܢ) and Sah. (ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ) change the participle δοκιμάσαντες into a finite verb (δοκιμάσωσιν), thereby restoring the syntax which in Greek was at fault, as no verb followed after ὅπως. Neither Syr. nor Sah. translates δοκιμῇ in any way.—Sah. adds τοῦ βαθμοῦ τούτου after ὄντα.—Syr. ܐܦ ܠܐ ܪܘܓܙܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘ and Sah. (ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧϭⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲡⲉ) insert μὴ ὀργίλος after ὑπάρχει.—Sahidic has all these qualifications in plur., the Bohairic in sing.

18. Syr. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܟܒܪ ܐܣܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܚܒܐ is no doubt the rendering of ἤδη κεχρονικότας, hence the words ܕܡܦܪܫܝܢ ܡܢ show that the Syriac read (instead of ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ) 'separated *from* the world,' which makes much better sense, although unsupported by text or versions.—Syr. ܐܚܝܘܬܐ instead of ἀδελφότητα.—The Syriac inserts ܠܘܬ between προθυμουμένους and τὸν ποιμένα, and some prepos. is indeed absolutely required, as προθυμέομαι cannot be joined with acc. of person, although Sah. boldly translates, 'that they may love their shepherd.' Should not προθυμουμένους be translated 'being zealous[ly active] before the shepherd'? The word ποιμήν for bishop, although ἅπαξ λεγ. in our document, occurs very frequently in the *Testamentum Domini*.—The agreement of the Syr. ܠܐܝܢ (κοπιῶντες) with the Sah. (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲟⲥⲉ = κοπιῶντες) makes it certain that one has to read in the Greek τῶν κοπιώντων instead of τῶν ἐπισκόπων, which is inexplicable in the context. — ܢܩܝܡ ܘܩܐܡ = ἐντιμηθῶσιν.—Sah. omits πρῶτον.—Syr. ܠܡܬܕܒܪܘܢ and Sah. ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ show that in Greek the infinitive after ὑποταγῇ has been left out, probably ὑπάρχειν. — Syr. ܡܫܠܗܒܝܢ suggests

νοήσαντες instead of ποιήσαντες: the former fits the context better than the latter and is supported by Sah. ⲛⲁ ⲉⲣ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'being of one heart and mind.'—The Greek, which from μήποτε onwards is evidently defective, has to be restored from Syr. as follows: μήποτε [ἐὰν] πρόσωπον λάβωσιν [τολμήσωσιν οἱ ἀδικοῦντες] καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον νεμηθῇ [τὸ κακὸν καὶ νομὴν σχῇ] ὡς γάγγραινα, or words to that effect. That the words in brackets are no interpolation of the Syriac translator is shown not only by the fact that they restore the evidently faulty Greek text, but also by the Sahidic, where ἐπὶ πλεῖον νεμηθῇ finds no equivalent, but ⲛϥ ⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲟⲟⲙⲉ is no doubt the rendering of νομὴν σχῇ, which besides as allusion to 2 Tim. ii 17 is extremely probable.—Instead of ἑνὸς πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν the Sah. has ⲛⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲕⲉ, which is perhaps best given by 'they disagree' [it occurs again in No. 20 ⲉϩⲉⲛⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲓⲥⲕⲉ, but there is no corresponding word in the present Greek text, the Boh. gives ⲉϩⲁⲛϣⲟⲃⲓ]. This suits the context exceedingly well, the presbyters are being admonished to be of one mind and heart (τὸ ἓν νοήσαντες), lest when they differ amongst themselves, the evildoer grow bold, the evil increase, &c.; indeed in this exhortation to *unity* the sudden warning against προσωποληψία seems out of place.

22. Syr. inserts καὶ before ἐπιγνώσονται.—The Syr. ܒܘܪܟܬܐ suggests the reading εὐλογίας instead of λογίας, which however is supported by the Latin 'collecta.' Sah. ⲛⲟⲩⲱϭⲥ, Boh. ⲛⲟⲩⲱϣⲥ, which Tattam translates 'store of provisions,' on what authority I know not.—Instead of τόπον ποιμενικόν, which is supported by the Latin and the Syriac, the Sahidic has ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲥ, on which Lagarde remarks 'ⲛⲁϣⲱⲥ = ποιμενικός quidem scribere facile erat sed quomodo ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ emendarem, nesciebam.'

23. ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ supports the reading προστάγματι.—ܠܡܪܝܐ = Lat. 'domino' of *Verona Fragm.*, as against τῷ θεῷ of Greek text and of the Sahidic.—The final clause ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν δρόμον κ.τ.λ. is given in a somewhat different form in the Sahidic, 'No one shall make enquiry after the stumbling of his neighbour in the course [way, walk of life? δρόμος] in which he runs, for neither do the angels exceed the command of the Lord.' This seems much more in keeping with the whole context; moreover the discrepancy of the Latin ('locum inuadat'), the variants in the Greek, and the strange expression δρόμον παρατέμνεσθαι, make it likely that the Greek text has been tampered with.—Harnack's conjecture, i.e. the insertion of ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω, is supported by the Sah. ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϭⲱ: it is, however, not put between ἐκλήθη and παρὰ θεῷ.

24. Syr. ܬܫܡܫܬܐ; Greek text, sing. διακονίαν.

25. The Syriac here, differing from the Greek, runs, 'Having concerning all these things given commandment and directions, we have come [reached] thus far [unto here]; now let us make known minutely,' &c. From the Greek one would gather that Peter disagreed with the proposal of Andrew by the curt reply, ἐφθάσαμεν τάξαντες; in the Syriac the opposite is the case, and Peter is in full agreement with Andrew. This was no doubt what the original compiler wished to convey, hence the sharp rejoinder of John, ἐπελάθεσθε, ἀδελφοί, κ.τ.λ. It is no doubt only a curious coincidence that ἐφθάσαμεν=*prae*uenimus, ܡܛܝܢܢ=*per*uenimus. Coptic adds τοῦτο after τάξαντες.

26. The sentence διὰ Μαριὰμ ὅτι εἶδεν αὐτὴν μειδιῶσαν is evidently corrupt. The Syriac and Sahidic might be translated, 'Martha said concerning Mary (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ, ܡܛܠ) that she saw her laughing,' but the Greek prep. διά does not allow this meaning; moreover Μάρθα εἶπεν cannot be taken as making one sentence with the following words, as it is but the lemma or heading indicating her own words. Hence I suggest the reading Ἰδοὺ Μαριὰμ ὅτι εἶδον αὐτὴν μειδιῶσαν, 'look at Mary, for I saw her laughing.' The Ethiopic contains the same suggestion, 'aspicite eam quomodo rideat,' although the Ethiopic translator read the Sahidic as we have it, ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ, '*de* Maria,' and put in 'aspicite quomodo' as a mere guess.—οὐχ ὅτ' ἐγέλασα κ.τ.λ. This passage receives much light from the Syriac. It is now clear that between ἐγέλασα and προέλεγε a line in the Greek has fallen out, corresponding to the Syr. ܐܠܐ ܠܡܠܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܬܕܟܪܬ ܘܐܬܦܨܚܬ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ. Although the line was already missing when the Latin and Sahidic versions were made, there can be no doubt that it is original, as it completely restores the sense. Mary said, 'I did not really laugh, only I remembered the words of our Lord and exulted, for you know that He told us before, when teaching, "the weak shall be saved by the strong."'

27. Here the Syriac deviates from all texts hitherto known. It has: 'Cephas said: We ought to remember several things; for it does not beseem women to communicate with heads uncovered, but with heads covered.'—The Syriac addition in 26 makes us better see the point of 27. St. John had said, 'You *have forgotten*, brethren,' &c. Mary had explained her smiling by saying, 'I *remembered*'; hereupon Cephas joins in and says (to put it colloquially), 'As to *remembering*, we may as well *remember* a third scriptural precept,' viz. 1 Cor. xi 5.—The Syriac brings out the relation of 27 to 25 even better. The question was what women had to do at the ܩܘܪܒܢܐ. It was settled they could not share with the deacons in their functions. Now Cephas says they should even be veiled when they approach or receive the ܩܘܪܒܢܐ [ܠܡܬܩܪܒ]. As to the present Greek text, it is remarkable that the

Sahidic and Bohairic versions say distinctly the opposite of what w[e] read in the Greek, 'Some say it beseems the women to pray standin[g] and not to prostrate themselves on the ground, [ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ϣϣⲉ ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ ⲉϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲩⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ.] This Harnack omits to state although surely the rule seems much more reasonable. Although th[e] Ethiopic seems again to agree with the Greek, it is of less value tha[n] the Sahidic and Bohairic. It moreover adds 'in ecclesia,' and mis-translates ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ.—The Syr. ܕܢܬܕܟܪܘܢ ܘܙ suggests the reading μεμνῆσθαι δεῖ instead of μέμνησθε δέ, which seems a clumsy enough way to begin a sentence.

28. Here the Syriac scribe has omitted a few words by homoeo-teleuton. ܕܢܣܬܡܟܘܢ ܘܢܥܕܪܘܢ is, as probably as not, a Syriac hendiadys; it is unsupported by other evidence. However, ταῖς δεομέναις as dative after ἐπισχύω raises suspicion, and Lagarde's conjecture ἐπίσχωσι [=ܢܥܕܪܘܢ] should at least be mentioned. Sah. ⲉⲩⲉϯ ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄, lit. 'to give hands'='to help.' Lat. 'confortent.'

29. The enigmatical περὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως does not receive much light from ܡܫܘܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ, this being probably but an attempt to render the compound μετά-δοσις. Sah. omits τοῦτο and has δόσεως [ⲡϯⲓ] instead of μεταδόσεως. Lat. 'porrigentibus.'—The Syriac read ὅτι after μεταδόσεως, or at least looked upon what follows as a quotation dependent on ܗܘ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ, which words are peculiar to the Syriac.—Perhaps the word ἐνδεομέναις is the thought-link between 28 and 29, 'Now concerning [alms]giving we tell you this, that he who does good works,' &c. The words ἔγγραφος, κ.τ.λ., occur also 19 ad fin.

30. The Syriac translates ἐξουσίαν τινός, 'power over some one.'—The Greek text, which is evidently faulty, as either ταῦτα or τὰς ἐντολάς is without grammatical government, is corrected by the Syriac, which inserts ܦܩܕܢܢ after ἀνάγκην. The Verona Fragm. has 'adsumus,' to which Hauler in a note refers, saying 'nescio an "addimus" legend.'; the Syriac makes it clear that the Latin must have had 'iussimus.'—The Sah. has ϯⲥⲟⲡⲥ, ἐρωτῶ instead of ἐρωτῶμεν (see Ep. Barn. 21. 7).—The Syriac, in common with Latin and Sahidic, has Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ after ἡμῶν.

J. P. ARENDZEN.

CORRECTION TO 'JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES,' II, p. 401, NOTE 1.

For 'Baradai' read 'of Edessa.' I cannot now recall by what strange confusion I could have made such a curious slip.

J. P. ARENDZEN.

NOTES

ΠΩΡΩΣΙΣ AND ΠΗΡΩΣΙΣ.

In Eph. iv 18 the word πώρωσις has been uniformly interpreted as 'blindness' in the Latin, Syriac and Armenian versions, and, with perhaps but one exception (Geneva 1557, 'hardenes'), in the English versions, until the revision of 1881, in which it is rendered 'hardening.' The word and its cognate verb πωροῦν deserve a fuller investigation than they have hitherto received. We shall consider (I) their derivation and history, (II) their use in the New Testament, (III) their interpretation in early versions and commentaries, (IV) the confusion of πωροῦν, πώρωσις with πηροῦν, πήρωσις, (V) the use of πηρός and its derivates to denote 'blindness.'

I.

Πῶρος (in MSS frequently πόρος) or λίθος πώρινος (πόρινος) is a kind of marble, *tophus*. Theophrastus *lap.* 7 thus describes it: πόρος ὁ λίθος, ὅμοιος τῷ χρώματι καὶ τῇ πυκνότητι τῷ Παρίῳ, τὴν δὲ κουφότητα μόνον ἔχων τοῦ πόρου. Aristotle speaks of stalactites as οἱ πόροι οἱ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις (*Meteor*. 4, 10).

In the medical writers πῶρος is used for (*a*) a node or bony formation on the joints, (*b*) a callus, or ossification which serves as a mortar to unite the portions of a fractured bone. But it is not used, apparently, in the wider sense of the Latin *callum* or *callus*, for a callosity or hardening of the flesh: that in Greek is τύλη.

Πωροῦν accordingly signifies (*a*) to petrify; as in a quotation from Pisis in Suidas, τὰς ἰκμάδας πωροῦντα καὶ σφίγγοντα λιθώδει τρόπῳ: (*b*) to cover with a callus; Diosc. i 112 κάταγμα πωροῖ, *ib.* 86 τὰ ἀπώρωτα πωροῖ: in this technical sense πωροῦν and ἐπιπωροῦν and their derivatives are common in the medical writers: otherwise πωροῦν is exceedingly rare.

There is a further development of meaning (*c*), to deaden or dull, of which I have only been able to find one independent example outside biblical Greek. Athenaeus (xii 549) cites a passage of Nymphis of Heraclea, in which πωροῦσθαι is used to express the insensibility of

the flesh by reason of excessive fat. Dionysius the tyrant of Heraclea ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδηφαγίας ἔλαβεν ὑπερσαρκήσας. He would fall into a comatose condition, and his physicians could only rouse him by pricking him with long needles: μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ὑπὸ τῆς πεπωρωμένης ἐκ τοῦ στέατος σαρκὸς οὐκ ἐνεποίει τὴν αἴσθησιν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν καθαρὸν τόπον ἡ βελόνη διελθοῦσα ἔθιγε, τότε διηγείρετο. Aelian, *V. H.* ix 13, tells the same story, paraphrasing as follows: ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦτο ἐπιμελὲς ἑτέροις δρᾶν, ἔστ' ἂν ὅλη διὰ τῆς πεπωρωμένης καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀλλοτρίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς διεῖρπεν ἡ βελόνη, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός γε ἔκειτο λίθου διαφέρων οὐδέν. It is clear that the likeness to a stone, which Aelian introduces to explain what was probably an unfamiliar use of πωροῦσθαι, refers not in the least to the hardness of the flesh—for the needle could pass through it—but to its deadness or insensibility.

The word had thus travelled some distance from its original meaning, and it was destined to go still further. The idea of insensibility could be transferred from organs of feeling to the organ of sight: and accordingly in the one place in which it occurs in the Greek Old Testament it is used of the eyes: Job xvii 7 πεπώρωνται γὰρ ἀπὸ ὀργῆς οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου. We render the Hebrew at this point, 'Mine eye is dim by reason of sorrow[1].' The verb כהה is used of the eyes in Gen. xxvii 1 (of Jacob), where the LXX has ἠμβλύνθησαν: Deut. xxxiv 7 (of Moses), LXX ἠμαυρώθησαν: Zech. xi 17, LXX ἐκτυφλωθήσεται. The other Greek translators of Job used ἠμαυρώθησαν instead of πεπώρωνται. The word had thus come to be practically equivalent to πεπήρωνται, 'are blinded,' which is found as a variant in ℵ c. a A.

Thus we see that πώρωσις, losing its first sense of petrifaction or hardness, comes to denote the result of petrifaction as metaphorically applied to the organs of feeling, that is, insensibility, and more especially in reference to the organs of sight, obscuration or blindness.

II.

Πωροῦν and πώρωσις occur eight times in the New Testament: four times in St. Paul, three times in St. Mark, and once in St. John.

St. Paul.

(1) 2 Cor. iii 14 ἀλλ' ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν.

'Moses put a vail on his face, that the children of Israel might not gaze (ἀτενίσαι) on (*or* unto) the end of that which was being done away.' But in the spiritual sense there was more than the vail on Moses' face that prevented their seeing—ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. 'For unto this day the same vail at the reading of the Old Testament remains, not

[1] Jerome's translation of the Hexaplar text has here *obscurati sunt ab ira oculi mei*: in rendering from the Hebrew he gives *caligauit ab indignatione oculus meus.*

being lifted (*or* unvailed)—for in Christ it is done away—but to this day whenever Moses is read a vail lieth upon their heart . . . But all of us with unvailed face &c. . . . But if our gospel is vailed, it is in them that are lost that it is vailed: in whom the god of this world ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων, εἰς τὸ μὴ αὐγάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

The context has to do with seeing and not seeing. Not seeing is not really due to the vailing of the object: it is the fault of the minds which should be able to see: if vailing there still be, it is a vail upon the heart. The minds of the Israelites ἐπωρώθη; the minds of unbelievers the god of this world ἐτύφλωσεν.

Accordingly intellectual obtuseness or blindness is the sense which is most appropriate to this context. Indeed to speak of a mind or understanding as being 'hardened' appears to be an unparalleled use of words.

(2, 3) Rom. xi 7, 25 ὃ ἐπιζητεῖ Ἰσραήλ, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπέτυχεν· ἡ δὲ ἐκλογὴ ἐπέτυχεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπωρώθησαν . . . πώρωσις ἀπὸ μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν.

The context speaks of the failure of a portion of Israel. Some, 'the election,' attained what they sought; the rest ἐπωρώθησαν: 'as it is written, God gave them a spirit of deep sleep (κατανύξεως); eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear.' This is followed by a quotation from Ps. lxviii [lxix], in which occur the words, 'Let their eyes be darkened that they may not see.' It is here to be noted that the one thought which is common to the two passages used to illustrate the πώρωσις is the 'eyes that see not.' Here again the meaning is, 'they were rendered obtuse or intellectually blind': and 'they were blinded' is a more appropriate translation than 'they were hardened.'

In *v.* 25 the context throws no light on the meaning. The πώρωσις ἐκ μέρους reproduces the thought of *v.* 7: part of Israel suffers from it: 'the election' is again referred to in *v.* 28.

(4) Eph. iv 18 διὰ τὴν πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν.

The Gentiles are described as 'darkened in their understanding (ἐσκοτωμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ), being aliens from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them by reason of the πώρωσις of their heart,' οἵτινες ἀπηλγηκότες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ κ. τ. λ.

The whole thought of the passage is parallel with that of Rom. i 21 ff., and there are several coincidences of language. The 'darkening of the understanding' and the 'πώρωσις of the heart' may be compared with the words ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.

Here the deadness or insensibility of the heart stands between the darkening of the understanding and the loss of feeling or moral sense

which produces despair or recklessness. Moral blindness, not contumacy, is meant. 'Hardness' might perhaps be allowed as rendering, if we could secure that it should not be misunderstood in the sense of σκληροκαρδία, 'stubbornness.' 'Hardening' is a specially misleading translation: it is not the process, but the result, which is in question—intellectual obtuseness, not the steeling of the will.

St. Mark.

(5) Mc. iii 5 συνλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν.

Before healing the man with the withered hand, our Lord asks, 'Is it lawful on the sabbath day to do good, or to do evil?' When the Pharisees were silent, 'He looked round on them with anger, being grieved at the πώρωσις of their heart.'

The context is not decisive as between the meanings moral obtuseness or blindness and wilful hardness. Nor do the Synoptic parallels help us: Lc. (vi 10) simply drops the clause; Mt. (xii 10) drops rather more, and inserts new matter.

(6) Mc. vi 52 ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν πεπωρωμένη.

When our Lord had come to the disciples walking on the water, 'they were exceedingly amazed in themselves; for they understood not concerning (*or* in the matter of) the loaves; but their heart was πεπωρωμένη.'

Here the interpretation 'hardened' seems needlessly severe: the point is that they could not understand.

Lc. omits the incident: Mt. (xiv 33) substitutes 'And they that were in the boat worshipped him saying, Truly thou art the Son of God.'

(7) Mc. viii 17 πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν;

When the disciples had forgotten to take bread and misunderstood our Lord's reference to the leaven, Jesus said, 'Why reason ye because ye have no bread? Do ye not yet perceive nor understand? Have ye your heart πεπωρωμένην? Having eyes see ye not, and having ears hear ye not? and do ye not remember . . .'

Here the close connexion with 'the unseeing eye' favours the interpretation 'moral blindness.' Indeed 'hardness' suggests a wilful obstinacy, which could hardly be in place either here or in vi 52.

Lc. has not the incident: Mt. (xvi 9) drops the clause.

St. John.

(8) Jo. xii 40 τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν.

'For this cause they could not believe, because that Esaias saith again: He hath blinded their eyes, and ἐπώρωσεν their heart, that they may not see with their eyes and perceive (νοήσωσιν) with their heart,' &c.

This is a loose citation of Isa. vi 10, according neither with the LXX nor with the Hebrew.

LXX *ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάμμυσαν, μή ποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν, κ. τ. λ.*

Heb. 'Make the heart of this people fat,' &c. (הַשְׁמֵן).

We must note the parallels:

τετύφλωκεν . . . ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν
ἐπώρωσεν . . . ἵνα μὴ νοήσωσιν

Πωροῦν here denotes the obscuration of the intellect as *τυφλοῦν* denotes the obscuration of the sight.

If *ἐπώρωσεν* is intended in any way to reproduce the verb 'to make fat,' then 'dullness' or 'deadness' rather than 'hardness' is the idea which would be suggested, and we have a close parallel with the passage quoted above from Nymphis *ap. Athenaeum.*

The above examination of the contexts in which *πώρωσις* is spoken of appears to show that obtuseness, or a dulling of the faculty of perception equivalent to moral blindness, always gives an appropriate sense. On the other hand the context never decisively favours the meaning 'hardness,' and this meaning seems sometimes quite out of place.

III.

We pass on to consider the meaning assigned by early translators and commentators.

(*a*) Versions.

(1) 2 Cor. iii 14.

Latin. *sed obtusi sunt sensus eorum.*

Syriac (pesh.). ܐܬܥܘܪܘ ܒܡܕ̈ܥܝܗܘܢ 'they were blinded in their minds[1]' (the same verb renders *ἐτύφλωσεν* in iv 4).

Armenian[2]. 'but their minds were blinded' (cf. iv 4).

So too Ephr., adding 'and they were not able to look upon the mysteries which were in their law.'

(2) Rom. xi 7.

Latin. *excaecati sunt.*

Syriac (pesh.). ܐܬܥܘܪܘ 'were blinded.'

Armenian. 'were blinded.' So Ephr. 'with blindness they were blinded for a time,' &c.

[1] According to another reading (ed. Lee) 'their minds were blinded' (ܡܕ̈ܥܝܗܘܢ).

[2] I quote the Armenian version because it often affords evidence of Old Syriac. For the same reason I refer to Ephraim's Commentary, written in Syriac, but preserved to us only in Armenian.

(3) Rom. xi 25.
Latin. *obtusio* Ambrst. Hilar.
caecitas clar vg Ambr. Aug.
Syriac (pesh.). ܥܘܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ 'blindness of heart.'
Armenian. 'blindness.'
(4) Eph. iv 18.
Latin. *caecitas.*
Syriac (pesh.). ܥܘܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܗܘܢ 'blindness of their heart.'
Armenian. 'blindness' ('of their heart').
Ephr. 'blindness' ('of their minds').
(5) Mc. iii 5.
Latin. *caecitas* a b e f q vg.
emortua . . . corda c (d) ff i r.
Syriac (sin.). ܡܝܬܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܗܘܢ 'deadness of their heart.'
(pesh. hier.). ܩܫܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܗܘܢ 'hardness of their heart.'
Armenian. 'blindness.'
(6) Mc. vi 52.
Latin. *obcaecatum* f vg.
obtusum a b c d i r (ff *contusum*).
Syriac (sin.). ܥܘܝܪ 'blind.'
(pesh.). ܡܥܒܝܢ (used for ἐπαχύνθη Mt. xiii 15, Act. xxviii 27) 'fattened,' and so 'stupid.'
Armenian. 'stupefied' as with deep sleep.
(7) Mc. viii 17.
Latin. *caecatum* f vg.
obtusum (*-a*) a b c d ff i.
Syriac (sin.). ܡܥܘܪ 'blinded.'
(pesh.). ܩܫܝܐ 'hard.'
Armenian. 'stupefied' as with amazement.
(8) Jo. xii 40.
Latin. *indurauit* a b e f ff q vg.
D τετυφλωκεν αυτων την καρδιαν } omitting the inter-
d excaecauit eorum cor } vening words.
hebetauit Vig. Taps.
Syriac (pesh.). ܐܚܫܟܘ 'they have darkened' (=σκοτίζω elsewhere).
(sin cu defective).
Armenian. 'stupefied' as with amazement.

In the great majority of cases the Latin interpretation is either *caecitas* or *obtusio.* On the second of these words something needs to be said. *Obtundere* means to beat and so to blunt (e. g. the edge of a sword). Then it is applied metaphorically: 'aciem oculorum obtundit' Plin.; 'obtundit auditum' Plin.; 'multa quae acuant mentem, multa quae

obtundant' Cic.; 'obtundat eneruetque aegritudinem' Cic. *Obtusus* is similarly used: 'mihi autem non modo ad sapientiam caeci uidemur, sed ad ea ipsa, quae aliqua ex parte cerni uideantur, hebetes et obtusi' Cic.; so often of sight: and also of hearing, 'obtusae aures': and of the mind, 'sensus oculorum atque aurium hebetes, uigor animi obtusus.' So again the adverb: 'crocodili in aqua obtusius uident, in terra acutissime' Solin.

Ambrosiaster's comment on 2 Cor. iii 14 well illustrates the force of *obtusi*: 'quae obtusio infidelitatis causa obuenit: ideo conuersis ad fidem acuitur acies mentis, ut uideant diuini luminis splendorem.' *Obtusus* is the opposite of *acutus*. There is no idea of 'hardness' in the word. *Obtusio* therefore was admirably adapted to express the sense of moral obtuseness or blindness conveyed by πώρωσις.

The remarkable rendering *emortua corda* in some Old Latin MSS of Mc. iii 5 corresponds to the variant νεκρώσει which appears only in Codex Bezae[1]. This variant has received unexpected support through the discovery of the Sinaitic Syriac.

In one passage only (Jo. xii 40) does the Latin render by *indurauit*. Here it is to be noted that *excaecauit* could not be used, as it had occurred just before to render τετύφλωκεν. There appears to be no manuscript authority for the rendering of Vigilius Tapsensis, *hebetauit*.

The Peshito Syriac always interprets in the sense of 'blindness' in St. Paul: in St. Mark it has 'hardness' twice, and 'fatness' once: in St. John it has 'darkness.'

The Sinaitic Syriac has 'blindness' twice in St. Mark, and 'deadness' once, where however it is rendering νέκρωσις. In St. John its reading is not preserved. The Curetonian Syriac fails us at all these points, as also does the Armenian version of Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron[2].

(*b*) Commentators.

Origen.

In Matth. t. xi c. 14 (Ru. III 498), after having twice used ἐτύφλωσεν in reference to 2 Cor. iv 4, he speaks of those who are 'not the planting of God, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πωρώσαντος αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ κάλυμμα ἐπιθέντος αὐτῇ.'

[1] It is to be noted that in Tischendorf's note 'D' is omitted *per incuriam* after 'νεκρώσει.' It would seem to be due to this that in Wordsworth and White's Vulgate νεκρώσει is said to be found in no Greek MS.

[2] In regard to the Coptic I owe my brother Forbes Robinson the following information. The root used in all cases is ⲑⲱⲙ (Sah. ⲧⲱⲙ), 'to shut': cf. Matt. xxii 12, where ὁ δὲ ἐφιμώθη is rendered, 'but he, his mouth was shut.' It is found also in Eph. ii 14 for φραγμός. It renders τυφλοῦν in 2 Cor. iv 4, 1 Jo. ii 11, and in Jo. xii 40 'He hath shut (ⲑⲱⲙ) their eyes and He hath shut (ⲑⲱⲙ) their heart.' A longer form, derived from the same root, is used in both dialects of shutting a door: but the simple form is not so used in the New Testament.

In Matth. t. xvi c. 3 (Ru. III 711), πωρωθέντες τὴν διάνοιαν κ[αὶ] τυφλωθέντες τὸν λογισμὸν οὐκ ἔβλεπον τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἁγίων γραμμάτων.

In Joan. fragm. (Brooke II 297 f.), ἀναφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν πονηρόν . . τυφλώσαντα τινῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πηρώσαντα [*lege* πωρώσαντα] αὐτῶν τ[ὴν] καρδίαν . . . ἄλλος οὖν ὁ τυφλῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πωρῶν τὰς καρδίας, κ[αὶ] ἄλλος ὁ ἰώμενος κ.τ.λ.

Ibid. p. 301, τῆς δεσποτικῆς καὶ σωτηρίου διδασκαλίας ἡ ἀστραπὴ τυφλοὺς κα[ὶ] πεπωρωμένους ἐστηλίτευσε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.

These are the only relevant passages which I have been able to fin[d] in the Greek of Origen. They all suggest that he took πωροῦν in the sense of the destruction of moral or intellectual sight.

In Ep. ad Rom. l. viii c. 8 (Ru. IV 631), 'sed excaecati sunt spiritu compunctionis' (= ἀλλ' ἐπωρώθησαν πνεύματι κατανύξεως).

Ibid. 'et hic enim oculos et aures cordis, non corporis, dicit, quibus excaecati sunt et non audiunt.'

Ibid. c. 12 (Ru. IV 639), 'pro his qui caecitate decepti, id est, cordis obtusione [= πωρώσει] prolapsi sunt . . . cum uero . . . coepisset Israel discutere a semetipso caecitatem cordis, et eleuatis oculis suis Christum uerum lumen aspicere,' &c.

In Gen. hom. vii 6 (Ru. II 80), commenting on Gen. xxi 19, 'God opened her eyes,' he quotes Rom. xi 25 and says, 'ista est ergo caecitas [= πώρωσις] in Agar, quae secundum carnem genuit: quae tamdiu in ea permanet, donec uelamen literae auferatur per euangelium dei et uideat aquam uiuam. nunc enim iacent Iudaei circa ipsum puteum, sed oculi eorum clausi sunt . . . aperti ergo sunt oculi nostri, et de litera legis uelamen ablatum est.'

In Levit. hom. i 1 (Ru. II 185), after quoting 2 Cor. iii 16, he says, 'ipse igitur nobis dominus, ipse sanctus spiritus deprecandus est, ut omnem nebulam omnemque caliginem, quae peccatorum sordibus concreta uisum nostri cordis obscurat, auferre dignetur,' &c.

In all these passages it would seem that not only the translator, but also Origen himself, interpreted πώρωσις in the sense of 'blindness.' I can find but one passage that looks in another direction; but it does not disprove our view of his ordinary use of the word.

In Exod. hom. vi 9 (Ru. II 149 f.), commenting on Ex. xv 16 ἀπολιθωθήτωσαν, ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ὁ λαός σου, he says (quoting Rom. xi 25): '*caecitas* [= πώρωσις] enim *ex parte contigit in Israel* secundum carnem, *donec plenitudo gentium subintroiret*: cum enim plenitudo gentium subintrauerit, tunc etiam omnis Israel, qui per incredulitatis duritiam factus fuerat sicut lapis, saluabitur.'

This comment shows that Origen recognised the derivation of πώρωσις from πῶρος, a kind of stone, and that upon occasion he was prepared to

play upon it; but it does not prove that he would ordinarily have taken it to mean 'hardness.'

CHRYSOSTOM.

Cramer *catena in Jo.* xii 40 οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν . . . τοὺς δὲ δυστρόπους τυφλωθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου.

Hom. vii *in* 2 *Cor.* (ed. Ben. X 483 f.) ἡ γὰρ πώρωσις γνώμης ἐστὶν ἀναισθήτου καὶ ἀγνώμονος . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὄψει Μωϋσέως οὐ διὰ Μωϋσέα ἔκειτο [sc. τὸ κάλυμμα] ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τούτων παχύτητα καὶ σαρκικὴν γνώμην.

Hom. xiii *in Ephes.* (XI 96) ἀπὸ τούτου ἡ πώρωσις, ἀπὸ τούτου ἡ σκοτομήνη τῆς διανοίας. ἔστι γὰρ φωτὸς λάμψαντος ἐσκοτίσθαι, ὅταν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀσθενεῖς ὦσιν· ἀσθενεῖς δὲ γίνονται ἢ χυμῶν ἐπιρροῇ πονηρῶν ἢ ῥεύματος πλημμύρᾳ. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὅταν ἡ πολλὴ ῥύμη τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων τὸ διορατικὸν ἡμῶν ἐπικλύσῃ τῆς διανοίας, ἐν σκοτώσει γίνεται. καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ὕδατι κατὰ βάθους κείμενοι τὸν ἥλιον οὐκ ἂν δυνηθείημεν ὁρᾶν, ὥσπερ τινὸς διαφράγματος τοῦ πολλοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐπικειμένου ὕδατος· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς διανοίας γίνεται πώρωσις καρδίας, τουτέστιν ἀναισθησία, ὅταν μηδεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν κατασείῃ φόβος . . . πώρωσις δὲ οὐδαμόθεν γίνεται ἀλλ' ἢ ἀπὸ ἀναισθησίας· τοῦτο διαφράττει τοὺς πόρους· ὅταν γὰρ ῥεῦμα πεπηγὸς εἰς ἕνα συνάγηται τόπον, νεκρὸν γίνεται τὸ μέλος καὶ ἀναίσθητον.

Here he is trying to get at the meaning of a word which puzzles him. He fancies that it is derived from πόρος, and denotes an obstruction of the pores, producing insensibility. We shall see in a moment (note 1 on this page) that the word was often written πόρωσις: indeed in Cramer's Catena, which quotes an earlier part of Chrysostom's comment at this place, it is so spelt.

On the other hand it is to be noted that in commenting on Heb. iii 12 he says (XII 63 c): ἀπὸ γὰρ σκληρότητος ἡ ἀπιστία γίνεται· καὶ καθάπερ τὰ πεπωρωμένα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ σκληρὰ οὐκ εἴκει ταῖς τῶν ἰατρῶν χερσίν, οὕτω καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ σκληρυνθεῖσαι οὐκ εἶκον τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Among later Greek commentators we find occasional references to σκληροκαρδία in connexion with the passages in which πώρωσις is mentioned: but the interpretation 'insensibility' or 'moral blindness' is generally maintained.

IV.

Instead of πωροῦν and πώρωσις we have the variants πηροῦν and πήρωσις in the following MSS[1]:

Mc. iii 5. 17.20.
 viii 17. D (πεπη̈ρωμενη *sic*).

[1] Forms in πορ- or πορρ- are also found: Mc. iii 5 in Γ h^harl ser; vi 52 in X Γ al; viii 17 in Γ; Rom. xi 25 in L al pauc; Eph. iv 18 in P 17 Cramer^cat. So too in Job xvii 7 (referred to above), while ℵ^c.a A have πεπήρωνται, some cursives have πεπόρωνται.

Jo. xii 40. ℵ[1] Π p^scr** (Did. *de Trin.* i 19) [Π had at first ἐπηρώτησεν]
63.122.259. (these three have πεπήρωκεν).
Ro. xi 7. 66**.

This confusion may be taken as corroborative evidence of the fact which we have already learned from the versions, that πώρωσις was very commonly regarded as equivalent to 'blindness,' a meaning at which πήρωσις also had arrived from a very different starting point [2].

V.

Πηρός and πεπηρωμένος signify 'maimed' or 'defective' in some member of the body, eye or ear, hand or foot. Frequently the member is defined, as in the epigram, Anthol. Palat. ix 11 1 πηρὸς ὁ μὲν γυίοις, ὁ δ' ἄρ' ὄμμασι.

But πηρός and its derivatives, when used absolutely in the later Greek literature, very frequently denote 'blindness.' This was fully recognised by the old lexicographers (e. g. Suidas πηρός· ὁ παντάπασι μὴ ὁρῶν), but it appears to have somewhat fallen out of sight in recent times. It may be well therefore to give some passages by way of establishing this usage.

Plutarch *Timol.* 37 ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἀπημβλύνθη τὴν ὄψιν, εἶτα τελέως ἐπηρώθη μετ' ὀλίγον (and, lower down, πήρωσις and πεπηρωμένος).

Id. *Isis* 55 λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Ὥρου νῦν μὲν ἐπάταξε νῦν δ' ἐξελὼν κατέπιεν ὁ Τυφὼν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, εἶτα τῷ ἡλίῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε, πληγὴν μὲν αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν κατὰ μῆνα μείωσιν τῆς σελήνης, πήρωσιν δὲ τὴν ἔκλειψιν, κ. τ. λ.

Philo *de somniis* i 5 οὐ παντάπασιν ἀμβλεῖς καὶ πηροὶ γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ' ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι κ. τ. λ.

Lucian *de domo* 28, 29 Ἥλιος . . . ἰᾶται τὴν πήρωσιν of Orion who is blind.

[1] In connexion with cod. ℵ it should be noted that the *Shepherd* of Hermas has two allusions to these Gospel passages, Mand. iv 2 1, xii 4 4; in the former of these ℵ reads πεπήρωται for πεπώρωται, at the latter it is not extant. [Of the Latin versions of the *Shepherd* the Vulgata or Old Latin has *obturatum est*, the Palatine *excaecatum est*, in Mand. iv 2 1; in Mand. xii 4 4 the Vulgata has *obtusum est*, while the Palatine is defective.]

I insert at this point two curiosities: (1) in Acts v 3 ℵ* reads διατί ἐπήρωσεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου; and there may be some connexion between this variant and the more widespread one ἐπείρασεν, *tentauit*: (2) at John xvi 6 (ἡ λύπη πεπλήρωκεν ὑμῶν τὴν καρδίαν) Tischendorf notes: 'go πεπώρωκεν (*obduravit*, ut xii 40).' I owe to Dr. Skeat the following information: the Gothic in both places has *gadaubida*, 'hath deafened' (Goth. *daub-s* = Eng. 'deaf'); in Mc. iii 5, viii 17 (vi 52 *vacat*) the same root is used: 'the root-sense of "deaf" seems to be "stopped up"—well expressed in Eng. by *dumb* or *dummy*, and in Gk. by τυφλός, which is radically the same word as *deaf* and *dumb*.'

[2] The two words are brought together in the comment of Euthymius Zigabenus on Eph. iv 18 πώρωσις δὲ καὶ ἀναισθησία καρδίας ἡ πήρωσις τοῦ διορατικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃ πηροῖ ἐπιρροὴ παθῶν καὶ πλημμύρα ἡδονῶν.

Justin Martyr *Tryph.* 12 ἔτι γὰρ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν πέφρακται, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν πεπήρωνται, καὶ πεπάχυται ἡ καρδία.

Ibid. 33 τὰ δὲ ὦτα ὑμῶν πέφρακται καὶ αἱ καρδίαι πεπήρωνται [in marg. codicis πεπώρωνται].

Id. *Apol.* i 22 χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ ἐκ γενετῆς †πονηροὺς† ὑγιεῖς πεποιηκέναι αὐτὸν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγεῖραι. Here we must obviously read πηρούς with the older editors. Compare *Tryph.* 69 τοὺς ἐκ γενετῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα πηρούς, where the context requires the meaning 'blind.' So too we have in the Clementine Homilies xix 22 περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς πηροῦ καὶ ἀναβλεψαμένου, and in Apost. Const. v 7, 17 (Lagarde 137, 11) τῷ ἐκ γενετῆς πηρῷ. The expression comes ultimately from St. John ix 1 τυφλὸν ἐκ γενετῆς.

The Ancient Homily, called the Second Epistle of Clement, c. 1, offers an example of the same confusion between πηρός and πονηρός. Πηροὶ ὄντες τῇ διανοίᾳ is the reading of cod. A, and is supported by the Syriac rendering 'blind': but cod. C has πονηροί. Lightfoot renders, 'maimed in our understanding,' and cites Arist. *Eth. Nic.* i 10 τοῖς μὴ πεπηρωμένοις πρὸς ἀρετήν (where, however, πεπηρωμένος may quite well mean 'blinded'), and Ptolemaeus *ad Flor.* (in Epiphan. *Haer.* xxxiii 3, p. 217) μὴ μόνον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος πεπηρωμένων. The context, however, in the Homily appears decisive in favour of 'blinded': for the next sentence proceeds: ἀμαύρωσιν οὖν περικείμενοι καὶ τοιαύτης ἀχλύος γέμοντες ἐν τῇ ὁράσει, ἀνεβλέψαμεν κ.τ.λ. Compare Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilles (Wirth, Leipsic, 1890) c. 21 πηρὸς ὢν διὰ προσευχῆς τῆς Δομετίλλας ἀνέβλεψεν.

Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* c. 10 § 124 ὀμμάτων μὲν οὖν ἡ πήρωσις καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἡ κώφωσις.

Celsus *ap. Orig. c. Cels.* iii 77 αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς ὀξὺ βλέποντας ὡς πεπηρωμένους.

Id. *ibid.* vi 66 κολάζεσθαι τὴν ὄψιν καὶ βλάπτεσθαι καὶ νομίζειν πηροῦσθαι.

Euseb. *H. E.* ix 8 1 κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν διαφερόντως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γινόμενον (τὸ νόσημα) μυρίους ὅσους ἄνδρας ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ πηροὺς ἀπειργάζετο: *ibid.* ix 10 15 πηρὸν αὐτὸν ἀφίησιν.

Chrys. *Hom.* vi *in Eph.* (on Eph. iii 2: of St. Paul's conversion) καὶ τὸ πηρῶσαι τῷ φωτὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀπορρήτῳ.

Certain words or special usages of words are sometimes found in the early literature of a language, and more particularly in its poetry, and are then lost sight of only to reappear in its latest literature: meanwhile they have lived on in the talk of the people. Πηρός would seem to have a history of this kind. For in Homer *Il.* ii 599 we read of Thamyris, the minstrel who challenged the Muses:

αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν.

The simplest interpretation is that they made him *blind*, and further punished him by taking away the blind man's supreme solace. Aristarchus says that πηρός does not mean 'blind' here; but his reason is not convincing: 'because,' he says, 'Demodocus was blind and yet sang very well.' This shows at any rate that Aristarchus knew that πηρός could mean 'blind': and indeed Euripides (quoted by Dr. Leaf *in loc.*) so took it.

SUMMARY.

We find then the following significations of πώρωσις[1]:

(1) turning into πῶρος:

(2) more generally, the process of petrifaction:

(3) a concomitant of petrifaction, insensibility:

(4) with no reference to hardness at all, insensibility of flesh (due to excessive fat):

(5) again with no reference to hardness, insensibility of the organs of sight, and so obscuration of the eyes.

At this point the word has practically reached the same meaning as had been reached from quite another starting-point by πήρωσις. The two words are confounded in MSS, and perhaps were not always distinguished by authors at a still earlier period.

In the New Testament obtuseness or intellectual blindness is the meaning indicated by the context; and this meaning is as a rule assigned by the ancient translators and commentators.

There seems to be no word in biblical English which quite corresponds to πώρωσις. The A. V. gives 'hardness' in the Gospels, and 'blindness' in the Epistles. 'Hardness' has the advantage of recalling the primary signification of the word. But this advantage is outweighed by the introduction of a confusion with a wholly different series of words, viz. σκληρύνειν, σκληρότης, σκληροκαρδία. These words convey the idea of stiffness, stubbornness, unyieldingness, obduracy; whereas πώρωσις is numbness, dullness or deadness of faculty. In σκληροκαρδία the heart is regarded as the seat of the will: in πώρωσις τῆς καρδίας it is regarded as the seat of the intellect. We feel the difference at once if we contrast the passages in which the heart of the disciples is said to be πεπωρωμένη (Mc. vi 52, viii 17) with the words in [Mc.] xvi 14, ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν, ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγηγερμένον ἐκ νεκρῶν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν—a stubborn refusal to accept the evidence of eye-witnesses[2]. So in Rom. ii 5 obstinacy is denoted by σκληρότης: κατὰ

[1] I omit from this summary the technical usages of the medical writers referred to above.

[2] The idea conveyed by καρδία πεπωρωμένη, on the other hand, is nearer to that of ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν κ.τ.λ. in Lc. xxiv 25.

δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργήν: compare Acts xix 9 ὡς δέ τινες ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ ἠπείθουν[1].

If 'hardness' does not always suggest to an English ear unbendingness or obstinacy, its other meaning of unfeelingness or cruelty (for we commonly regard the heart as the seat of the emotions[2]) is equally removed from the sense of πώρωσις.

For these reasons 'hardness' cannot, I think, be regarded as other than a misleading rendering of πώρωσις: and 'hardening' (R. V.) is open to the further objection that it lays a quite unnecessary stress on the process, whereas the result is really in question.

'Blindness of heart' comes nearer to the meaning than 'hardness of heart'; and 'their minds were blinded' is far more intelligible in its context than 'their minds were hardened.' The objection to it is that it introduces an alien metaphor. 'Deadness,' however, is open to a like objection; and 'dullness' is too weak. 'Numbness' and 'benumbed' are not for us biblical words, nor would they quite suit some of the contexts, but they might be useful marginal alternatives. On the whole, therefore, it would seem best to adopt 'blindness' and 'blinded' as being the least misleading renderings: and in John xii 40 to say, 'He hath blinded their eyes and darkened their hearts.'

The length of this discussion may perhaps be justified by a reference to the unproved statements which are found in Grimm's Lexicon (ed. Thayer), such as 'πωρόω . . . (πῶρος, hard skin, a hardening, induration) *to cover with a thick skin, to harden by covering with a callus,*' 'πώρωσις τῆς καρδίας [*hardening of heart*], of stubbornness, obduracy.' The note in Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 314, is more careful, but yet contains the explanation that 'a covering has grown over the heart,' and throws doubt on the usage of πηρός to which I have called attention ('perhaps occasionally used of blindness'). My object has been to investigate a very rare word, the ancient interpretation of which appears to me to have been too lightly thrown aside; and I shall be most grateful if others can offer fresh material or guide me to a better conclusion.

J. Armitage Robinson.

[1] It is interesting to note in our Litany the petitions for deliverance (1) 'from all blindness of heart,' (2) 'from hardness of heart, and contempt of Thy word and commandment': the latter is shown by the context to represent σκληροκαρδία, while the former doubtless corresponds to πώρωσις τῆς καρδίας.

[2] Compare Burns's lines in his 'Epistle to a Young Friend':

I waive the quantum of the sin,
The hazard of concealin':
But och, it hardens a' within,
And petrifies the feelin'.

1. ANOTHER INDICATION OF THE SYRIAC ORIGIN OF THE ACTS OF THOMAS.

I HAVE already given my reasons in the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES (vol. i 280 ff) for believing that the Acts of Thomas were originally composed in Syriac. The importance of this result, if accepted, for the study of the early tendencies of the Syriac-speaking Church must be my excuse for returning to the subject.

Towards the end of his final prayer Judas Thomas says (*Wright* 316[6, 7])—

ܠܐ ܢܬܪܓܫܘܢ ܒܝ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ. ܘܫܠܝ̈ܛܢܐ ܥܠܝ ܠܐ ܢܬܡܠܟܘܢ.

This is translated by Wright (p. 282): 'The powers shall not perceive me, nor the rulers take counsel against me.' The meaning of the first clause of this sentence is not very clear, and it certainly does not become clearer in the Greek (*Bonnet* 91[19, 20]), which has

μὴ αἴσθωνταί μου αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ οἱ ἐξουσιασταί, καὶ μηδὲν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐνθυμηθῶσιν[1].

Dr. Wright's rendering of the Syriac was here, as in some other places, influenced by the Greek: that is to say, where two renderings of the Syriac are possible, he chose the rendering which agreed with the Greek. This was only natural and proper, as long as the Greek was assumed to be the original language of these Acts. But ܢܬܪܓܫܘܢ ܒܝ, which Dr. Wright translated 'perceive me,' may also mean 'be stirred against me.' This meaning of the Syriac verb is not very common, but ܪܓܫ is certainly used of the stirring of the feelings in a passage of the Severus Catena ascribed to St. Ephraim (*Ed. Rom.* iv 439 f).

There is, however, one very familiar passage where the word is used in this sense in the Peshitta, viz. Psalm ii 1, 2: in fact, most of the passages in Syriac literature which are quoted in dictionaries for this sense resolve themselves into allusions to or imitations of the Psalm. The passage runs thus in the Syriac Bible, both in the Psalms and in the Peshitta text of Acts iv 25, 26:—

ܠܡܢܐ ܪܓܫܘ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ. ܘܐܡܘܬܐ ܪܢܝ ܣܪܝܩܘܬܐ. ܩܡܘ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ
ܘܫܠܝ̈ܛܢܐ. ܘܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܐܟܚܕܐ. ܥܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܗ.

It is only necessary, I think, to put the passage quoted above from the Acts of Thomas side by side with Psalm ii 1, 2, to explain the form of the sentence and the use of the words ܢܬܪܓܫܘܢ and ܫܠܝ̈ܛܢܐ. We must therefore translate: 'Let not the powers be stirred against me nor the rulers take counsel against me.' In other words, it is an allusion to the Psalms, yet an allusion of a kind which could hardly have been intro-

[1] Another MS has *μὴ δέ* instead of *μηδέν*. Wright's Syriac is confirmed by the sixth-century palimpsest at Sinai (*Studia Sinaitica* ix, p. 33).

duced by a translator. In place of the 'heathen' mentioned by the Psalmist we have the 'powers' of evil. But the allusion to the Psalm disappears altogether in the Greek: it is therefore hard to believe that the Greek is not the translation and the Syriac the original.

2. ON TWO EARLY IRISH HYMNS.

THE Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, so admirably edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Dr. J. H. Bernard and Dr. R. Atkinson, is a collection of hymns and prayers in Latin and Irish which were used in the early Celtic Church. The editors have pointed out that in two at least of these hymns, the *Audite omnes* of St. Sechnall and the *Altus Prositor* of St. Columba, the Biblical allusions go back to Old Latin texts and not to the Vulgate. This circumstance, of course, is a strong argument in favour of the antiquity of these two hymns, as it is a feature which writers of the eighth and succeeding centuries would have been quite unable to produce. By accident some of the clearest indications of Old Latin influence have been left unnoticed by the editors; in view, therefore, of the general interest which attaches to all the earliest surviving monuments of Christianity in these islands it may be well to bring the evidence forward.

1. The hymn of which the first line is

Altus Prositor uetustus Dierum et ingenitus

describes in ll. 110–115 the Last Judgement, in words derived from Ezek. xxxvii. In ll. 111–113 we read

Erumpent munitissima Claustra ac poliandria
Mundi presentis † frigora † Hominum liquescentia
Undique conglobantibus Ad compagines ossibus.

The editors (vol. ii p. 145) very truly remark that the use of *compago* instead of *iunctura* indicates the use of the Old Latin rather than the Vulgate. But the use of *poliandrium* 'a cemetery' in this passage is surely derived from the LXX, for the valley of 'Hamon-Gog' in Ezek. xxxix 11 ff, where the bones of Israel's enemies are to be collected, is called in the Greek τὸ πολυάνδριον τοῦ Γώγ. But this is lost in the Latin Vulgate, which has *multitudo* and *Amona*. The word *polyandrium* appears in the quotations from Ambrose and Jerome given by Sabatier.

2. The hymn of St. Secundinus, whose Irish name was Sechnall, is an unrhymed Latin acrostic poem in praise of St. Patrick. The absence of rhyme is in itself an indication of antiquity. The editors also point out that l. 8

unde et in caelis patrem magnificant dominum

contains a reference to Matt. v 16 with the reading *magnificent* instead

of *glorificent*. *Magnificent* is the reading of Wordsworth's E and R, and also of the Old Latin MSS *a b g h q* (r_2)—i. e. it is the reading of the European group.

Other noteworthy points of contact in this hymn with Old Latin readings are:—

l. 12 *inferni* (for 'inferi' Matt. xvi 18): many MSS, including BELQRX*Z *a f ff* [non liquet *r*]

l. 18 *cum usuris* (for 'cum usura' Matt. xxv 27): EQ r_2 *f g h* [*om.* R *r*]

l. 45 *maximus* (for 'magnus' Matt. v 19): R Cyp$^2/_2$ Hier Vict.-Tun [*om.* D r_2]

l. 66 *uestimento nuptiali* (for 'ueste nuptiali' Matt. xxii 11, 12): *a e* and apparently the ancestor of r_2, which has 'uestimentum ueste nuptiale.'

The distribution of documents practically speaks for itself. But the reading *maximus* in l. 45 is of curious interest, as there is early evidence that it excited surprise when the Vulgate reading had become alone familiar. According to the Irish story, translated in *Liber Hymnorum* ii 4 f, the *Audite omnes* was the first hymn made in Ireland, and the occasion of it was when St. Sechnall and St. Patrick had made up a quarrel. 'Now when Sechnall had finished making this eulogy, he went to show it to Patrick, to whom he said, "I have made a eulogy for a certain son of life, and I should like thee to hear it." "My welcome to a eulogy of any of the household of God," said Patrick. But Sechnall began his hymn at *Beata Christi*, that Patrick should not hear for whom it was made till the whole should have been recited. However, when Sechnall uttered *Maximus in regno caelorum*, Patrick said, "How could *homo* be *maximus in caelo?*" Sechnall said "*Pro positiuo positus est hic superlatiuus*."' This little story clearly shows that *maximus uocabitur*, the reading of St. Cyprian as well as of St. Sechnall, was likely to give offence. Now the only MS which retains *maximus* in Matt. v 19 is Wordsworth's R, the well-known Rushworth Gospels, the Latin text of which was written by an Irish scribe named Mac Regol, though the Anglo-Saxon gloss was inserted when the MS was at Harewood in Yorkshire. The fact of the survival of *maximus*, producing a reading which might be misunderstood, explains why two other Irish MSS, the 'Book of Armagh' (D) and the 'Garland of Howth' (r_2), omit the clause altogether. Cod. Usserianus (*r*), the leading Irish MS, is here missing. In any case the presence of *maximus* in the Rushworth Gospels is an excellent illustration of the really Irish character of its text.

F. C. BURKITT.

ON SOME MSS OF THE WRITINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS: PART I.

SOME years ago I examined the texts of Athanasius' *De Incarnatione Verbi* in all the MSS in which I was able to discover this treatise. It is possible that a brief account of these MSS, and of others with which I became acquainted in the course of my inquiry, together with such an estimate as I was able to form of their mutual relations, may to some extent lighten the labours of a future editor of the writings of this father.

De Montfaucon's splendid Benedictine edition is imperfect as a presentment of the text. With several of the MSS, including one of the thirteenth century, he was altogether unacquainted: the readings of others were known to him only through earlier and inaccurate editions: hence his *apparatus criticus* of the text is frequently at fault. Of several which he knew at first or second hand—the Codex Goblerianus and the MSS used by P. Felckmann—he gives no account: these it has been necessary to trace and identify. Lastly, he makes no attempt to discover the genealogical relations of these MSS.

In the endeavour to supply what is wanting, I have been assisted by two old friends, the Rev. A. E. Brooke, B.D., Fellow and Dean of King's College, Cambridge, and the Rev. H. S. Cronin, B.D., Dean of Trinity Hall, who gave valuable help, the former at Geneva, the latter at Paris. But I am principally indebted to the Rev. Archibald Robertson, D.D., Principal of King's College, London, who most kindly allowed me to consult him during the whole of my investigation, and has sent me many valuable suggestions.

I. The earliest MS I have seen is that most frequently cited by Montfaucon as Codex Regius (in *Orationes I, II contra Arianos* he refers to another MS under this title; in *Oratio III* that MS is cited as Reg. 2, and this as Reg. 1): I will call it R.

R: saec. xi: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 474 (formerly numbered 2284): parchment, 458 folios arranged in quaternions, signed at the bottom left-hand corner of the recto of the first folio: measuring $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches: written by the same hand throughout. Double hard-point lines on each side of the page: letters hanging from lines across page: about 36 letters to a line: 31 lines to a page. Red letters, larger than the rest, at the beginning of a line where there is, or has just been, a break in the sense. The MS is bound in red calf: on each cover there is a scutcheon containing three fleurs-de-lys surmounted by a crown.

Three leaves have been inserted at the beginning of the volume. The

first, marked A, by a later hand than that of the transcriber of the MS, is headed πίναξ ἀκριβὴς τῆς παρούσης πύκτιδος, and contains a list of the treatises. This list nearly fills both sides of the leaf. At the bottom of the verso is written + 7ω· σαφῦ ῡνς (approximately = the number of the folios). The second and third, marked B, C, are much later, and contain a Latin 'tabula voluminis.'

On fol. 1 *a* begins the first treatise, which is the *Oratio III contra Arianos*. No proper title is prefixed: probably the scribe hoped to write an elaborate title afterwards, and forgot it. By various hands are written (i) † βιβλίον δογματικὸν τοῦ ἐν ἁγ. πρ̄ς ἡμῶν ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου κατὰ ἀρειανῶν, (ii)—written in a slanting direction, and obviously not intended to be the permanent title—τοῦ μεγ. ἁγι. πρ̄ς. ἡμῶν διδασκ. ἀθαν. κατὰ αρειανῶν, (iii) κτῆμα μονῆς τοῦ κυ. διονυσίου, (iv) a notice which has so much faded that I was able to read only the word δόγματος, (v) † ἡ βίβλος αὕτη, τῆς μονῆς τῆς κυρίζου. Nos. (ii) and (iv) appear to be rather older than (v), which I think is the work of the writer of the pinax. On the recto of the last leaf the concluding treatise is followed by † σὺν χω̄ τελειώσαντι δόξα καὶ χάρις †, and this by another faded notice of which I could read only † ου . . . τῆς κυρίζου δῖα ῑῡ χυ ἐγένετο † . . . ὅταν ἐπέλθοι υπόλης μοναχὸς ἀπο τῆς αγίας σωφήας. . . . On the verso is a lament over the fall of Constantinople, by a late hand. The monastery of Dionysius is that on Mt. Athos founded by John Alexius III Comnenus of Trebizond, in 1385: κύριζος I suppose is Cariez, the capital of Athos, mentioned in Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*. The MS seems to have been taken thither from Constantinople.

The first treatise is not numbered: the second is κβ̄, the *Ep. I ad Serapionem* κγ̄, and so on. They are numbered in the pinax 1, 2, 6, &c.; for the three treatises following the *Oratio IV c. Arianos* are numbered separately there, although not in the MS: 7–23 (pinax) = 24–40 (MS): 41–69 (MS) are not separately numbered in the pinax, which however does number the διαμαρτυρία δευτέρα at the end of the *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, and also the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*.

The contents of the MS are as follows (I have given Montfaucon's short titles of the treatises as they appear in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, *S. Athanasii Opera*, Tomi xxv–xxviii, and the number attached to each in the MS):—

Oratio III contra Arianos.
22 Oratio IV contra Arianos.
In illud Omnia mihi tradita sunt, &c.
Περὶ διδασκαλίας or De Doctrina (*Migne*, P. G. xxv 429).
De Sabbatis et Circumcisione.
23 Epistola I ad Serapionem.
24 Epistola II ad Serapionem.
25 Epistola III ad Serapionem.
26 Epistola IV ad Serapionem.
27 De decretis Nicaenae synodi.
28 Eusebii Caesariensis epistola [et symbolum].

29 Depositio Arii et sociorum.
30 Encyclica Alexandri epistola.
31 Concilii Nicaeni epistola adversus Arium.
32 Constantini epist. ad catholicam Alexandriae ecclesiam.
33 Constantini epistola ad episcopos et laicos.
34 Constantinus Ario et sociis.
35 Constantinus aduersus Eusebium et Theognin.
36 Constantinus Theodoto.
37 De sententia Dionysii.
38 Apologia de fuga sua.
39 Apologia contra Arianos: *containing documents numbered separately*,
  40 Conc. Alexandriae epistola.
  41 Epistola Iulii, &c. (*to* 69 *inclusive*).
70 Encyclica epistola.
71 Epistola ad Serapionem de morte Arii.
72 Historia Arianorum ad monachos.
73 De Synodis.
74 Apologia ad Constantium Imp.
75 Epistola ad Ioannem et Antiochum Presbyteros.
76 Epistola ad Palladium.
Epistola ad Dracontium.
78 Epistola ad Afros Episcopos.
Tomus ad Antiochenos.
79 Epistola ad Iouianum: *followed by*
  80 Iouiani Epistola (*in Migne*, P. G. xxvi 813, *No.* 80 *precedes No.* 79).
81 Petitiones Arianorum.
82 In Passionem et Crucem Domini.

Nos. 28–36 are of course not by Athanasius. No. 26 is followed by the note τέλος τοῦ κατὰ ἀρειανῶν καὶ πνευματομαχῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου. At the end of 27 is written ἰστέον ὅτι οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ὀφείλουσι μετὰ τὸν λ'ϛ λόγ. ἤτοι τῶν βασιλεικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. In the margin of 29, τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ β' λόγων ὤφειλε γραφῆναι. In the margin of 37, ζήτει τὸν κ'ζ κ'η λόγον ὄπισθεν καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως τοῦτον τὸν προκειμένον κατ' ἀκολουθίαν.

Nos. 42, 43 are the letters of the Council of Sardica printed in Migne, xxv cc. 312–324. Our scribe marks with asterisks the passage printed between brackets on c. 317 (lines 1–18) in the first letter; and after the heading of the second (No. 43) and the opening words καὶ πρὶν μὲν λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ γράμματα τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν, he adds καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἴσην καταπάντα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς, ἤτοι τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀλεξανδ. πλὴν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τέλος σεσημειωμένων, κατελείφθη ἄγραφος διὰ τὸ μὴ δευτερωθῆναι καὶ τὴν σπουδ. καὶ τὰ χάρτ.

In No. 72 the opening words only of two letters of Constantius are given, with a note (which is correct) that the whole will be found in No. 47, which is one of the documents contained in the *Apologia contra Arianos*.

The original MS from which part at any rate of R was copied placed the *de Synodis* (R's 73) before the *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* (R's 72). This is proved by a note (correctly given in Migne, xxv 796)

H 2

where the scribe takes credit to himself for altering the arrangement, giving his reason. The note ends ὥστε καλῶς πρώτη τέτακται ἡ πρὸς τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ δευτέρα κειμένη.

The numbering of the treatises in R[1] further shows that we have here the second part (or volume) only of a MS: the first part must have contained 20 treatises, of which the last two were probably *Orationes I, II c. Arianos*: the twelfth treatise must have been the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, for in the second part (our R) the treatise ends abruptly, after about a third has been written, and a note is inserted in the margin at the beginning of the fragment προεγράφη εἰς ιβ΄ λόγον τὸ ὅλον. Light will be thrown on these phenomena by a consideration of the next MS.

II. S: saec. xii: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coislin. 45 (formerly numbered 133): parchment, contained originally[2] 435 folios, arranged in quaternions, signed at the bottom right-hand corner of the recto of the first folio (but in many cases this corner has been cut away, probably in the process of binding), and occasionally also on the last folio: 12½ × 8½ inches: written by the same hand throughout. Double hard-point lines on each side of the page: letters hanging from lines across page: about 36 letters to a line: 30 lines to a page. Letters occasionally stand out of the line a little, of the same size as the rest. The MS is bound in brown calf: on each cover there is a scutcheon, containing a chevron, above which are two five-pointed stars, and below a lamb; this is Chancellor Seguier's coat of arms. Inside the first cover is pasted a note '14 Paquet. MSS grecs de St. Germain des Près. Nos. 45=46=47 et 47 bis.'

Several paper sheets have been inserted at the beginning, which are blank, except the last, which contains a Latin table of contents, the work of Montfaucon himself (see his note in the Catalogue of books of the Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Segueriana, Paris 1715). These are followed by a parchment leaf, marked A, containing a list of the treatises (I think in the hand of the scribe of the MS) in red ink (which is not used elsewhere), headed πίναξ ἀκριβεῖς (*sic*) τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ βιβλίου. At the bottom of the recto, after the mention of treatise 16, is written by another hand της ἁγίας μονεῖς.

The first treatise begins on fol. 1 *a*: it is headed τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πρς ἡμῶν ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας· κατὰ εἰδώλων: the last ends on fol. 434 *a*; it is followed by the note which occurs in the same place in R, τέλος τοῦ

[1] See also the note τέλος, κ.τ.λ. at the end of treatise 26.

[2] The leaf which originally followed fol. 312 has been destroyed, perhaps in the binding: only a ragged edge remains. It contained part of *Oratio III c. Arianos* between καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ ἐν and τῷ ἐρωτῶντι ποία ἐντολή (Migne, xxvi c. 332, l. 44 to c. 336, l. 15).

κατὰ ἀρειανῶν καὶ πνευματομάχων τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου. On the verso there is a note in small characters of which I could decipher only the first line—*μῖνη (=μηνὶ) σεπτεβρίου εἰς τὰς ιη̃.*

The following are the treatises, with the numbers attached to them :—

1 Oratio contra Gentes.
2 Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi.
3 De Incarnatione Dei Verbi (*Migne*, xxviii 89).
4 De Incarnatione et contra Arianos.
5 Contra Apollinarium liber primus.
6 Contra Apollinarium liber secundus.
7 Sermo contra omnes haereses.
8 Epistola ad Epictetum.
9 Expositio Fidei.
10 (Pontif. Rom. et Athanasii Epistolae) Liberii Epistola.
11 Athanasii rescriptum ad Liberium.
12 Tomus ad Antiochenos.
13 Contra Sabellianos.
14 Quod unus sit Christus.
15 Epistola ad Adelphium episcopum.
16 Epistola ad Maximum philosophum.
17 In illud, Profecti in Pagum.
Epistola ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae.
19 Oratio I contra Arianos.
20 Oratio II contra Arianos.
21 Oratio III contra Arianos.
22 Oratio IV contra Arianos.
23 In illud, Omnia mihi tradita sunt, &c.
(24) De Doctrina.
(25) De Sabbatis et Circumcisione.
(26) Ep. ad Serapionem I.
(27) Ep. ad Serapionem II.
(28) Ep. ad Serapionem III.
(29) Ep. ad Serapionem IV.

In the last treatise the words *περὶ δὲ οὗ γραφων ἐδήλωσας εὐαγγελικοῦ ῥητοῦ, συγγίγνωσκε* (see Migne, xxvi 648) begin a fresh line. In the margin is written *τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ ῥητοῦ.* A later hand has prefixed *τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ* and has added *ἤτοι τῆς εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον βλασφημίας.*

The numbers after 23 are by a later hand[1], as are also the titles (written in the margin, not in the text) to (24), (25) : no titles were given to these in the pinax which, except for an occasional abbreviation of the title, corresponds exactly with the MS : a later hand, however, has added *κδ̄. περὶ διδασκαλίας, κε̄. περι σαββάτων καὶ περιτομῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐξόδου* and has altered the numbers of the treatises which follow to *κ̄ϛ. . . . κ̄θ.* The same hand has added at the end a separate title and number to the latter part of treatise 29, namely λʹ. *ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ ῥητοῦ ἤτοι τῆς εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον βλασφημίας,* which corresponds with the altered text.

At the end of 2 is written *τέλος τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως λόγου,* and at the end of 18 *τέλος τοῦ κατὰ ἀρειανῶν ᾱ λόγου.* The last words of 20, 21, (25), (29) are written *στοιχηδόν.*

[1] I am not sure whether this is true of the last three titles.

Opposite the title of 7 there is a note ξένος καὶ χυδαῖος. Opposite those of 10 and 12 ζη̄ ἀρ̄ (=ζήτει ἀρχήν). Treatise 18 (not numbered *per incuriam*) is entitled τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις . . . κατὰ ἀρειανῶν λόγος ā, and in the margin is written οὗτος ὁ ἐνταῦθα ā λόγος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων δ̄ φέρεται καὶ σεβῆροσ δὲ ὁ δυσσεβὴσ ἐν τῷ κγ′ κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ γ′ λόγου τῶν κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου ἰῶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καισαρείας παλαιστινησ τοῦ ἀπὸ γραμματικῶν δ̄ τὸν παρόντα λόγον ὀνομάζει ὁ δὲ ἐν ὁσίοις θδ^ω [i. e. θεόδωρος] ὁ ἐπισκοπ̊ τῆς φαρᾶν ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ συγγράμματα καταλελοιπὼς ἀξιάγαστα ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀγνοητῶν αὐτοῦ διαλόγῳ τέταρτον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου κατὰ ἀρειανῶν λόγον ὀνομαζει, τὸν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ τεύχει, τετάρτον κειμένον [i. e. No. 21] οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· οἱ ἀρειομανίται ὡς ἔοικε κρίναντες ἅπαξ ἀπόσταται γενέσθαι. Treatises 19–22 are numbered the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th λόγοι.

It will be seen that treatises 12, 19, 20 are exactly those which we expected to find in the first part of that MS of which R is the second part. It is probable that the scribe of S had before him the two parts of that MS and copied them to the end of R 26 (=S 29). It will be noticed that the concluding treatises of S (21–29) correspond exactly with the first treatises of R (to 26). The titles of the treatises S 26–29 correspond with those of R 23–26. R has no title for 21; his title for 22 has been erased, possibly by the scribe of S. The same notes occur in the margin of both MSS in treatise 22 (τοὺς σαβελλίζοντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἕλληνας ὄντας, ἔρεσθαι οὕτως, again πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ θεῳ σιωπώμενος· ὕστερον δὲ προβέβληται δι᾽ ἡμᾶς (R : S ὑμᾶς) ἵνα ἡμεῖς κτισθῶμεν, again τὰ περὶ σαββατῶν καὶ περιτομῆς ὧδε ἔκειντο [the reference being to S 25], and lastly ἀπόδειξις ἀπὸ τοῦ λευιτικοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ πράγματι διαφόρου ὀνομασίας). Montfaucon's collation of the readings of the two MSS shows how closely they agree: where S varies from R, the variation is due to careless transcription (see esp. Migne, *P. G.* xxvi c. 385 note 77, 405 n. 77, 413 n. 17 and the long omission due to homoeoteleuton c. 425 n. 85). R has suffered erasure since S's transcription was made: thus, the words appearing in S between καὶ ἔργα τυγχάνοντες οὔτε ὥσπερ ἐργάζεται ὁ θεὸς δύνανται ἐργάζεσθαι and οὔτε καθὰ προεῖπον (Migne, xxvi c. 349, l. 32) have been erased in R, leaving a gap large enough for the omitted matter.

I infer that the transcriber of S stopped his work at the end of the fourth Epistle to Serapion on account of the note, quoted above, which occurs there in R, τέλος τοῦ κατὰ ἀρειανῶν, κ.τ.λ.

It will be convenient to notice at this place three descendants of S.

(i) Codex 'Goblerianus' (Montf.): A.D. 1320–21: the work of the reader Romanus: London, British Museum, Harl. 5579: 'liber chartaceus ex Covellianis numb. xix. cum notulis.' The adjective signifies that the MS belonged to John Covel, who became Master of Christ's College,

Cambridge, in 1688. He was formerly Chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople. A MS of the Gospels (Harl. 5776) is reported to contain a notice that the MS was presented to Covel by Daniel, Archbishop of Proconnesus, in 1664 : this MS may have been presented, or bought, at Constantinople at the same time. Certain MSS were bought from Covel by the Earl of Oxford (Robert Harley), and so passed into this collection.

There are 198 folios, measuring 9¾ by 6¾ inches : about thirty-six lines to a page : bound in quinions. The whole, including a very few marginal notes, is the work of one scribe, whose handwriting is very small.

The *contra Gentes* begins at fol. 1. This is preceded by twelve leaves, most of which are blank. The two first, written in the eleventh century, contain Latin liturgical matter [the name of St. Dysibod 'confessor' and 'pontifex' points to the monastery founded by the Irish abbot-bishop of that name (ob. 700 A. D.), and called after him Disenburg, in the diocese of Mainz]. On the eleventh is written, presumably by Covel himself, ἰω ὁ κώβελος ι. γ. γεγραμμένη ετ. 1320. Below, by another hand, the part of Polycrates' letter cited by Eusebius, *H. E.* iii 31 1–3. It is headed Πολυκράτους διαδόχου ἀρχιεπισκώπου ἐφέσου· ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς βίκτορα τὸν διάδοχον καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκωπον τῆς μεγάλης ῥώμης : begins καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀσίαν, and ends ἐν ἐφέσω κεκοίμηται. Except for its substitution of ἀναπέπαυται for ἀναπαύεται, and of ῑῡ for κῡ, the text agrees with Heinichen's. The panegyric on Asia Minor is natural in a Constantinopolitan MS.

On the verso is a pinax in the hand of the transcriber of the MS. The twelfth folio contains a Latin list with references to the Commelinian edition, giving its pagination : there is a note below 'mira lectionum varietas inter hunc librum et impressos.'

On fol. 198 *a* after the conclusion of the last treatise (the doxology is shortened to ἐν χω̄ ἰῡ τῷ κω̄ ἡμῶν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα) is written χειρὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ· ῥωμανῶ ἀναγνώστη. ἔτους ϛω̄κθ. Eleven folios follow all blank except the last two which continue the liturgical matter given at the beginning.

The treatises are the same as those of S and occur in the same order. This MS is copied from that, as the following considerations prove.

There are many intentional omissions, e.g. in the doxologies ἀμήν is omitted at the end of No. 22 ; and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν at the end of 14. Romanus shortens the doxology at the end of 2, writing ᾧ ἡ δόξα for δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ . . . ἀμήν, makes 9 conclude with δόξα κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, and writes nothing at the end of 18 after δι' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ (ἡ) δόξα. Titles of dignity are also omitted, e. g. in 10, τοῦ τρισμακαριωτάτου after λιβερίου, and θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον ἀλεξανδρείας before ἀθανάσιον[1]. He repeats

[1] Compare the omission of ὁ μακάριος before Παῦλος (Migne, xxv c. 132, l. 47), and of ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι θαυμαζόμενος before Πλάτων (ib. c. 173, l. 8). Dr. Robertson

S's note in the margin of 18 (p. 102 *supra*), changing οὗτος ὁ ἐνταῦθα ἃ to ὁ παρών, omitting τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου (*bis*), δέ after σεβῆρος, τοῦ before ἐπισκόπου, τῆς before φαρᾶν, and λόγον and ἐν τῷδε τῷ τεύχει at the end. He adds, however, for the sake of clearness κατὰ ἀρειανῶν· ὡς after φέρεται.

A further proof that this MS has been copied from S may be found in the ending to 4. At the end of this treatise, after the words πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης, Montfaucon points out that S has added two paragraphs which had been omitted in their proper places earlier in the treatise. The scribe of Codex Goblerianus reproduces them just as they stand at the end of the treatise.

His omissions are many, e.g. in the *de Incarnatione* (No. 2), Migne, xxv c. 97, ll. 43–5 τὴν δημιουργίαν . . . ὡρίσατο [the omission of γὰρ παρὰ . . . τοσούτῳ, ib. ll. 14, 15, is due to S's error, as also that of τὸ δὲ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε, c. 101, l. 47]; ὥστε ἀληθῆ φανῆναι τὸν θεόν (c. 108, l. 31), ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἐπέμποντο (c. 117, ll. 26, 27), εἰ δὲ τὸν Μωυσῆ . . . θεόν (c. 165, ll. 42–44), and ὃν δὲ ἐχλεύαζον . . . Χριστόν (c. 189, ll. 43, 44). All except the last are clearly due to homoeoteleuton. His omission of small words—conjunctions and the article—are noticeable (compare the note on 18 quoted above). Thus in a single page of Migne (xxv c. 164) he omits καί six times, and εἰ μή once: also the words σοφωτάτου (l. 22, before Δανιήλ) and ἄνθρωποι (l. 45)[1]. He gives a fictitious appearance of originality to his reproduction of S's note to the seventh treatise (ξένος καὶ χυδαῖος) by writing οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ οὐ τοῦ μεγάλου πρῶ ἀθανασίου ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ ξένος καὶ χυδαῖος ὡς τὰ πλεῖστα.

(ii) Codex Felckmanni I anonymus: saec. xvi: paper, 238 foll. This belongs to a Genevan collection of late MSS of which I will write later. It is a copy of the Goblerianus, written by a scribe who knew little or no Greek. Thus he writes ἐκ προυποκειμένοι καὶ ἀγενητα ὕλης περποιηκίνειν (for πεποιηκέναι), and (for οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν εἰπεῖν, πρὸς τὸ μηδένα αὐτῶν τῶν γινομένων ἀνήκοον εἶναι καὶ πλανηθῆναι) οὐκ ἐφοβήθηαν εἰ πεῖνων πρὸς τὸ μήδεν αὐτων τῶν γενομένων ἀνήκον εἶναι καὶ πλανητεῖν.

(iii) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 475: saec. xvi: paper, 467 foll. This is a copy of S (made before the leaf after fol. 312 had disappeared), with which its contents exactly correspond, somewhat carelessly and unintelligently written. At the end there is a note τέλος τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου καὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξα.

πᾶνθος is written for πένθος, τέκνον for τέκτων, εἰδώλων for διελών, ἐναντίαν ὁμοίοις for ἐν ἀνομοίοις. These mistakes are corrected in the margin. The writer has, however, the wit to be puzzled by an error in S, though he

writes: 'Romanus is a Church "Reader" utterly *blasé* of services, doxologies, &c., and grudges writing even an ἀμήν more than he can help.'

[1] Again in twenty-four lines (xxv c. 124, l. 35–c. 126, l. 5) he has omitted the definite article three times and εἰς twice, and has substituted ἀλλά for ὅλα.

is unable to correct it. A line in that MS ends ἐβράβευσε κατὰ τῶν ἀ: the scribe forgets that he has not written δικούντων, and begins the next [which I think is the first line of a new page] with οὔπω γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυ which should have followed ἀδικούντων. In this MS a gap of about thirty-three letters is left between τῶν ἀ and οὔπω.

S's note at the beginning of 7, ξένος καὶ χυδαῖος, is repeated: that at the beginning of 18 is tamely cut down to οὗτος ὁ παρὼν λόγος ἐν (*sic*) τισι τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν δ' φερεται· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ α'.

If the conclusions we have reached are correct, R is the only independent authority we have so far examined for the treatises that it has preserved, and S for all contained in that MS except treatises 21–29 inclusive.

III. L: saec. xiii: London, British Museum, Burney, 46: parchment, 282 folios, 12½ × 9½ inches, arranged in quaternions, signed at beginning and end: two of the quires (73–79 and 256–262 inclusive) have seven leaves only, but no matter has been omitted: the last quire (279–282) has four leaves. Letters hang from hard-point lines. The first letter of the first treatise, and the ornament above the title, are red: so also the title of the last, and those of its sections. Occasionally the first letter of a line stands out where there has been a change of subject in the line preceding. The ink in many parts of the MS has faded, and has been retraced by a later hand.

The MS is bound in two calf volumes which are lettered 'Codex Burneianus.' The first ends with the words οὐ μετά τινοσ συνπεπλεγμένησ αἰτίασ (these occur at the end of the eighteenth quire: they belong to the *Oratio II c. Arianos* [Migne, xxvi c. 280 l. 22]), and the second begins with the words that follow, ἀλλὰ ἀπολελυμένωσ, κ. τ. λ.

In the middle of fol. 113 *b* occur the words συνήθωσ τὰ προειρημένα ῥήματα τῶν θείων γραφῶν [Migne, xxvi c. 148, ll. 21, 22]: the latter half of the page was left blank by the transcriber, probably on account of the roughness of the parchment: fol. 114 *a* begins with the words τὰ καλῶσ μὲν γεγραμμένα [*ib.*]. So again the whole of fol. 118 *b* has been left blank, but no matter has been omitted, fol. 118 *a* ending ὁ αὐτὸσ καὶ εἰσ τοὺσ αἰῶνασ ἀναλλοιωτόσ ἐστι· διὸ καὶ ὥσ and fol. 119 *a* beginning περὶ τῆσ ἐνανθρωπήσεωσ αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆσ ἀρχιερωσύνησ [Migne, xxvi c. 168, ll. 15–17]. By a much later hand has been written on fol. 113 *b* ἐπὶ σοὶ κ̅ε̅ ἤλπισα μὴ κατεσχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥῦσαί με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με. γενοῦ μοι εἰς θ̅ν̅ ὑπερασπιστὴν καὶ οἶκον ὀχυρὸν τοῦ σῶσαί με [Ps. xxx (xxxi) *vv.* 2, 3 *b*: the spelling κατεσχυνθείην for καταισχ., the omission of 3 *a*, and the reading ὀχυρόν may possibly give some clue to the history of the MS], and below, † εἰς τὰ ὄρη τῶν σῶν ὕψωσάσ με νόμων. ἀρεταῖς ἐκλάμπρυνον ὁ θ̅σ̅ ἵνα ὑμνῶ σε: and again on fol. 118 *b* by the same hand the first six

verses of Ps. xxxiii (xxxiv), εὐλογήσω τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ κ.τ.λ.: opposite the first verse is written ἄφες, sc. 'do not copy this.'

The whole of the MS, including several marginal notes, is, with the above exceptions, written by one hand.

It contains the following treatises :—

1. Oratio contra Gentes.
2. Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi.
3. Disputatio contra Arium.
4. Epistola ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae.
5. Oratio I contra Arianos.
6. Oratio II contra Arianos.
7. Oratio III contra Arianos.
8. De Incarnatione et contra Arianos.
9. Epistola Encyclica.
10. Epistola I ad Serapionem.
11. Epistola II ad Serapionem.
12. Epistola Catholica (*Migne*, xxviii 81).
13. Refutatio hypocrisis Meletii.
14. Epistola ad Epictetum.
15. Contra Apollinarium liber II.
16. Contra Apollinarium liber I.
17. Εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὸ Ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ λόγον, κ.τ.λ. (*Migne*, xxvi 649).
18. De Passione (*Migne*, xxviii 204–8 *only*).
19. Epistola ad Marcellinum.
20. De Virginitate.
21. Testimonia de Communi Essentia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

The last treatise concludes with the words (arranged στοιχηδόν) τῷ κω ἐν π̄ν̄ᾱ ἐστιν. These words occur at the bottom of fol. 282 *b*: the only indications that the MS never contained more matter are the στοιχηδόν arrangement, and the fact that the quire, unlike those which precede, contains only four leaves. There is no subscription, or any notice of the place where, or the scribe by whom, the MS was written.

It will be noticed that Nos. 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 have not appeared in the Paris MSS.

L is the original of three sixteenth-century MSS, which I will call G, M, T. Their agreement with L is very close: the obviously faulty readings of that MS, e. g. ἐννοεῖν (for ἔστι νοεῖν), ἐγκών (for εἰκών), τό (for τοῦτο), περιπολλῶν (for περιπολῶν) are reproduced by all three: the second of these errors, and probably the first, are due not to the original writer of L, but to the retracer of passages where the ink had faded. G contains the same treatises as L, and in the same order: but through 18 (*de passione Dei*) a line is drawn, and a note is inserted—'hoc fragmentum est ex oratione integra cuius titulus idem.' Treatise 21 is followed by the *Quaestiones Aliae* (Migne, xxviii 773–796), to which no title is prefixed: this treatise again by the *Quicumque* in Greek. I do not know from what source these treatises are drawn. M and T omit 18: M gives the *Quicumque*, but T does not. To the title of 3 (*Disputatio contra Arium*), which is given in L as τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάλεκτος

ἐν τῇ κατὰ νικαίαν συνόδῳ πρὸς ἄρειον, G adds *ἐν ἔτη τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως τ̄ ῑ. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως κωνσταντίνου* and in the margin *καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου πάππα σιλβέστρου καὶ ἐπισκόπου βιζαντίου ἀλεξάνδρου*: he appears to be doubtful in writing the last word whether it should end *-ου* or *-είας*. M T follow G, placing in the text of the title the words in G's margin. Again, in all three (but not in L) the *Orationes I, II, III contra Arianos* are reckoned as the second, third and fourth: the *Epistola ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* being apparently reckoned as the first. I believe G to be the original of both M and T.

(i) G: saec. xvi: is the first of three volumes in the Public Library at Geneva (numbered mg 29): paper, arranged in quinions. The MS professes to contain 773 pages. But pp. 21, 22, containing part of the *c. Gentes* (between *τῷ τῆς θεότητος ὀνόματι* and *τοῦτον δὲ οὐ μόνος ἐγώ* Migne, xxv c. 32, l. 41–c. 36, l. 11) are missing, so also pp. 579, 580: and pp. 263 f are wrongly numbered 269 f. The MS is proved by its contents to be that cited by Montfaucon as 'Felckmanni 2 anonymus.'

The following note has been prefixed to the contents of the volume: 'En 1595 on prêta au Sr. Commelin ce Manuscrit Grec de St. Athanase qui etoit en son entier, pour l'imprimer. Il eut encore à sa disposition un MS fort ancien des dialogues sur la Trinité atribué à St. Athanase. Il est en parchemin. Th. de Béze le donna pour la prémiere fois au public en 1570, et il fut imprimé par Henri Etienne. Le Sr. Commelin garda ces MSS jusqu'en 1619 quoi que son Edition de St. Athanase eut paru en 1600. Il paroit par les Regitres de la Compagnie qu'on etoit fort mécontent de lui. Voiez le Regitre de 1619 pag. 276 et 287. En 1732 on a fait relier tout ce qu'on a pu ramasser de ce MS de St. Athanase, et on en a fait trois volumes in fol. On a aussi fait relier les Dialogues sur la Trinité.'

[The *first* of these volumes is the MS G which is now before us. The *second* contains four distinct MSS by various hands. (1) A MS referred to by Montfaucon as 'Felckmanni 3.' It appears to be, like all the contents of these volumes, not earlier than the sixteenth century. It is arranged in quinions, and contains (*a*) *Vita S. Athanasii ex incerto auctore* [cf. Migne, xxv cols. clxxxv–ccxi], (*b*) *Oratio contra Gentes*, (*c*) part of *de Synodis*, (*d*) part of *de Sententia Dionysii*; (*e*) *Ep. ad Ioannem et Antiochum*, (*f*) *Ep. ad Palladium presbyterum*, (*g*) *Ep. ad Dracontium*, (*h*) *de Incarnatione et c. Arianos*, (*i*) *In Passionem et Crucem Domini*. Four leaves (122–126) are now missing from the last treatise[1]. (2) Two

[1] Large portions of (*c*) and (*d*) have been deliberately omitted by the scribe, whose object seems to have been to supply useful extracts from these treatises, not to rewrite them in full. Occasionally he omits whole sentences in the extracts he transcribes, or adds a few words to explain a reference to what has preceded. He gives about half only of the *de Synodis*, omitting all that follows ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι τούτοις μόνοις (Migne, xxvi c. 692, ll. 20, 21) as far as ἀσθενοῦντας δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν

short fragments headed (i) *Fragmentum epistolae Marciani Imperatoris* (beginning καὶ ἀσάλευτον τὴν εὐαγῆ πίστιν and ending μετελθεῖν ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδονίων) and (ii) *Athanas. Alex. c. Arianos* (beginning δημεν καὶ δι' ἑτέρων and ending μὴ ἐπὶ πολύ). (3) 360 folios arranged in quaternions containing the same treatises as L 4–9 inclusive. It is the work of two scribes: the former wrote the first two treatises, the latter the remaining four. This, I think, is 'Felckmanni 5.' (4) The *Oratio II c. Arianos* cited by Montfaucon as 'Felckmanni 4.'

The *third* volume contains (1) the ill-written transcript of *Cod. Goblerianus*, to which reference has already been made (p. 104): cited as 'Felckmanni 1'; (2) 26 folios, the work of two scribes, containing part of the *de Incarnatione et contra Arianos* (beginning ἐκλείψουσι καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν (Migne, xxvi c. 1005, ll. 7, 8), the *Epistola Encyclica* and *Ep. i ad Serapionem* (these are the eighth, ninth and tenth treatises of L). Possibly this may = 'Felckmanni 6.' I have been unable to find 'Felckm. 7.']

Corrections have been made in the margin partly by the transcriber where he found he had blundered; partly later, for the sake of the printer of Commelin's edition, to the pages of which references are also made in the margin. Printers' marks are frequent after p. 62 (near the end of the *c. Gentes*): on p. 63 there is a note 'das ist schon alles gedruckt': references are given to readings of 'mss.,' 'bas', and in the *Quicumque* to 'MS Palat.'

(ii) M : A. D. 1548: Munich University library, Cod. Gr. 26. Paper, 353 folios, measuring 13½ by 9 inches, arranged in quaternions. On the last folio, at the end of the *Quicumque*, is written τέλος ἀμήν and (below) ἐμμανουῆλος βεμβαινῆς ὁ ἐκ μονεμβασίας μετὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος καὶ ταύτην τὴν βίβλον ἐξέγραψε μισθῷ ἔτους τρέχοντος ἀπὸ χῦ γεννήσεως αφμὴ μηνὸς ποσειδεῶνος ἕκτη φθίνοντος. Embenes, of whom I shall have to speak again, has entitled the first treatise (the *c. Gentes*) τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ ἀρειανῶν, possibly preferring, as he was a Greek himself, the last word to ἑλλήνων. The MS is very carelessly written.

(iii) T : saec. xvi: Trinity College, Cambridge, B 9. 8. Paper, folios measuring 13⅜ by 9½ inches, arranged mostly in quaternions, every fourth quire being a ternion. The name of the transcriber is not given. The MS was given to the College by, and bears on both covers the arms and initials of, Silvius Elwes, Chaplain of the College as late as

(c. 749, l. 47) inclusive. The words that follow are prefaced by the words ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τῶν γενομένων ἐν τῇ 'Αριμήνῳ, κ.τ.λ. Later on (c. 764) he omits a few lines and introduces the next extract with ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς. Constantius' letter and the Bishop's reply at the end are omitted. Similar phenomena recur in the next treatise.

1637 but not in 1640 (the records for the two intervening years have been lost). Nothing more is known of its history. The pagination is inaccurate, the scribe in numbering the pages having in more places than one turned over two leaves. After the *Testimonia* is added the treatise (xxi) entitled—*ἀθανασίου πριάρχου ἀλεξανδρείας· πρὸς ἀντίοχον περὶ πλείστων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ζητημάτων ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀπορουμένων καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι χριστιανοῖς ἐπιγινώσκειν ὀφειλόμενον.*

FREDERIC WALLIS.

ADDITIONAL NOTE BY THE REV. A. ROBERTSON, D.D.

By the courtesy of Bishop Wallis and of the Editor of the JOURNAL I have been allowed to see both parts of the Bishop's most interesting article in proof. Unfortunately severe pressure of work has prevented my giving the attention I should have wished to the questions discussed. But I should like to note one or two minor points that have occurred to me: all of them happen to have reference mainly to that part of the article which is printed in the present number.

(1) The lines on the *verso* of folio 434 of S (see above, p. 101) are merely a trivial scribbling. I read them as follows, *μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίου εἰσ τὰσ κα ἡμέρασ - . . ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ιβ ὥρασ κ. ἡ νὺξ ὥρασ ιβ.*

(2) I had, for the reason to be referred to below, quoted the readings of the 'Goblerianus' (see above, p. 102) in my edition of the *de Incarnatione*, under the symbol R. As Bishop Wallis 'commandeers' R for the certainly more important MS described at the head of his article, I have taken the opportunity of a new edition of my Greek Text to substitute 'H' for R as the symbol for the Harleian MS.

(3) The Bishop's conjecture that 'H' was acquired by Covel at Constantinople as late as 1664, or indeed at all, can hardly be maintained. The MS was used by Felckmann in preparing the Basel Edition of 1601, and the name 'Goblerianus' is due to him. The MS in fact bears the name of Gobler in two places, viz. folio 2, 'sum Justi Gobleri LL doctoris,' and on folio 219 *b*, 'justini Gobleri Goarini LL doctoris uitex sum,' the same words are apparently repeated below with the substitution of 'codex sum' for the last two words.

(4) I am not fully persuaded that 'H' is a direct copy of S (see above, p. 103). The discovery of the first part of R might throw light on the question. But meanwhile, my main reason is the presence in H of a certainly independent reading in *de Incarn.* ch. xiii 2 (p. 19, l. 18 in my edition). Here S inserts *μὴ* before *βιοῦν*, while H omits it. The reading of H is too good to be due to conjecture; the scribe betrays no capacity of the kind. Moreover Traversari, whose translation dates from about 1430 (in Italy; his Greek text is represented by no MS known

to me), read this passage without the μή. [Of the MSS of which the second part of Bishop Wallis' paper speaks, the Basel MS (B) has the inserted μή, while two of its supposed descendants, the Oxford MS (O) and the Cambridge MS (C), omit it. This appears to me to constitute an unexplained group of 'residual' phenomena, which may point to the use, by the scribe of O, of more than one original. In any case the point is worth consideration.]

(5) I should like to take this opportunity of cancelling the inaccurate reference to H in my Prolegomena to Athanasius (Nicene Library, vol. 4). When it was written I had not begun the study of the MSS of the *de Incarnatione*; it was shortly after the *Prolegomena* had gone to press that the facsimile in the Paleographical Society's publications led me to identify the *Codex Goblerianus* as the Harleian MS.

In conclusion I would express my entire belief, apart from the few details I have touched upon, in the correctness of Bishop Wallis' results. Even as to No. 4, I am quite open to conviction. It must be gratifying to all students of the Fathers that the Bishop has found it possible, amid his exacting labours, to pursue his fruitful investigations, of which I trust we now see only the beginning.

A. ROBERTSON.

ADVERSARIA CHRONOLOGICA.

1. TATIAN'S CHRONOLOGY OF THE MINISTRY.

DURING the last thirty years a tendency has been manifesting itself, and, especially in Germany and America, has been gathering strength as it proceeded, to attempt at first in detail and now on a more extended scale a rearrangement of the Fourth Gospel. The earliest, and not the least satisfactory, of these suggestions was made by the late Archdeacon J. P. Norris in the *Journal of Philology* for 1871 (pp. 107–112): he simply transposed chapters v and vi, and accounted for the error in our extant copies of the Gospel by the hypothesis that chapter vi was, like chapter xxi, a Galilean appendix added after the Gospel had been written, and inserted by mistake at somewhat too late a point. In this case 'the feast of the Jews' of v 1 (reading ἡ ἑορτή) would without difficulty be identified with 'the passover the feast of the Jews' which had been mentioned (according to this rearrangement) not long before as 'near,' in vi 4: and the general scheme of the chronology of the Gospel, with its three passovers or two full years in the Ministry, will remain untouched. Of other transpositions on a similar or smaller scale two may be briefly mentioned. In chapter vii *vv.* 21–23 the sudden reference to the miracle of healing recorded in v 5–9—an event

separated on the present arrangement of the Gospel by an interval of seven months at least and perhaps of as much as sixteen months—cannot but excite surprise. No doubt, if Archdeacon Norris' transposition of chapters vi and v be accepted, the difficulty is reduced to smaller dimensions: yet even so, the proposal of Wendt to remove the paragraph (vii 15–24) bodily to the end of ch. v is not without its attractions. And again in the account of our Lord's trials, ch. xviii 13–25, the present text with its apparent confusion of the two high priests, and its repetition on both occasions of the statement that 'Peter was standing and warming himself,' afforded at least some justification for Spitta's attempt at rearranging the verses.

But of course the great and obvious blot on all these hypotheses was the absence of external evidence. We in England have a wholesome respect for the evidence of documents, and we are accustomed to demand that the evidence of documents, if it is not accepted as it stands, shall at least be explained: and when proposals are made which neither accept nor attempt to account for the external evidence, we are apt to dismiss them as unworthy of consideration. And if the premisses in this case were sound, I at least should not quarrel with the conclusion. But with regard to the text of the Gospels—it is only of the Gospels that it is as yet possible to speak definitely—it seems to me that we must be prepared to consider the question of deviations from the traditional text beyond any that Dr. Hort proposed. It is hardly too much to say that almost every piece of evidence that has come to light in the twenty years since Dr. Hort wrote has contributed its quota to the proof either of the antiquity or of the wide distribution of the so-called Western text. And when once the 'Western' text is accepted even as only on a level with the Alexandrine text represented by B, the task is not at an end, it is only just at the beginning: for we are still far from the knowledge of a continuous 'Western' text. The codex Bezae has undoubtedly an ancient element in its text; but it has also an unusually large proportion of idiosyncrasies of its own, and these have to be detected and isolated before its evidence can be made available. But with the exception of D and the Ferrar group, we have no Greek authority of the first class on which to fall back. We are reduced to the earliest known stages of the Latin and Syriac versions, and of these we possess at best one incomplete manuscript of the four Gospels in Syriac, and in Latin the first half of St. Matthew and the second half of St. Mark with the fragmentary quotations of St. Cyprian spread over all four Gospels. No doubt new discoveries may add to our documents: and no doubt too the sifting of the evidence we have will largely reinforce the materials available for reconstructing the 'Western' text. But if the authority

for the words of the Evangelists is to be sought primarily, or even partially, from the 'Western' text, it must be admitted that a problem lies before us which, if it may well call forth all the energies of Christian scholars, will make heavy calls alike on their patience, their caution, and their courage.

To apply these tentative conclusions to the case immediately before us is to urge that we must not be too sure that 'evidence of documents' *as we have it* is exhaustive. The Sinaitic Syriac supports the rearrangement of the accounts of the trials before Annas and Caiaphas: and in the number of this JOURNAL for October 1900 (ii 141) I pointed out that our best available Latin authority bears negative witness on the same side. It would be rash to assert that if we had more first class 'Western' witnesses for the text of St. John's Gospel—if the codex Bobiensis (*k*) were more complete, or if St. Cyprian's quotations were less fragmentary—external authority might not be found for at least some other minor transpositions. It is, however, the special purpose of this note to draw attention to the latest and earliest rearrangements of St. John's Gospel—on the one hand to Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and on the other to the proposal by an American scholar, Prof. B. W. Bacon, in the *American Journal of Theology* for October, 1900, of a reconstruction which is certainly drastic and would result in a work very unlike what we have known as the Fourth Gospel. To speak only of the notes of time in the Gospel, Prof. Bacon gives them in the following order: vi 4 Passover nigh, iv 35 the fields white to harvest, v 1 'a feast' [Pentecost], vii 2 Tabernacles, x 22 Dedication, xi 55 Passover nigh, xii 1 six days before Passover Jesus comes to Bethany, ii 13 Passover nigh and Jesus goes up to Jerusalem (ii 23–25 are spurious). The result is a Ministry of a single year, and an agreement between St. John and the Synoptists in the position of the cleansing of the Temple: but it is a result and an agreement which leaves the present text of the Fourth Gospel hardly explained by the phrase 'deliberate editorial adaptation.' The author of the scheme defends it with the claim that 'the phenomena belong to the field of the higher critic,' 'the higher critics will be the last to admit that we have here a mere question of text and variant readings.' But at the same time Prof. Bacon is not unwilling to shelter his results under the aegis of the Diatessaron: 'all the major transpositions are supported by Tatian': and I welcome the opportunity of examining briefly, yet more fully than I have been able to do when writing on the Chronology of the New Testament, the Gospel arrangement of Tatian's Harmony. I use, for purposes of reference, the chapters and verses of Mr. Hamlyn Hill's very useful edition of the Diatessaron (Edinburgh, 1894), but I have grouped the matter into larger divisions on my own account.

The resultant arrangement of the Ministry, considered especially with reference to St. John's Gospel, seems to be somewhat as follows:

1. *Tatian* iv § 28—vi § 24: the Baptism, followed by the Temptation, the first call of the disciples, the miracles of Cana and of the draught of fishes, and the baptizing in Judaea. This section, which is closed by the imprisonment of the Baptist, contains the following portions of St. John's Gospel: i 29—ii 11, iii 22—iv 3.

2. *Tatian* vi § 25—xx § 45: a purely Galilean ministry, beginning with the healing of the nobleman's son at Capernaum, Jo. iv 46–54, but containing practically no other elements from St. John except at the end, where the Galilean episode of the feeding of the Five Thousand with the subsequent discourse is introduced, Jo. vi 1–71, cf. *Tatian* xviii § 21—xx § 11. Thus the Passover of Jo. vi 4 is the FIRST PASSOVER of Tatian.

3. *Tatian* xx § 46 marks the beginning of a tendency in our Lord's Ministry to move in a wider circle, first towards Tyre and Sidon, then to Samaria (here Jo. iv 4–45 *a*[1] is brought in, *Tatian* xxi §§ 8–49), finally to Jerusalem with the FIRST VISIT, that for the unnamed feast (Jo. v 1–47 = *Tatian* xxii §§ 9–55): it is just possible (but perhaps no more) that Tatian, like Archdeacon Norris, may have meant to identify this visit with the Passover whose approach he had already mentioned (Jo. vi 4 = *Tatian* xviii § 24). Chapters xxiii–xxvii in Tatian are mainly from the Synoptists, and contain nothing from St. John save two brief references to Galilee, Jo. iv 45 *b* = *Tatian* xxiii § 3, and Jo. vii 1 = *Tatian* xxvii § 30. In chapter xxviii Tatian takes up St. John's Gospel again with the Feast of Tabernacles and SECOND VISIT to Jerusalem. But it must be noted that only Jo. vii 2–31 appears here, and the narrative proceeds with Synoptic matter, the scene of which is undetermined, as far as *Tatian* xxx § 30.

4. *Tatian* xxx § 31 combines a notice from St. John 'After that was the Jews' feast of Unleavened Bread' with various indications from St. Luke (*Tatian* xxx § 31 *b* = Luc. xvii 11; xxxi § 6 = Luc. xiii 22; xxxi § 36 = Luc. xix 11) of our Lord's purpose to make His way gradually to Jerusalem, which culminate in a THIRD VISIT to Jerusalem at a SECOND PASSOVER (*Tatian* xxxii § 1 = Jo. ii 13 *b* and following). Here the cleansing of the Temple recorded in St. John at the beginning of the Ministry is identified with that which the Synoptists place on Palm Sunday. With the cleansing is associated, as in St. John, the visit of Nicodemus (Jo. iii 1–21 = *Tatian* xxxii §§ 27–47). The scene still remains at Jerusalem and Bethany till St. John's Gospel is taken

[1] Jo. iv 45 *b* (the Galileans had 'seen all that He did at Jerusalem at the feast') is necessarily omitted here, since no visit to Jerusalem has yet been recorded. It is inserted in *Tatian* xxiii § 3, after the visit for the feast of Jo. v 1.

up at vii 31 again (*Tatian* xxxiv § 48), and from this point onwards the Diatessaron accompanies the Fourth Gospel with scarcely a break, past the feast of the dedication (Jo. x 22 = *Tatian* xxxvii § 25) to the close of the Ministry at the THIRD PASSOVER (Jo. xii 1 = *Tatian* xxxix § 1).

Before proceeding to estimate the arrangement of Tatian as a whole, it will be as well to clear up one small point where both Mr. Hamlyn Hill and Prof. Bacon have fallen into error. Both of them identify the phrase just quoted from *Tatian* xxx § 31, 'After that was the Jews feast of Unleavened Bread,' with Jo. v 1, although the latter verse has already been used by Tatian in xxii § 9. Unnecessary confusion would be introduced by this identification into Tatian's already sufficiently confused system: and in fact the phrase in xxx § 31 is taken from Jo. ii 13 *a*, while Jo. ii 13 *b* and subsequent verses follow on when the Fourth Gospel is next drawn on at xxxii § 1. No doubt the English words I have quoted hardly seem to correspond closely enough with the ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων of Jo. ii 13. But (i) the Sinaitic Syriac renders πάσχα by 'feast' in Jo. xi 55, and by 'unleavened bread,' *patiro*, in ii 23 and vi 4 (it is defective for ii 13): and (ii) the Latin representative of the Diatessaron, the Codex Fuldensis of the Vulgate, reads here (ed. Ranke, p. 100) 'post haec in proximo erat pascha dies festus Iudaeorum.' I do not doubt therefore that the text of Tatian at this point depends not on Jo. v 1, but on Jo. ii 13.

This is the only case in which any doubt can be raised as to the identification of any of the time-notices in the Diatessaron. To sum them up, they occur in the following order: Jo. vi 4 Passover nigh, Jo. v 1 unnamed feast (possibly meant to be identified with the Passover just mentioned), Jo. vii 2 Tabernacles, Jo. ii 13 Passover, Jo. x 22 Dedication, Jo. xii 1 final Passover. It is clear that this arrangement, as it stands, implies a Ministry of over two years, since the middle Passover—in this case that of Jo. ii 13—is separated from the first Passover by the feast of Tabernacles, and from the last Passover by the feast of Dedication. But it is also I think clear that the Diatessaron is not arranged, or intended to be arranged, with any special regard for chronology. If we are to look for principles of arrangement in it, I should be inclined to say that they were two. The first is the combination into one of the two recorded cleansings of the Temple, which cleansing is then put neither with St. John at the first Passover of the Ministry, nor with the Synoptists at the last, but by way of compromise at the middle Passover. The second is that attention is paid rather to place notices than to time notices: the general plan, which follows here rather the Gospel of St. Luke than that of St. John, is to put the Galilean preaching early, the visits to Jerusalem as far as possible late, in the Ministry, and with this view the only notice

of a festival in St. John not accompanied by the mention of a visit to Jerusalem, Jo. vi 4, is thrown back to the beginning of the Ministry.

It is a more difficult question when we ask ourselves what support, if any, the arrangement found in Tatian gives to the hypothesis that any of the transpositions in the Fourth Gospel which have been urged on us by modern critics were present in the text on which he worked. But Prof. Bacon's claim, that 'all the major transpositions [of his scheme] are supported by Tatian,' goes far beyond the facts, seeing that Tatian has three Passovers and Prof. Bacon only two, or in other words that Tatian places Jo. ii 13 before, but Prof. Bacon after, Jo. vii 31—xii. I think it quite improbable that Tatian's text of the Fourth Gospel really differed from our own in transposing Jo. ii 13—iii 21 even so far as the middle of ch. vii, for the explanation which I have suggested above seems quite sufficient to account for its position in the Diatessaron. But it still remains possible (I do not think more can be said) that some of the lesser transpositions of which I spoke above as proposed, independently of Tatian, on internal grounds, and which are as a matter of fact found also in Tatian, may have actually existed in Tatian's text of St. John. Thus Archdeacon Norris' transposition of chapters vi and v is found also in Tatian: though it should in strictness be added that between Jo. vi and v Tatian inserts also Jo. iv 4–45 *a*. On the other hand, Wendt's separation in ch. vii between the account of Tabernacles and the paragraph which he transfers to chap. v (*vv.* 15–24) is directly contradicted by the Diatessaron, which does indeed make a separation in the middle of the chapter, but after *v.* 30 not *v.* 14. In the account of the trial in Jo. xviii our present text of Tatian follows closely our present text of St. John, and gives no support to Spitta and the Sinai Syriac: but it is possible that this is one of the places where the Arabic translator, or some predecessor of his, may have restored the form of text familiar to him.

2. Epiphanius' Chronology of the Ministry.

It may not be out of place to utilise this opportunity for calling attention to another attempt in early times at a harmony of the Gospels, made with special reference to chronological questions, and based on an arrangement of the time-notices in St. John which in some details is even more peculiar than that of Tatian—to whom indeed I had at one time thought this later 'Diatessaron' was directly indebted.

In the fifty-first chapter of his *Panarion* Epiphanius is concerned with the 'heresy' of certain persons who rejected the Fourth Gospel and Apocalypse, and whom he therefore denominates on his own

account 'opponents of the Logos' or Alogi [1]. They appear to have

[1] I venture to believe, contrary to the opinion of many or most modern scholars, that the Alogi were not opponents of Montanism but themselves an offshoot of the Montanists—that they rejected the Fourth Gospel not because it contained the promise of the Paraclete, but because according to it the Paraclete was promised to the Apostles, while the Montanists of course identified the dispensation of the Paraclete with the appearance of Montanus. Not only is the Fourth Gospel in itself wholly alien to the Montanist temper, but it was specially and intimately connected with the very men with whom the Montanists found themselves from the first in conflict. If we bear in mind the deep-seated antagonism between the inhabitants of the Phrygian highland and their Greek neighbours of the province of Asia, can we wonder that one branch of that original Montanist movement to which all intelligent Christianity was so abhorrent, was consistent enough to cut itself off not only from the contemporary church of Melito of Sardis and Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, but from the source of their theology, the Johannine Gospel itself!

The evidence seems to me much more in favour of this view than of its opposite. Our only authorities for this sect are Epiphanius (*Haer.* li and liv) and Irenaeus (*Haer.* III xi 9 [xi 12]). Irenaeus, after writing of the Four Gospels, goes on to speak of those who had more or fewer Gospels. Marcion rejects the whole Gospel: the Valentinians have more than the canonical Gospels: others reject only St. John. These 'others,' he tells us, reject St. John, 'in order to make void the gift of the Spirit which in the last times has been poured out on the human race.' Irenaeus is of course referring to the Pentecostal outpouring: but anti-Montanists certainly did not reject the Gospel *in order to frustrate* the Pentecostal gift, but 'in order to frustrate' Montanus. The only people who could reject the Gospel 'in order to' reject the Pentecostal outpouring on the Church, would be Montanists themselves. And so Irenaeus goes on to say that these 'unhappy' people 'pseudoprophetae quidem esse uolunt, propheticam uero gratiam repellunt ab ecclesia': a straightforward statement which can only be avoided by unwarranted tampering with the text. I may add that, if I err in this interpretation of Irenaeus, I err in the good company of Tillemont, Grabe, and Massuet.

Epiphanius commences his account of the Theodotians (*Haer.* liv) with the words *ἀνέστη πάλιν Θεόδοτός τις ἀπόσπασμα ὑπάρχων ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης Ἀλόγου αἱρέσεως τῆς ἀρνουμένης τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα θεὸν λόγον κ.τ.λ.*, words which certainly do not justify the writer on the Alogi in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (i 87 *a*) in saying that Epiphanius 'traces their origin to Theodotus.' But in fact Epiphanius, I think, is merely trying somehow or another to string on his new subject with some preceding one, and found in Theodotus' humanitarianism a feature which it was obvious to connect with the rejection of that Gospel which specially proclaimed the Godhead of Christ: I do not believe that he is here drawing on any of his authorities. In any case the whole point of the story which follows about Theodotus' apostasy under persecution, lies in his appeal to St. John's Gospel as the authority for calling Christ *ἄνθρωπος* (Jo. viii 40): *ὁρᾷς, φησίν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν.* But if Theodotus used St. John's Gospel, he can have had nothing to do with the Alogi.

There remains only Epiphanius' account of the Alogi themselves (*Haer.* li): and here it is to be noted, (i) that the account of the Alogi is introduced with the words *καθεξῆς τούτων τῶν αἱρέσεων, μετὰ τὴν κατὰ Φρύγας τε καὶ Κυιντιλλιανοὺς καὶ Τεσσερεσκαιδεκατίτας οὕτω καλουμένους ἀνεφύη τῷ βίῳ αἵρεσις ἑτέρα*—i. e. the Alogi are placed in immediate connexion with the Montanist group, (*a*) Cataphrygian, (*b*) Quintillian

attributed the Johannine writings generally to Cerinthus; of specific objections we learn of three made against the Gospel and one against the Apocalypse. With the latter—the objection that the Apocalypse records a message to the angel of the Church of Thyatira, when in fact there was no Church at Thyatira at all—we are not concerned, except in so far as Epiphanius' answer to it throws light on his chronological capacity. It is quite true, he says, that Alogi and Montanists perverted the whole Church of Thyatira, ninety-three years after the Ascension: but now, at the time of writing, 112 years later, there is a Church and an increasing one. Since Epiphanius wrote his *Panarion* about A.D. 374, or 345 years after the Ascension, there is a gap of no less than a hundred and forty years somewhere in his calculation.

Of the three objections to the Gospel, one is doctrinal, two are chronological. The former (li 18) is based on the near connexion of Jo. i 14 *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο* with ii 1 *γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν* Κανὰ *τῆς* Γαλιλαίας: from which one would conclude that the Gospel was rejected as giving countenance to the Marcionite edition of St. Luke, 'in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Jesus came down [from heaven] to Capernaum, a city of Galilee.'

The remaining objections raised by the Alogi against the Fourth Gospel were both based on supposed discrepancies of its chronology from that of the Synoptists. The other Evangelists, they urged, relate that our Lord after His Baptism spent forty days in the wilderness being tempted of the devil, and only then returned and 'took up' His disciples; whereas the Fourth Gospel follows up the Baptism without any interval by the call of the disciples and the marriage at Cana. The other Evangelists, again, speak of one Passover, while the Fourth Gospel mentions the observance by the Saviour of two (li 22).

In answer to these objections, and to others raised by hostile critics—he mentions the names of Porphyry, Celsus and Philosabbatius as asking how the Lucan and Matthaean accounts of the Nativity can be reconciled, seeing that the one says that on the night after the Nativity the angel directed Joseph to flee into Egypt, while the other

or Pepuzian, (*c*) Quartodeciman, which latter Epiphanius regards as sprung from mixture of the two former: (ii) in the story (referred to in the text) about the Church of Thyatira (*Haer.* li 33) Epiphanius writes *ἐνοικησάντων γὰρ τούτων ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας . . . μετήνεγκαν τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν αἵρεσιν*, and a few lines later describes the same process as *τότε δὲ ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία ἐκενώθη εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φρύγας*—in other words the Thyatiran apostasy is first spoken of as due to Alogi and Montanists, and then to Montanists alone, while the singular *αἵρεσιν* is used where we should expect *αἱρέσεις* if the two sects had been in radical opposition.

Since the choice appears to lie between regarding the Alogi either as a quasi-Montanist or as a definitely anti-Montanist school, the former view appears to me decidedly the more probable.

recounts the Presentation in the Temple at Jerusalem forty days after the Nativity (li 8)—Epiphanius first gives a general sketch of the characteristics of each Evangelist, and then proceeds to a detailed attempt at harmony on his own account.

St. Luke gives the story of the first two years of Christ's life: St. Matthew passes at once from the Nativity to the time when He was two years of age, and the coming of the Magi coincided with a second journey of Joseph and Mary from their home at Nazareth to Bethlehem. The Birth of Christ took place on January 6 in the forty-second year of Augustus in the consulship of Octavius Augustus xiii and Silanus [B.C. 2]: the visit of the Magi on the same day two years later: the Baptism when He was 'nigh on being' thirty years of age, on November 8, at the end of the consulship of Silanus and Nerva [A.D. 28]. The Baptism was followed immediately by the forty days of the Temptation, and these by a stay of rather more than a fortnight at Nazareth: then came the events of Jo. i 29 ff., the first call of the apostles—of whom, however, Andrew and those with him returned for the time to their work—and then on the sixtieth day from the Baptism, January 6 [A.D. 29], the marriage at Cana and the miracle of turning the water into wine. After this Christ came and settled in the parts of Capernaum and began to work other miracles, such as the healing of the man with the withered hand[1] and of Peter's wife's mother. Only then did He return to Nazareth and read the passage from Isaiah in the synagogue, Luc. iv 16–30: this episode is postponed after Luc. iv 31–41 in order to account for verse 23, 'whatsoever things we have heard of as done in Capernaum, do here also.' Then follows the comment 'and he did nothing there because of their unbelief.' Oehler's edition gives no marks of quotation, but there can be no doubt that the words are taken from Mc. vi 5 (cf. Matt. xiii 58), the point of connexion being 'Is not this the son of Joseph? . . . No prophet is accepted in his own country,' Luc. iv 22 *b*, 24, compare Mc. vi 3, 4. It is a remarkable coincidence, and I had at first thought it was more than a coincidence, that Tatian also (xvii §§ 42, 43, 48) connects Luc. iv 23, 24 with Mc. vi 4, 5 (Matt. xiii 55 ff.): both Tatian and Epiphanius further insert in Mc. vi 5 the words 'because of their unbelief,' as in Matt. xiii 58 (contrast Mc. vi 6). But Tatian, unlike Epiphanius, divides St. Luke's account of the Nazareth episode into two parts (at verse 22 *b*), and transposes the second part to a later point in the Gospel history—in fact to the visit to Nazareth recorded in Matt. xiii, Mc. vi.

Epiphanius next adopts St. Matthew's statement (iv 13) that our Lord

[1] It is natural to suppose that this is a mere slip of the pen for 'the man with the unclean spirit,' Mc. i 23 = Luc. iv 33. But the slip, if such it is, is made twice by Epiphanius, *Haer.* li §§ 15, 17.

left Nazareth and settled at Capernaum, and makes the final call of Andrew and Peter, James and John, to follow at this point. 'Thence and afterwards' He began teaching 'in all Galilee and in Judaea' (li 15).

The first year of the Ministry is 'the acceptable year of the Lord' (Luc. iv 19 = Is. lxi 2), that is, as Epiphanius glosses it, a year of preaching which met with no opposition. 'For during the thirty-first year of His Human Manifestation (*ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας*) He preached, and all welcomed Him, and neither Jews nor Gentiles nor Samaritans spoke against Him, but all heard Him gladly. In which year He went up to Jerusalem, after the Baptism and the events which followed it as far as the choice of the disciples: returning from the Temptation to the Jordan, and passing over the sea of Tiberias [Jo. vi 1?], and visiting Nazareth, He went up to Jerusalem. And in the middle[1] of the feast He cried saying, If any man thirsts, let him come to Me and drink [Jo. vii 37]: and so He went back to Nazareth and to Judaea and to Samaria and to the parts of Tyre. And when the first year was completed He went up again to Jerusalem, and now they sought to seize Him at the feast and were afraid [Jo. vii 30]—at the feast namely of which He said, I go not up at this feast [Jo. vii 8], meaning this not in the literal sense—for "At the middle of the feast" he did go up [Jo. vii 14], when men said, Is not this He whom they sought to seize? and lo! He speaketh freely: have the priests then learned that this is the Christ? but we know whence this man is [Jo. vii 25–27]—but in the mystical sense that it was not at that feast that He would "go up" to the cross, and after His resurrection from the dead "go up" to heaven. But after two years were completed, in the third year of the Ministry he accomplished the mystery of the Passion' (li 25).

It is very difficult to say whether this confused conception of the chronology of the Ministry is evolved by Epiphanius out of his own head — a head which certainly had a quite unrivalled capacity for confusion — or whether it rests at least in part on a recollection of earlier Harmonies. Certainly there are not wanting points of contact with the Diatessaron. There is the preference of the Synoptic to the Johannine sequence of the events immediately after the Baptism: there is the total suppression (at the beginning at any rate of the Ministry) of the Passover of Jo. ii[2]: there is the placing of Jo. vi 1 apparently before

[1] Apparently a confusion of the *τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσούσης* of Jo. vii 14 with the *ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς* of Jo. vii 37.

[2] Some of these statements would require modification if the long passage inserted in Dindorf's edition at the end of § 21—on the authority of the Venice codex only—is accepted as authoritative: but the passage in question, which follows closely our present text of St. John, is so hard to reconcile with the data I have drawn from § 25, that one must at least suppose either that it has undergone rearrangement or that Epiphanius used two authorities.

any visit to Jerusalem: there is the separation of Jo. vii into two parts, so that 'the last great day of the festival' belongs to some feast other than the Tabernacles of Jo. vii 2—only in Epiphanius the second part of the chapter is placed earlier than the first, whereas in Tatian it is later. For myself, I feel at present neither prepared to affirm nor to deny that Epiphanius knew the Diatessaron.

One thing, however, Epiphanius was clear about, and that was the duration of the Ministry: his attempt at harmonising was at least not dictated by any desire to crush the narrative of the Fourth Gospel into the framework of a single year. He definitely asserts three Passovers against the Alogi: and he propounds with complete conviction a cut and dried chronology extending from the Baptism of Nov. 8 in the consulship of Silanus and Nerva [A. D. 28] over the whole of the consulships first of the two Gemini and then of Rufus and Rubellio, to the Crucifixion on March 20 of the consulship of Vinicius and Longinus Cassius. By this of course he meant March 20, A. D. 31: but owing to the blunder—gross even for him—of making two years out of the single consulship of Geminus Rufus and Geminus Rubellio (consuls for A. D. 29) he has really named for the Passion the consuls of A. D. 30.

3. Eusebius' Chronology of Felix and Festus.

Dr. C. Erbes has lately published (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, New Series, iv 1, 1899) what he entitles 'critical enquiries about the day of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul, and their monuments at Rome.' It is, however, one portion only of his essay—that which deals with the date of the arrival of Festus to succeed Felix as procurator of Judaea—that I am anxious, in concluding these chronological notes, to subject to the tests of a close investigation.

It is well known that while the date of the appointment of Felix can be fixed without much hesitation at A. D. 52, considerable divergence of opinion has prevailed over the date of his recall. Writers of the last generation, from Wieseler down to Lightfoot, adopted the year 60 or even 61 for the latter event. More recent views have tended to push it further back, Ramsay to 59, Harnack on the authority of Eusebius' *Chronicle* to 56, while I myself leant to 58. Erbes, adhering to the older view and the year 60, attempts to reconcile this with the evidence of Eusebius by the help of a new theory, which seems so likely to gain credit as the final solution of the problem, that it may be worth while to examine it in detail. I proceed, therefore, first to give the heads of Erbes' argument as I understand it, and then to test them point by point.

[1] Nero came to the throne on October 13, A. D. 54: his predecessor Claudius on January 24, A. D. 41.

(1) 'A. D. 55 (54–55) is the right equation for the year Nero 1 of Eusebius' *Chronicle*[1], A. D. 56 for Nero 2, and so on.' This is assumed by Erbes all through.

(2) 'The *Chronicle* places the recall of Felix and arrival of Festus in Nero 1 = A. D. 55.' Erbes deduces this from a combination of the Armenian version, which gives the last year of Claudius, and Jerome's version, which gives the second year of Nero.

(3) 'The years of the Jewish prince Herod Agrippa II, which start in the *Chronicle* with Agrippa 1 = Claudius 5 = A. D. 45, are antedated by five years, since Agrippa really began to reign in A. D. 50.' Consequently, any event which Eusebius has dated correctly by years of Agrippa would get five years wrong by his incorrect synchronism with the Imperial chronology: for instance, if he found in his authority the arrival of Festus dated in the eleventh year of Agrippa, he would equate it with Nero 1 = A. D. 55, whereas it really should have been equated with Nero 6 = A. D. 60.

(4) 'It is no mere fancy that Eusebius was in fact using a source which reckoned events by years of Agrippa, so that he antedated them by five years in the *Chronicle*: the very next notice to Festus' arrival is Agrippina's murder, which is catalogued under Nero 1, whereas it ought to appear under Nero 6 = A. D. (59–) 60.'

I now proceed to demonstrate (as I think) the absolute baselessness of this combination, taking the steps one by one in the same order.

(1) I have shown on other occasions (see 'Chronology of the New Testament' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* I 418, and also 'Early Episcopal Lists' in *J. T. S.* for January 1900, p. 188) that Eusebius can hardly have meant to reckon the years of the emperors simply from their respective days of accession, but that some permanent correspondence with the Olympiads and years of Abraham must have been intended—it being at least probable that this continuous system reckoned the first year of each emperor as commencing in the September following his accession[1]. If that is so, Claudius 1 = A. D. (41–) 42, Nero 1 = A. D. (55–) 56, and so on, so that we ought to equate every event at this part of the *Chronicle* with one year later of our own era than Erbes has done.

(2) If Erbes, when he finds that the Armenian and Jerome differ by two years in the date of Festus' arrival, just splits the difference between

[1] In support of my interpretation of these regnal years of Nero, I may add that Mr. J. K. Fotheringham informs me that the eclipse recorded under Nero 3 by Jerome's version (it is omitted by the Armenian, but the Syriac epitome [Schoene, ii 212] shows that it belongs to the original Eusebius) must be either that of May 11, A. D. 58, or that of April 30, A. D. 59. Of these two alternatives the former would tally with my view of Nero's third year (Sept. A. D. 57—Sept. A. D. 58), but neither could be reconciled with Erbes' equation of the regnal years.

them, this means that he has not yet emancipated himself from the mistaken ideas which used to prevail about the value of the Armenian version. I need not elaborate this point, with which I dealt sufficiently, following in the footsteps of Hort, Lightfoot, and Harnack, in the article in this JOURNAL already referred to (*J. T. S.* January 1900, pp. 184–187). In the present case it is quite certain that the Armenian is wrong in putting Festus' arrival under Claudius (Erbes allows this, and the Syriac epitome proves it), and the evidence of Jerome is enough to make Nero 2 far more probable than Nero 1. Thus the true Eusebian date for Festus appears to be Nero 2 = Sept. A. D. 56—Sept. A. D. 57, while the Erbes-Eusebian date is Nero 1 = Oct. A. D. 54—Oct. A. D. 55. Since the procurators would generally arrive about June, the net result is a difference of just two years, between June 55 (Erbes) and June 57.

(3) I come now to the pivot of Erbes' whole argument, his theory of the years of Agrippa. He tells us quite truly that Eusebius reckons the years of Herod Agrippa II continuously from the death of his grandfather Herod Agrippa I in A. D. 44, though the younger Agrippa did not obtain any kingdom at all until some years later: and he argues from this that Eusebius wrongly placed five years too early in his Imperial and Olympiad chronology all events which he found dated by years of Agrippa. But I see no reason whatever to suppose that the historian was really ignorant of the gap between the two Agrippas. He had a column in his *Chronicle* devoted to Jewish rulers from Judas Maccabaeus (Ann. Abr. 1857) down to the close of the Temple worship: and since this column had to be filled somehow, and filled too with one name only, he has to make Archelaus succeed Herod the Great, Antipas succeed Archelaus, Agrippa I succeed Antipas, and Agrippa II succeed Agrippa I, until the column for Jewish dates comes to an end with the destruction of the Temple. Yet Eusebius, who was a careful student of Josephus, was surely not ignorant either that Antipas succeeded as tetrarch on his father's death, or that procurators and not Antipas followed Archelaus in Judaea, or that Agrippa II continued king for many years after the *Iudaeorum regnum defecit* of A. D. 70: why then should we accuse him of ignorance in the remaining case of the succession of the second Agrippa? His chronology bound him to reckon one ruler of the Jews, whether there were more than one, as in the years following Herod the Great's death, or whether there were strictly none at all, as in the interval between the two Agrippas. Thus even if Eusebius had borrowed for his *Chronicle* events dated by years of Herod Agrippa II, he would have been quite competent to effect the necessary adjustment to the chronology of the regnal years and of the Olympiads.

(4) Erbes then goes on to adduce one other notice, where he claims to detect an error of five years in Eusebius' dating, and to explain it by his hypothesis of years of Agrippa: but this single parallel breaks down at once under examination. 'The very next event after the arrival of Festus, Nero's murder of his mother Agrippina, labours under a similar misplacement of five years.' Now, in the first place, the murder is not the 'next event' except in the Armenian: Jerome has three notices in between Festus and Agrippina, and though two of the three are probably his own addition, the third is shown by both Syncellus and the Syriac to belong to the original Eusebius. In the second place, the murder is not dated Nero 1 except in the Armenian: Jerome places it in Nero 4[1], that is, on the system of equation explained above, in A. D. (58–) 59, which is approximately correct. And when deprived of this supposed parallel, what probability can be said to be left for explaining any errors of dating by the misuse of years of Agrippa?

Dr. Erbes has, however, I am sorry to see, made a convert of Prof. Ramsay. In an article called 'A second fixed point in the Pauline chronology' (*Expositor*, August 1900), Ramsay answers an article which had appeared in the previous number from the pen of the American scholar B. W. Bacon. For his defence of myself and other English scholars against the strictures of Prof. Bacon I am deeply grateful, and on most of the points at issue between the two professors I am in complete agreement with him: but when he attacks his opponent for quoting Eusebius in support of the year 57 for the coming of Festus, I am compelled to part company. Nero 2 is, as has been seen, Jerome's date: and Nero 2 is, if I am correct, rightly interpreted by Prof. Bacon as A. D. 57.

Ramsay, however, follows Erbes in his interpretation of Eusebius, or even goes beyond him in the one fresh argument which he adduces in Erbes' support. 'Eusebius mentioned under the year 54 that Felix was succeeded by Festus. This is shown both by the Armenian translation and by the order of Syncellus. . . . Jerome was too learned to keep such a thoroughly false order.' It is certainly true that the Armenian version puts Festus' arrival in Claudius 12. But it is not true that Syncellus does so. What Syncellus does give under the reign of Claudius is exactly what Jerome does, namely the notice of the arrival of *Felix*, before 'whom Paul being accused by the Jews made his defence.' The notice of the arrival of *Festus* is placed by Syncellus, as by Jerome and the Syriac, after the accession of Nero. Prof. Ramsay has, I venture to think, confused the two notices.

C. H. TURNER.

[1] So Schoene's edition, and so too the Bodleian MS: one MS, however, of Schoene's places it in Nero 5, and another as late as Nero 6.

REVIEWS

AN OXFORD EDITION OF THE HEXATEUCH.

The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, edited by J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. London, and G. HARFORD BATTERSBY, M.A. Oxon.: 2 vols. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

THIS work is a critical edition of the Hexateuch, so arranged, by the position in the page and the type, that the reader may see at a glance to which original source any passage, however minute, belongs. It is based upon the labours of a small committee of the Society of Historical Theology in Oxford, who are responsible for 'the method of presentation and the general distribution,' while the actual arrangement in detail, introduction, tables, &c., are the work of the two editors.

The first thing that strikes the reader is the extreme intricacy of many of the problems involved, the second the immense amount of patient labour which must have been expended in both solving the problems and making them clear to the English reader. Whatever individual scholars may feel concerning some of the details, they cannot but realise that they owe a great debt of gratitude for the very lucid way in which the critical views of those concerned have been set forth and argued.

The main sources are, as usual, J (the Jahwist), E (the Elohist), D (the Deuteronomist), P (the Priestly Code). But with each of these there is a school, J^s, E^s, D^s, P^s, of followers who carried on their work. Even J, E, D, P are not necessarily single writers. Thus D itself may be the work of a school of reformers, having some a prophetic, some a more priestly character. Again, they were all probably drawn, more or less, from earlier sources; J and E from long-standing oral traditions, and possibly some written documents; D in part from the already united J E; while P certainly incorporated some earlier codes of laws (P^h and P^t, see below)[1].

The main draft of J is dated between 850–750, while E is assigned to the earlier half of the eighth century. The principal arguments for

[1] In distinction from D^s, P^h, P^t, and P^s, the groundwork or main body of D and P are designated D^g, P^g.

the former are the implied practical subjugation of the Canaanites, which did not take place before the time of Solomon (cf. Gen. ix 25, 1 Kings ix 20), and the rebuilding of Jericho, which belongs to the reign of Ahab (cf. Joshua vi 26, 1 Kings xvi 34); for the latter the ascendency of Joseph i. e. the Northern Kingdom (Gen. xxxvii 8), elaborate military (?) organisation (Exod. xviii 21), and the reference to Mesopotamian cults (Joshua xxiv 15), which are considered to point to the time of Jeroboam II. J is referred as a whole to the kingdom of Judah, stress being laid upon the prominence assigned to Judah (Gen. xxxvii 26, xliii 8, xliv 16, 18), as contrasted with that of Reuben (Gen. xxxvii 21, xlii 37) in the Joseph cycle. For the same reason and others E is assigned to the Northern Kingdom.

Discussions concerning the origin of J and E suggest to the reader many questions of considerable historical importance; e.g., For how many centuries is it likely that these ancient stories, poems, &c., were handed down orally? What is their exact value in determining the social and religious life of Israel? To what extent, and up to what period, were the local sanctuaries the centres of culture and government? What, if at all, had the Levites originally to do with them? Does the fact that the statutes of E (Exod. xx 24–26) contemplate as a rule an earthen altar, whereas the historical altars were of stones (Joshua viii 31, 1 Kings xviii 30, 31, &c.), suggest for that law (not necessarily for the whole code) a very early period, when an ancient custom was just beginning to be changed?

Another problem of great interest is connected with J^s. In Gen. i–xi there are, apart from P, traces of two independent sources, both apparently Jahwistic in character. The Flood Story hardly accords with the earlier ascription of certain arts of civilisation to the sons of Lamech in Gen. iv; nor the history of the dispersion of a nomad race of mankind after the Tower of Babel, with the settlement which had already taken place in ch. x (cf. verses 19, 30); nor the account of Cain as the founder of a city in Gen. iv 17, with the account of him as an outcast and a nomad in Gen. iv 14; not to mention sundry other difficulties and some curious parallels. The editors have therefore, in common with several other critics, assumed a second J source, to which they have assigned the first of the here contrasted groups of narratives and classed them under J^s, and have recognised its importance by printing it as they afterwards print E when it appears on the scenes in ch. xv 1, 2, 5, 16. The question naturally arises whether the J^s of these early chapters may not, as Dillmann is inclined to think, really belong to E, and the name JHWH be due, as in xv 1, 2, either to JE, or a later Reviser, who intended to change the name throughout for the sake of uniformity. The double name JHWH Elohim in ii 4*b*–

iii (LXX ii 4 *b*–viii 21 and ix 12) is often similarly explained (see note on Gen. ii 4).

D is, of course, identified with the law-book found in the Temple in Josiah's reign, and with the majority of modern critics regarded as having been written very shortly before, on the ground that it was obviously designed to serve as the basis for the new movement. But was the movement so entirely new? Apart from the statement (very possibly exaggerated) of 2 Kings xviii 4, 22, that Hezekiah did remove the high places, the writings of the earlier prophets, notably Hosea and Isaiah, must have tended to throw discredit on local sanctuaries, many of them marred by corruptions from which Jerusalem was comparatively free. The thought of an enemy devoted to destruction as a sacrifice to God had been already suggested by traditions connected with Hormah and Jericho (Num. xxi 3, Judges i 17, Joshua vi 26). The religious policy of Manasseh would have naturally tended to increase this feeling and embitter the priests of Jerusalem; who, deprived of their religious duties, would have had ample time to codify the 'laws of Moses' as traditionally taught in their own sanctuary, and unconsciously modify them according to their lights.

The dependence of D upon J E suggests the inquiry, how far it is possible to recover that compilation where it was abridged, or its parts misplaced, on its subsequent union with P. One very interesting case is given in vol. I pp. 52, 53, &c. Deut. x 1–3 gives the earliest account which we possess of the making of the Ark, a wooden chest to hold the tables of the law, very different indeed to the elaborate structure of P (Exod. xxv 10–22). Now the existence of the Ark is recognised in J E (Num. x 35, 36), and is constantly mentioned in early history, and this passage of Deut. is clearly a recension of Exod. xxxiv 1, 2, 4, assigned to J by the editors. It is therefore contended that the mention of the Ark, as ordered and made, is not an insertion in Deut. x 1–3, but was omitted from Exod. xxxiv 1, 2, 4 when J E was united with P, to make room for P's account of the Ark. But might not the argument be carried further? Is not the whole of Deut. x 1–4 a recension of Exod. xxxiv 1, 2, 4, 28 *b*? But if so, Exod. xxxiv 3, 5–28 *a*, are all insertions into the original text of J E, or at any rate did not occur originally in this place. And this would destroy the contention of a large number of Biblical critics, so often repeated in this book, that Exod. xxxiv 14–26 is J's version of the Decalogue, definitely said in *v.* 28 to have been written upon the two tables. Several further considerations point to the same conclusion. (1) If *v.* 28 *b* is a continuation of *v.* 28 *a*, it was Moses who wrote on the tables, not JHWH, as required by *v.* 1; whereas if *v.* 28 *b* is a continuation of *v.* 4, JHWH might very naturally be understood as the subject. (2) The number of 'Words' in *vv.* 14–26 is not

ten, and is only reduced to ten by more or less arbitrary arrangements, in which critics cannot be got to agree. (3) The supposed ten Words, both in their selection and arrangement, do not bear the appearance of a collection of important laws designed to be the basis of religious life, but resemble fragments of ancient legislation such as Exod. xiii 11–13, xxiii 14–18, which were afterwards collected into larger codes. Why, for example, is the Feast of Unleavened Bread separated from the other feasts of *v.* 23, and why, though placed in such a prominent position, is it not like them made a feast of obligation? Why again is one single heathen custom or superstition, boiling a kid in its mother's milk, selected in *v.* 26, and separated from the prohibition of heathen cults and rites in *vv.* 14–17? It might be further objected against the treatment of Exod. xxxiv in this work, that the opening verses are only assigned to J by the bold expedient of referring the words 'like unto the first,' 'that were on the first,' &c. to that convenient *Deus ex machina*, the Reviser; though it is natural enough that E, having described the breaking of the first tables in xxxii, should have continued to narrate how the loss was made good. Some of these difficulties are fully recognised, and indeed so candidly set forth in the note on *v.* 28*a*, that to some scholars they will no doubt carry conviction.

P, as distinct from P^s, is identified with the 'law of Moses' read by Ezra (Neh. viii). But incorporated with the groundwork of P (P^g), are two earlier codes. The first, the Code of Holiness (P^h), has long been recognised by Bible critics. Besides the greater part of Lev. xvii–xxvi, only Exod. xxxi 13, 14*a*, Num. x 9, xv 38*b*–41 are assigned to it. It was probably compiled during the Exile. The editors do not consider that the verbal agreements between Lev. xxvi and Ezekiel, when other differences of style are taken into account, warrant the conclusion that Ezekiel was himself its author, but believe it to be the work of a somewhat later writer strongly influenced by his prophecies. But here it is important to distinguish the compiler from his sources, and it is suggested that some of the latter may have been very ancient, possibly laws originally found in J, which perhaps included a judgement-book comparable with that of E. The lists of forbidden intercourse in Lev. xviii–xx are specially instanced, and some comparison suggested between the laws of Lev. xix and E. Great stress is naturally laid upon the peculiar phraseology of P^h, particular attention being called to the insistence on holiness in such phrases as 'I am holy,' 'I, JHWH, am holy.'

Another more conjectural antecedent of P^g is P^t, which is also a body of laws. To this document are referred, roughly speaking, those laws which do not immediately arise out of any historical incident, such as the law of leprosy, Lev. xiv; and it is observed that they fre-

quently commence or conclude with the formula 'This is the Torah of . . .' (Lev. xiii 59, xiv 2, 32, 54, 57).

The most important questions connected with P^s are the dates of the account of the Tabernacle and its furniture in Exod. xxxv–xl and of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement in Lev. xvi. The editors of the Hexateuch refer the first to P^s, i.e. they place it later than the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah—in its final form possibly as late as the third century. With Kuenen and others, they regard it as a revised edition of chapters xxv–xxxi. Even the latter account has been interpolated, the altar of incense, Exod. xxx 1–10, being in their view a later addition.

The chief argument against including Lev. xvi in P is that there is not only no reference to it in Neh. viii, where we might reasonably have expected it, but that in Neh. ix another day of the same month, the 24th instead of the 10th, is actually set apart as a day of public fasting and humiliation. Some critics have argued that though the rites were some of them ancient, the Day of Atonement was not yet fixed as an annual fast. With this view the editors substantially agree. In the text the larger part of the chapter is ascribed to P^s, portions only, such as that fixing the date of the fast, 29–31, being referred to P^s.

One of the most important chapters in this work is Vol. I ch. xv, which deals with sources not classed with any of the above. The passages dealt with under this head are (1) 'The battle of the four kings against five,' Gen. xiv; (2) 'The Blessing of Jacob,' Gen. xlix 2–27; (3) 'The Song of Moses,' Exod. xv 2–18; (4) 'The Song,' Deut. xxxii 1–43; (5) 'The Blessing of Moses,' Deut. xxxiii. (1) The first is regarded as an insertion later even than P. Stress is especially laid on the geographical and other difficulties; a number of place-names are introduced which occur nowhere else in the Old Testament, and Abraham is suddenly invested with the character of a warrior and displays military resources and capacity enabling him to overwhelm a league of kings. The archaeological arguments of Dr. Sayce are answered by saying that at the most they only prove that the author of Gen. xiv employed names and perhaps other material ultimately derived from ancient cuneiform texts. But it does not follow that he had personal knowledge of the inscriptions. The archaeological evidence is more fully discussed in chap. xv, on Criticism and Archaeology, which is contributed by Dr. Cheyne, who argues at length that the archaeological argument is made to carry more weight than it will reasonably bear. (2) 'The Blessing of Jacob,' apparently a composite or at any rate a much revised piece, is in the main, like J, a poem of the South, and may have arisen out of a small nucleus, describing the fortunes of some of the more prominent tribes. (3) 'The Song of Moses' of Exod. xv contains

religious ideas concerning the Divine Kingship such as found expression during and after the Exile, and is presumably, therefore, post-Exilic. It should be borne in mind that this criticism does not include xv 1 and 20 assigned to J, nor 19 which is regarded as the insertion of the Reviser. (4) 'The Song' of Deut. xxxii shows a marked literary individuality, containing an unusual number of words found nowhere else, while affinities of thought and language point to an age which possessed the vocabulary of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the editor of the Books of Kings: it probably was not written originally in the person of Moses. (5) 'The Blessing of Moses,' a later composition than that of Jacob, has at least affinities with E. In this connexion attention is called to the stress laid, *vv.* 13–17, on the prosperity of Joseph, i.e. the Northern Kingdom, in contrast with Judah, whose isolation (i.e. the schism under Jeroboam) is his great misfortune, *v.* 7. In the text the piece is therefore assigned as a whole to E, *vv.* 2–5 and 26–29 being regarded as later additions showing affinities with later books, Job, Ezekiel, &c.

In the Introduction in Vol. I is a very complete vindication of the Higher Criticism. The analogy of the different versions and recensions of the Saxon Chronicle is singularly happy. Interesting parallels might also be adduced from the Icelandic Sagas. But it is important to emphasise the fact, that though the phenomena dealt with by Biblical criticism are what might reasonably have been expected in ancient documents, yet the conclusions of critics were not originally based upon such *a priori* expectations, but upon peculiarities and difficulties in the text which required explanation. It is sometimes stated, very unjustly, that some German theorists first cut up the poems of Homer, and then arbitrarily applied the same method to Bible books. The history of criticism, as here given, clearly refutes such an imputation. The only serious quarrel one feels inclined to make with these chapters is that in form and order there is some confusion between the History of Bible Criticism and the arguments for the position now assumed by critics. Part of the latter are, for instance, welded in, in v § 2–vi, between the views of Astruc and Eichhorn. There is again a long similar digression in vii §§ 1–3, the historical review being again continued in vii § 4. Here, as elsewhere, the divisions and headings of sections are somewhat arbitrary and artificial. The reader may wonder how far these phenomena may be due to composite authorship or to the work of the Reviser.

Appendix A contains lists of words and phrases peculiar to or characteristic of the different documentary sources. There is no part of the critical argument which requires more delicate care, or is of more importance when properly used, than that drawn from such

evidence. So much depends upon both the actual and relative frequency of the occurrence of a word or phrase, whether it is necessitated by the character of the subject treated of, whether it is a synonym of another word generally preferred by other documents, and (what adds greatly to the difficulty) whether the use of such a word or phrase may not be already the very ground for assigning an otherwise doubtful passage to the particular source. The danger of thus arguing in a circle is obvious. Speaking generally, we may say that, whereas the philological argument tells strongly for the distinction of D and P from J and E, and from one another, it is far more precarious and more difficult to apply in distinguishing J and E. A mere mechanical use of the tables, as though every word had the same value as argument, might be very misleading. At the same time some distinctions in the vocabulary of J and E are clearly made out. For example, the phrase 'here am I,' in answer to a call, occurs three times in Gen. xxii and again in xxxi 11 and xlvi 2 [3]—all E passages—and also in xxxvii 13 *b*, which is probably an E passage. On the other hand, it occurs in no certain passage of J. The use of the phrase in Gen. xxvii 16–18 *a* suggests, therefore, the probability that these verses belong to E, even though the greater part of the chapter belongs to J. It should be understood, of course, that the composite character of the latter chapter is primarily argued on other grounds.

Appendix C contains an elaborate comparison of the various codes, together with passages bearing upon them in the narrative, showing in detail the light which they throw upon the religious and social life of the periods with which they deal. It is full of suggestions of great value to the student of Hebrew history.

Two objections may occur to the reader of this work. The first is that the editors make out too much. Every sentence, every phrase, or even word, is assigned to one or other source, or their schools, or various editors or revisers. But there is, after all, a good deal to be said for this method. For though, especially in the unravelling of J and E, and in the constant reference to the Reviser, there is much that is doubtful (and the editors themselves constantly recognise the provisional character of their conclusions), the work thus shows more clearly than it could in any other way the processes by which the Hexateuch gradually took shape.

The other objection has a wider reach. 'Is not,' it may be asked, 'the whole argument of the critics a vicious circle? They are constantly saying that such and such passages point to some later custom or some later stage of religious thought, and therefore must be referred to a later author. But is not this to construct an imaginary history, and then make the critical analysis conform to it?' Now this objection

has just an element of truth which makes it difficult to answer. Sometimes, in fact, the argument does appear to be applied too arbitrarily; but it is hardly ever employed as an *a priori* argument. The general outline of progressive customs, habits of thought, &c., is obtained in the first instance from literature the date of which is practically fixed *on other grounds*. When once this outline has been made out, it is at least logical to apply its details, especially when supported by other arguments, in ascertaining the date of unknown documents or parts of documents. It is in the convergence of different lines of evidence that the great strength of the critical argument lies.

F. H. Woods.

CHRONICLE

CHURCH HISTORY.

(1) *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, by Theodor Zahn, vi. Teil (Leipzig, Deichert, 1900).

Professor Zahn displays all his usual learning in this last volume of his *Forschungen*, the value of which lies not in anything new that he has to advance but in the completeness of the material he has collected. It contains two treatises, *Apostel und Apostelschüler in der Provinz Asien* and *Brüder und Vettern Jesu.* The former deals exhaustively with Quadratus, the Presbyters of Irenaeus, Polycarp, Papias, Philip at Hierapolis, John at Ephesus, and Aristion. It maintains positions which the author had formerly taken up, and repels with a somewhat needless acerbity the criticisms of Dr. Harnack in the second volume of his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur* and elsewhere. His reply in regard to the Presbyters of Irenaeus and to that writer's date is very forcible; but his argument that the second John is a figment read by Eusebius into the words of Papias, in order to save the Evangelist from the discredit of being the author of the Apocalypse, is not equally convincing. In the second treatise Dr. Zahn confidently takes the Helvidian view of the Brethren of the Lord, and proposes a very sober and interesting scheme of the relationships of the family of Nazareth. He accepts as a genuine tradition the list of the early bishops of Jerusalem, and accounts for its excessive length by the interpolation into it of the names of other contemporary Palestinian bishops. Points of interest are, of course, numerous; for instance, the renewed suggestion, supported by weighty evidence, that πεπρησμένος underlies the πρηνὴς γενόμενος of Acts i 18, and the rejection of the famous διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην of Hegesippus in Eus. *H. E.* iv 22. 3. But the value of Dr. Zahn's work lies so much in the detailed knowledge of which he is the master, that it cannot be estimated except by continuous reading. The student of every period from the Apostolic to the Byzantine will profit by the wealth of illustration which is here accumulated.

(2) *The Apostolic Age*, by J. V. Bartlet (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1900. 6*s*.).

Under the guise of a textbook of the history of the first century of Christianity, Mr. Bartlet has written an interesting but very adventurous summary of the theories popular at the moment, to which he has added others, as ingenious as any, of his own. He is, of course, conservative in a sense; the documents are assigned to the earliest dates, but at the cost of a severe excision. The Pastoral Epistles, except where they are interpolated, are the work of St. Paul, who paid only one visit to Rome; 2 Peter is anterior in date to Jude. In constructing his narrative the writer accepts the Resurrection and Ascension as historical; but a postulate in his preface, so cautiously worded as to be obscure, leaves the reader in doubt whether or no the supernatural is to be regarded as beginning for the Founder of Christianity with those events. It would seem that a modified Judaism, upon which the personality of Christ made little impress, was the original of Christianity. But if sufficient stress is laid upon this antecedent of the religion, a far more important source of knowledge is neglected. Mr. Bartlet isolates the first generation of Christians, seeking no *data* for their history from that of their successors, and refusing to reason back from what Christianity became to what it originally was. This arbitrary limitation of the enquiry to a part of the evidence lowers his work from the level of history to that of antiquarianism. The same limitation dwarfs his figures to unhistorical proportions. The men, their motives and their acts, are so thoroughly explained that it becomes inexplicable how they could have moved the world. Imagination and atmosphere are wanting, and the picture fails of probability. But the book bears witness of real knowledge and thought, as in its account, which is marked by true historical insight, of the Epistle of Clement; and it contains a multitude of fresh and interesting observations which render it, though it cannot be accepted as a guide, an attractive contribution to an important debate. One point may be mentioned which needs further consideration. Mr. Bartlet, following distinguished precedents, speaks of 'the single city church or congregation,' and draws serious conclusions from the phrase. A civilised province of the Roman Empire, whether of Greek or of Latin tongue, did not merely contain, but consisted of, a number of city territories, whose acreage was always considerable and often approached that of an English county. As the Acharnians of Aristophanes were citizens of Athens, so the inhabitants of each of these city areas, according to their class, had equal rights, whether they lived within or without the walls of the city in the narrower sense. As soon as the preaching in the market-place began to produce its effect, the problem of an organisation, diocesan in fact though not in name, must have forced itself upon the first preachers of the Gospel. For the city in this wider meaning was the indivisible unit of all organisation, political

and social. To imagine it as a mediaeval borough, limited by its walls, the Christians of which could assemble for worship as a single congregation, is surely an anachronism.

(3) *A History of the Church of Christ*, by Herbert Kelly, vol. i, A.D. 29–324 (Longmans, 1901. 3*s.* 6*d.* net).

Mr. Kelly has not done himself justice in the form which he has given to his book. It contains material for a number of interesting and even brilliant essays, but it is not a history. It is dominated by the assumption that there is only one standpoint from which the history of Christianity can be rightly surveyed, and that Mr. Kelly, apparently in the company of St. Thomas Aquinas, occupies it. Hence a curious want of sympathy with many of the manifestations of our religion; all mysticism, for instance, is condemned as wrong in principle. And this confidence that his position is not only right, but the only right one, has led the author to take a very lofty tone in estimating the achievements and motives of persons commonly regarded with reverence. He speaks, for example, of Clement of Alexandria as 'an excellent magazine writer in a day when there were no magazines,' and of 'Bishop Lightfoot, writing in the interests of anti-sacerdotalism.' This is the more regrettable because he does not, and could not, claim a comprehensive knowledge; though he has been judicious in the choice of authorities, he often falls into those misapprehensions which a writer who is acquainted with conclusions, but not with the processes by which they have been reached, can hardly escape. Yet Mr. Kelly is a thinker of unusual power and freshness, and has a gift of interpreting thought and appreciating character which deserves to be exercised in essays on the scale of Mozley's. His words would carry more weight if they were frankly presented, not as history, but as the comments on history of a shrewd and earnest observer.

(4) *The Church and her Ministry*, by C. Gore. Fourth edition, revised (Longmans, 1900. 6*s.* net).

Canon Gore's book holds, and will long continue to hold, its position as the most powerful and persuasive statement of the case which he advocates. It may be compared without flattery, for its scholarship and its reasoning, with the *Bampton Lectures* of Canon Liddon. But with the lapse of time it is losing one advantage which it possessed. It surveys the whole literature of its subject up to the date of its original publication. Many books have appeared since then of which, were Canon Gore now writing, he would take account; some of them, like Mr. Latham's *Pastor Pastorum*, works which are in the hands of all intelligent readers, others works of scholarship which would enrich his notes with better references and more apposite quotations than the literature of thirteen years ago could furnish. The public influence of

an historical divine rightly depends in a great measure upon his reputation for completeness of knowledge, and perhaps Canon Gore has not counted the cost of allowing it to seem as though in his case arrears of scholarship were accumulating. We may hope that his fifth edition will be fortified by such modifications as shall render it equally complete for the use of those who seek information and of those whose interest is in the doctrine. The proof-sheets should have been more carefully revised, and the index might well be made fuller.

(5) *The Ministers of Jesus Christ, II: a Study of Ante-Nicene Christian Literature*, by J. F. Lepine (Longmans, 1900. 5*s.*).

In a former volume Mr. Lepine had collected the Scriptural passages which refer to the ministry. He now publishes, practically without comment, selected passages, not all of which are Ante-Nicene, bearing upon the same subject. It is difficult to see what service is rendered by such a compilation. Those whose knowledge is limited to these translated extracts will be, or ought to be, too cautious to base any conclusion upon them. Mr. Lepine, who knows the original and the context of each citation, is entitled to his opinion; but those who need guidance towards his conclusion will find all the relevant passages here given, and many more, together with a reasoned explanation of them, in Canon Gore's book, and will do well to seek it there.

(6) *Primitive Christianity and Sunday Observance*, by J. R. Milne (Norwich, Goose, 1900).

This pamphlet, though it is historical neither in method nor in purpose, contains a mass of information, often rare and curious, and evidently accumulated in the course of a wide reading, concerning the observance of Sunday eve and Sunday morning as the day of Christian worship. Mr. Milne is very discursive, and mixes his history with all manner of *a priori* considerations, and with exegetical, theological, and practical arguments of varying value. It is probable, from the conditions of publication, that he will not have many readers beyond his local circle; but they will have reason to thank him for materials for thought, and for additions to their knowledge.

(7) *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, by F. C. Burkitt (Cambridge University Press, 1899. 2*s.* 6*d.*).

Mr. Burkitt is as bright and interesting as usual in this little book, but since he has undertaken to draw a picture which shall attract attention, rather than to state facts, he has allowed himself some liberties with his subject. His purpose is to make the contrast, in content and history, between Syrian and Western Christianity as striking as possible, in order to excite interest in the former. But he should not have depicted the whole of non-Syrian Christendom as monotonous, conventional, governmental in type, nor have limited, as he has done, the extent of

Eastern influences upon the Church within the Empire. Early Christianity was not, as Mr. Burkitt says, confined in Egypt to Alexandria; the Decian persecution furnishes sufficient evidence to the contrary. Nor, in the region of doctrine, is it safe to depend upon negatives. Aphraates, Mr. Burkitt's chief witness, was astonishingly indifferent to the Arian controversy of his day. If it were certain that the mind of Western Christians was absorbed in that debate, the contrast between them and the Syrians would indeed be striking. But it is a significant fact, and one which has been overlooked in these lectures, that in 356, eleven years after Aphraates had ceased to write, St. Hilary of Poitiers was still unacquainted with the Nicene Creed. It is, indeed, not the differences but the coincidences, often in minor points, between far distant Churches of the East and West that awaken our interest. Mr. Burkitt notes as a point of difference between the true Syrian tradition and the later, after its corruption by Greek influences, that in John i 14 the former reads *body* instead of *flesh*. But Origen consistently speaks of the ἐνσωμάτωσις, and *concorporatio* was used in Gaul, and we might easily have been speaking to-day of the Embodiment, instead of the Incarnation. No one knows more about these resemblances, or is more likely to explain them, than Mr. Burkitt, and we may reasonably hope that this is among the many services he is to render to theological scholarship.

(8) *Les Moines de l'Orient antérieurs au Concile de Chalcédoine*, by Dom J. M. Besse (Paris, Oudin, 1900).

Dom Besse has laid the foundations of what might have been, had he chosen, a very important work. Confining himself to the authorities as he found them printed, in most cases in Migne, he has excerpted these with great care and intelligence, omitting no point, however small, that was of interest. He attempts no criticism of his sources, but this in so large and homogeneous a store of materials might safely be neglected, for its results would not modify the collective impression which they make when rearranged. But he has attempted nothing more than a rearrangement. He gives, under various heads, the incidents or words which he finds in his texts, together with the opinion, in praise or blame, of the authority from whom for the moment he is drawing. So conscientious is he in this respect that when different authors, narrating similar incidents, judge them differently, he transcribes submissively the judgement of each in turn. Conduct which on one page is extravagantly lauded, on another receives neither praise nor censure, and on a third is severely condemned. But, amid this inconsistency, it is clear that the sympathies of Dom Besse are not with the *mitis sapientia* of such an abbot as Poemen, but with the rigours of a solitary or a stylite. For he regards as monks all who aimed at attaining

Christian perfection by means of asceticism, and gives an even excessive space to the latter class, mingling anecdotes concerning them among his illustrations of the beginnings of organised monasticism. This confusion, due to his double purpose of providing a collection of 'traits édifiants' and of historical *data*, destroys the value of his book as a serious contribution to history. The reader finds no help in discriminating between the normal and the abnormal, or in following the course of the development of the monastic life. Again, by confining himself too strictly to the books which are directly concerned with his subject, Dom Besse has lost much that would have been helpful. For instance, he tells of solitaries whose only food was the Eucharist; he does not make the story intelligible by pointing to the well-known custom of reservation for use at home. On such episodes as that of Glycerius he throws no light later than that of the seventeenth century. Though he gives an ample account of every detail of the life of monks, as such, he neglects to illustrate their character and thought by their public conduct; the few lines devoted to their share in the Nestorian strife are a masterpiece of understatement. No use is made of the analogies of the Middle Age, or of the accumulated experience, which the Benedictines must possess, of the working of the human mind in this environment. Dom Besse, in fact, has failed in spite of great industry and of much literary ability—he has all the French power of telling a story well—in producing a useful book, because his aim has not been high enough. He has refrained absolutely from using his national gift of generalisation. We have no survey of the psychology of early monasticism, of the religious ideas on which it chiefly dwelt, of its constitutional development. His stately and laborious volume is spoiled by his abstinence from the use of all the higher faculties of the historian.

(9) *A History of the English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, by William Hunt (Macmillan & Co., 1899. 7*s.* 6*d.*).

Mr. Hunt has been happy in the subject assigned to him in the new History of the English Church. The narrative of Bede never loses its charm, and Mr. Hunt's wide reading and archaeological knowledge have enabled him to give it a new interest, while in the second part of his work, from the death of Wilfrith to the Norman Conquest, he has the good fortune to be a pioneer. No one, as he says, has attempted before him to write this part of the history with any degree of fullness. His work is so well thought out, and so consistently excellent, that it is difficult to choose any portion for special praise. Perhaps his account of the varying fortunes of monasticism throughout his period, which is admirably clear and convincing, and that of the foreign relations and missionary achievements of the English Church may be selected for that purpose. But there are a few omissions, not of facts or dates,

which we must regret. The readers who will profit most by this book are those who are least likely to have a knowledge of the literature of the ages with which it deals. Some account of the range of Bede's reading, and even of his excursions into such regions as that of mathematics, would have been useful in a history in which learning plays so great a part; and above all, an account of his theology, and especially of the relative importance which he attached to the different parts of his teaching. Again, it would have been eminently desirable, and surely not impossible, to collect from the numerous homilies of a later date an account of the normal teaching of the Church; in what proportion appeals to feeling, exhortations to virtue, doctrinal instructions were administered to the laity, and what were the points in each of these departments on which stress was chiefly laid. Without such information, the working system of the Church is not sufficiently described. And in a society so much under the influence of poetry as that of early England the religious verse of Cædmon and Cynewulf should not have been overlooked; nor the *Heliand*, in the very full account which is given of English work beyond the North Sea. Mr. Hunt has wasted none of his space, but such information as this would have been welcome in exchange for some of the details of ecclesiastical policy in the tenth and eleventh centuries which he has given. His book is so excellent that we cannot but wish that it had been even nearer to perfection.

(10) *A History of the English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I*, by the Very Rev. W. R. W. Stephens (Macmillan & Co., 1901. 7*s*. 6*d*.).

The Dean of Winchester has allowed himself a hundred pages less than Mr. Hunt, and has devoted five-sevenths of his space to a continuous narrative. This, although it shows some signs of haste, is admirably done. The influence exerted by the Church on the national life through the political action of its leaders, from Lanfranc to Grosseteste, is described in a very clear and interesting manner, and the Dean, by telling the story from the point of view of the ecclesiastical actors and putting their fortunes in the foreground, has furnished a valuable supplement to the current histories of England. But his method has its drawbacks. It has compelled him to give a great deal of information which is accessible elsewhere, and his natural interest in his heroes and saints has led him to push them unduly to the front. Less attractive figures—for instance, Roger of Salisbury and his family to the third generation—were much more conspicuous to their contemporaries than they are in the Dean's picture. It is a more serious matter that, in his interest in the action of the Church on the nation's life, he has neglected the Church's own life. Such remarks as he makes on the

religious thought of the age, though excellent, are brief, and he tells us nothing in detail of the effect of the Conquest, the Crusades, and the Continental developments of doctrine, on popular belief. Yet it is just what was ephemeral that we want to know, if we are to understand the Middle Age. The great men, in whom the permanent elements of Christianity were dominant, are comprehensible enough; but the world around them—kings with their strange oaths, bishops and chroniclers with their equally strange assertions and arguments, and the multitude with its complex of beliefs and superstitions—needs an interpreter. There are many incidents related in this book which form an important part of the evidence. But it needs to be arrayed and explained, and the history of the Church, as a teacher, will not have been written till the devotions it encouraged, the lessons which it inculcated by authority or allowed to be imparted, the standard of morals which it set up in theory and that which it accepted in practice, have been described with as much fullness and ability as that which the Dean of Winchester has devoted to the Church in some of its external relations.

(11) *A History of the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, by W. W. Capes (Macmillan & Co., 1900. 7*s*. 6*d*.).

If the Dean of Winchester has written not so much a history of the Church as of the uses, chiefly political, to which a small number of eminent men put the powers which their position in the Church gave them, the same cannot be said of Mr. Capes. He tells us what we need to know of the general history of the time, as it affected the Church; but the Church itself, as it would have presented itself to a competent and impartial observer in each generation with which he deals, is constantly kept before our eyes. With an admirable fullness, which never degenerates into antiquarianism, he sets out the facts to be learnt from the great mass of documentary evidence at his disposal. Readers with local knowledge will often think—and they can pay him no higher compliment—that some illustration which they could furnish would be more apposite than his, but they will hardly find a point of importance which has been neglected. Even so small a matter as that frequent exchange of benefices, which must have struck and perplexed all who have traced the careers of clergy during these centuries, is not omitted. Mr. Capes is singularly accurate; but Bishop Ayscough was not murdered at Salisbury, and when he makes the absence of fortified churches a characteristic of English architecture he forgets the towers of Cumberland. Yet on some points we might have expected more definite information. There is something fascinating about the mediaeval suffragans, with their quaint titles. How often were they, as some certainly were, the heads of the smaller religious houses, who thus gained a personal equality with the mitred abbots of the great monas-

teries? And should not Mr. Capes have indicated a direct connexion between the cessation of gifts to the regular clergy and the lavish expenditure on chantries and on stately parish churches? But Mr. Capes gives not merely a picture of the activities of the clergy and of the religious life of the laity; he shows with singular clearness the sequence of causes and effects throughout his period, and has done all that its historian can do to make the Reformation intelligible. The effects of the French Papacy, the Black Death, the movement of Wyclif, in regard to which Mr. Capes is wisely sceptical about Dom Gasquet's theory concerning the English Bible, are admirably delineated. Still, it is the picture of the mediaeval Church as a working system for which we have most reason to thank him, so skilfully is it drawn and so complete the knowledge from which it is derived. We must hope that the writers to whom the following periods have been entrusted will describe the actual state of the Church and of its ministry as fully and as lucidly as he has done.

Something must be said concerning the History, of which these three volumes form part, as a whole. Its authors have been trained in the best of schools, and their work is worthy of their training. And they are at one not only in their method but in their sympathies. An admirable consistency, for which, no doubt, the Dean of Winchester, as editor of the whole, deserves a share of the credit, runs through all their work. Dealing with a subject, many parts of which might have been rendered dull or obscure, they have wisely and successfully avoided the display of learning, and constructed a narrative which can be followed with pleasure by any reader of intelligence. Mr. Capes, it is true, who sometimes reminds us pleasantly of Mr. Wylie, occasionally has a recondite allusion, as to the Caorsines of Southern France or the prophecy of Joachim, which will be impressive rather than intelligible to most of his readers; but such sallies are rare with him, and his colleagues abstain from them. There are, however, two or three points in regard to which we should have been glad of information which the three authors might have given us in concert. Had Mr. Hunt, even at the cost of an excursion into paganism, given us an account of the popular Christianity of which so many traces, in superstition and otherwise, remain till our own day, he would have added a most useful and interesting chapter to his history, and one which his successors could easily have supplemented. Again, one admirable feature of Dr. Stephens' volume is the list of religious houses founded within his period. It might have been more perfect—Bristol, for instance, is omitted—but it is excellently done, and it has no counterpart in the other volumes. On one page or another Mr. Hunt mentions most of the great houses which date from before the Conquest, but he never brings them

together, and Mr. Capes, had he done this for his centuries, would have been saved from an understatement. Many Carthusian houses were founded during his period, and he has not mentioned the Bonhommes. And lastly, it is a pity that in a history of which the successive attacks upon the doctrine of Transubstantiation make so great a share, the rise of that doctrine, with the multitude of miracles by which it was enforced, as when the Dorset oxen were found kneeling on Batcombe Hill around the fallen Host, should have passed unnoticed. Mr. Hunt might well have told us more concerning the Eucharistic teaching of his period; but at least, in a continuous history, we should have expected that full attention would be given to a doctrine as important in itself and far-reaching in its consequences, as it was picturesque in its setting and characteristic of the Middle Age. But it would be thankless and unjust to dwell upon such points as these. The authors have raised a monument worthy, in spirit and in execution, of their theme, and have earned the heartiest gratitude of all who are concerned to know the true history of the Church to which they have devoted their labours.

(12) *History of the Christian Church*, A.D. 1517–1648, by the late W. Möller, edited by G. Kawerau (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1900. 15*s*.).

It is lamentable that so important a task as the translation of this work should have fallen into incompetent hands. No one without special knowledge would be entrusted with the rendering into English of a technical or scientific book. Yet, though no subject can be more complicated than the history of Germany, with its many dynasties and its territorial divisions, its varied political, municipal, and ecclesiastical institutions, the publishers have issued a translation which betrays a complete ignorance of these essential matters, without a clear understanding of which the history of the Reformation is unintelligible. But the ignorance displayed extends beyond the affairs of Germany. The translator knows little or nothing of theology, and therefore, in a field where precision of terms is peculiarly necessary, he misleads the reader by a vague and often inaccurate vocabulary. It is a small matter that he has but a feeble grasp of the German language; a perfect familiarity with it would not compensate for such shortcomings. There are, of course, large tracts of easy narrative in which the translation, though painful to read, is intelligible, and in most places a student who knows the period can discover, by an effort of thought, the author's meaning. But beginners must be seriously warned against the disappointment which awaits them, and the misapprehensions into which they will be led, if they accept this volume as their guide. And this is the more unfortunate, in that Möller's is by far the best account of the history of the Reformation. The sequence of events and the development of thought

are described with equal clearness, though sometimes a fact or date, given by Kurtz, is omitted. But though the latter writer is occasionally more precise, the present Handbook excels its older rival in completeness and in arrangement. Its account, for instance, of the decay of Lutheranism, which even within the lifetime of Melanchthon became the prey of scholasticism and of faction, gives all the information that an English reader can need on a very unattractive subject, and fully explains the astonishing success of the Counter-Reformation in Germany. But, admirable as it is, the book has its limitations. It shows that curious want of sympathy, and even of insight, in regard to the spiritual aspects of Roman Catholicism, which is characteristic of Northern Germany; it assumes a knowledge of the working systems of the different Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany which foreign readers are not likely to possess, and its treatment of this important part of the subject is very slight. There are some strange misapprehensions in regard to the course of the English Reformation, of which, as of that in other non-German countries, the account is comparatively brief. But for the history of religion in Germany from the rise of Luther to the end of the Thirty Years' War no better guide could be desired, and we may hope that, when a new edition appears, some publisher will present it in an adequate translation to English readers.

(13) *The Reformation*, by Williston Walker (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1900. 6*s*.).

This is an accurate, well-proportioned, and brightly written account of the Reformation—outside England, which has a volume to itself in the series to which this book belongs. Mr. Walker has the great merit of making the course of events stand out clearly; in fact they follow one another almost too naturally and inevitably in his narrative. But this, in a brief survey, is a fault on the right side; and the same power of sharp delineation serves the writer well when he comes to describe and contrast the characteristic thoughts of the leading Reformers, whose warm admirer he is, though he does not fall into the error of depreciating their opponents. The effort to be concise has led him into a few misstatements, but they do not seriously lessen the value of his book, which is that of a true historian and deserves to be generally read. Its one serious blemish is that Mr. Walker from time to time loses his perspective by taking a conventional point of view. For instance, while he enlarges on the 'priesthood of believers,' he apparently attributes to the Reformers a mode of thought which they would have abhorred, could they have foreseen it. The immediate product of the Reformation was a clergy which stoutly claimed, and vigorously exercised, the ministerial prerogative of excommunication; Luther regarded death as the proper punishment of those who assumed

the ministry without a call. They had no wish that power should be lodged in other hands than the sovereign's and their own. Mr. Walker lays due stress on the influence over them of Marsilius of Padua, and tells how modern in his thought he is. But he does not mention that the purpose, and the effect, of Marsilius' writings was to strengthen the Emperor; and that the German Reformers, as the heirs of his principles, lodged the powers of which they had deprived the Emperor in the hands of the subordinate princes. One other criticism must be made. In a work which is an apology as well as a history, some reference should have been made to the most serious of all charges against the Reformation, that, while it owed its origin and strength to the protest against spiritual wickedness in high places, it provided no essential connexion itself between religion and morality.

E. W. WATSON.

HAGIOGRAPHICA.

THE year 1900 witnessed considerable activity in various departments of hagiographical work. Among the most important contributions to the science was Achelis' *Martyrologien*, reviewed at some length in the April number of this JOURNAL. Of other works the following seem worthy of special mention.

(1) The *Ante-Nicene Literature*[1] of Dr. Ehrhard, professor of ecclesiastical history at Vienna University, contains two hagiographical sections —on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (pp. 151–173), and on the Acts of the Martyrs (pp. 539–592). The book is one that should be in the hands of all workers in the history and literature of early Christianity. The purpose of this volume is to chronicle and estimate the work done in the various departments of Ante-Nicene study between 1884 and 1900; and the task is performed with a completeness (there are fully 3000 bibliographical notices), a grasp, a tact, and a literary grace that are declared to be 'astonishing' by so exacting a critic as Schürer. The section on the Acts of the Martyrs is a good specimen of the method of the book. The first twenty-five pages contain a general review of the course of investigation during the past sixteen years—the catalogues of hagiographical MSS compiled, the texts printed or re-edited, the criticisms and controversies to which they have given rise, the studies made on particular points, along with the author's own estimate of the general outcome of the chief discussions. The last twenty-five pages are devoted to individual Acta that have been the object of special study—those of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, of Ignatius

[1] *Die altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von* 1884–1900: *I, Die vornicänische Litteratur* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, pp. 644).

and Polycarp, of the Scillitan Martyrs, of Apollonius, and others. Any one engaged on Ante-Nicene hagiology (or indeed on any Ante-Nicene work) should turn to Ehrhard for information and guidance in regard to the most recent literature on the subject.

(2) Although strictly speaking its place is rather among 'Archaeologica,' still vol. i of Father Grisar's *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*[1] contains so much useful information bearing on the early hagiology of Rome, that it deserves a mention here. At every turn Roman hagiology is illustrated and controlled by the catacombs, the basilicas, the frescoes and mosaics, and the inscriptions; and on all these topics recent and trustworthy information is to be found in this bulky volume, with copious references to the best authorities. Grisar stands in the front rank of living authorities on the Christian antiquities of Rome, and his book will be a help to any one who wishes to approach the Roman hagiology from the side of the monuments.

(3) M. Dufourcq, the editor of the *Bulletin Critique*, has produced an important study on the *Gesta* of the Roman Martyrs[2]. There are seventy-seven of these Gesta, and the purpose of the book is to estimate their historical value. Ruinart included only four out of the seventy-seven in his *Acta Sincera*, and Tillemont was no less severe in his treatment of them. But another view has since obtained wide currency, viz. that the extant Gesta are rewritten and interpolated redactions of earlier authentic Acts. This has been the traditional Bollandist view, and it has in our days come to be accepted by scholars belonging to such different schools as de Rossi, Le Blant, Allard, Aubé, Neumann, and (in regard to the *Acta Eugeniae*) Conybeare. These writers regard the actual Gesta as romances; but think that they have preserved the general framework of lost original documents, and that they may on the whole be regarded as historical sources from which, with care, a substratum of fact may be recovered. The purpose of Dufourcq's book is to challenge this position, and to show that the Gesta were written in the Ostrogothic period, and were not based on earlier documents, but on traditions sometimes authentic but usually legendary and mythical, being suggested by topographical facts of burial or cult: hence their historical value is very small, and in most cases *nil*. In this judgement Dufourcq had been anticipated a year or two ago by the Bollandist Delehaye, who characterised the Roman Acta in general as the handiwork of 'inept mediaeval hagiographers,' and attributed their admittedly correct topographical notices merely to the fact that they were written in Rome at a time when the monuments were still standing[3]. This is

[1] *Geschichte Roms u. der Päpste im Mittelalter* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, pp. xx, 855).
[2] *Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum romains* (Paris: Fontemoing, pp. 441).
[3] *L'Amphithéâtre Flavien* (Analecta Boll., 1897).

the view of Achelis also in his *Martyrologien*. The question raised by Dufourcq is evidently one of great historical importance, and therefore his book calls for more than a passing notice.

In dealing with documents like the Gesta which claim to embody traditions, it is necessary first of all to test, as far as possible, whether they really are 'traditions,' handed on from the beginning, or can be shown to be aftergrowths. This is the first point investigated by Dufourcq. Not more than a dozen of the seventy-seven Gesta receive any attestation from the Roman Calendar of 354, the names of the vast majority of those mentioned in the Gesta finding no place in this list of the martyrs whose feasts were celebrated in Rome in the middle of the fourth century. The Damasine Inscriptions (c. 380) mention the heroes of some fifteen of the Gesta, usually with no further information than the fact that they were martyrs; in six cases some details are given, and in at least one of these (SS. Nereus and Achilleus) what is said in the inscription (No. 8, ed. Ihm) is irreconcilable with the Acta. The so-called Leonine Sacramentary commemorates but few of the martyrs of the Gesta. The Fathers of the fourth century—SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Prudentius—manifest a knowledge of only three or four of the legends contained in the Roman Gesta. Dufourcq gives (p. 374) a list of over 100 martyrs taken from the Gesta whose names do not occur in the Roman Calendar incorporated in the Hieronymian Martyrology (c. 450), but appear in the *Martyrologium Romanum Parvum* (c. 700)[1]. He concludes that these facts are incompatible with the idea that either the Gesta themselves, or earlier more authentic Acta of these Martyrs, were current in Rome during the fourth century.

It seems indeed that at that date the Roman Church had lost the memory of some even of her most illustrious early martyrs. Justin Martyr and his companions (A. D. 165) and Apollonius the Apologist (180–5) are not commemorated in the *Depositio Martyrum* of 354, nor in the Hieronymian Martyrology, nor in the Roman Liturgies, nor do they find a place in the cycle of Roman Gesta, nor are they mentioned in the Itineraries. St. Jerome includes them in his Catalogue of Writers, but he takes them from Eusebius. There is an irony in the fact that just those Roman martyrs of whom there exist certainly authentic Acts should have thus fallen out of the Roman tradition. Their case will render less incredible the notion that the martyrs before the Decian persecution had in the fourth century been to a great extent forgotten in Rome.

[1] Beyond mere names, the only one of our Gesta of which the Hieronymian Martyrology betrays any knowledge is that of Calocerus and Parthenius: it mentions Gesta in connexion with St. Symphorosa but the details are inconsistent with the extant Gesta (Achelis, *Martyrologien*, 159; Lightfoot, *Ing. and Polyc.* i 504).

Dufourcq quotes the two well-known texts which show that up to the end of the sixth century the Gesta had no official recognition in Rome. The *Decretum Gelasii* (494?) declares that they were regarded with suspicion and were not read in the Roman Church, 'ne uel leuis ad subsannandum oriretur occasio.' And one of St. Gregory's letters shows that even in his day the Gesta had no liturgical use, only bare names places and dates (as in the Hieronymian Martyrology) being recited in the Church Services; while he declares that in all the libraries of Rome he knew of only a few Gesta contained in a single volume ('pauca quaedam in unius codicis uolumine collecta[1]'). On the other hand he seems to have known more than one redaction of Acta of St. Felicitas (*Hom. in Ev.* 3).

Dufourcq contrasts the character and structure of the Roman Gesta with those of admittedly authentic Acta of Martyrs—for a considerable number of Acts, especially African, exist, the authenticity of which is unquestioned. Indeed for the purposes of the comparison no better specimens of genuine Acts could be found than the Roman ones just mentioned—those of Justin and of Apollonius. The utter difference between them and the Gesta cannot fail to strike any one who takes the trouble to read two or three of each kind[2].

The main portion of the book is taken up with a 'Critical Analysis of the Roman Traditions.' It must not be supposed that the rejection of the Gesta need involve any questioning of the reality of the martyrs; in many cases their existence is independently established by evidence that cannot be impeached. Some of the Gesta are absolutely worthless: for instance (though Dufourcq does not call attention to the fact), those of Martina and those of Prisca are to a great extent absolutely word for word the same, only the names of the heroines and of the emperors and officials being altered (*Acta SS.* Jan. 1 and 18). This is an extreme case; but extreme cases are useful as showing what may be met with. Dufourcq is disposed to accept in substance what the Gesta say of St. Sebastian himself; also de Rossi's reconstruction of the story of St. Cicely[3]: but he shows that the Hieronymian Martyrology connects the Transtiberine cultus with a Cecilius, whence he concludes that the connexion of St. Cecilia with the Trastevere basilica is an aftergrowth. It is impossible to give more than one or two instances of his analyses, which carry conviction in very varying degrees: the treatment of the IV Coronati is an excellent piece of work; but whatever may be thought of the criticism of the Gesta, I cannot think that the proposed

[1] *Epp.* VIII 29. Dufourcq believes that a copy of this collection exists in a Vienna MS—a view vigorously combated by his Bollandist reviewer.

[2] An edition by Gebhardt of select *Acta Martyrum* is announced.

[3] Cf. Lightfoot, *Ign. and Polyc.* i 516 [ed. 1, p. 500].

reconstruction of the story of SS. John and Paul will find wide acceptance[1]. The author has worked assiduously on the MSS of the Gesta in many libraries, and knows his texts well; he has also a sound knowledge of the topography and archaeology of Christian Rome. And yet in many cases his analyses seem to lack rigid method; they often seem sketchy and tentative, and do not produce the same sense of completeness and mental satisfaction as do the similar analyses of various Acta, Roman and other, made by Lightfoot and Achelis: (compare the three studies of the Acts of St. Symphorosa). The chief flaw of the book seems to lie in this, that the author limits his view too exclusively to the Latin texts, without sufficiently considering what is going on in other departments of the subject. Thus the treatment of the date of the Acts of Eugenia is completely vitiated by the failure to take account of the Armenian and Syriac versions, of which more anon. And the theory held by such weighty authorities as Lightfoot and Achelis, that some of the Acts were composed in Greek, is dismissed practically without examination. But whatever its shortcomings may be, this volume is, I believe, the first attempt to deal with the Roman Gesta as a whole, and its appearance marks an epoch. It displays great industry and great knowledge. Not much more progress can be made until the Gesta have been brought together into a single book, and the texts carefully edited and commented on. It is a satisfaction to know that this work is actually in hands so competent as M. Dufourcq's own.

(4) Meanwhile Signor Franchi de' Cavalieri, the collaborator with the Bollandists in their *Catal. Codd. hagiogr. gr. Vat.* (1899), is producing a series of useful studies on single Acta, Roman and other. In his *S. Agnese nella tradizione e nella leggenda* (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1899) he points out the presence of a twofold early tradition concerning St. Agnes, one that she was beheaded, the other that she perished at the stake. He shows that there is hardly a single fact about her on which all the variations of the story agree. He prints for the first time a Greek form of her Acts. An article in the *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1900, discusses the origin of the Acts of St. Bonifatius of Rome; while *S. Lorenzo e il supplicio della graticola* (*Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1900) is a special study on St. Lawrence's gridiron. Franchi accepts the main outlines of the legend, but finds reason for being sceptical about the gridiron. He points out *inter alia* that in the account of a Phrygian martyrdom under Julian (Socr. *H. E.* iii 15) the martyrs, while being roasted to death, said: Εἰ ἐπεθύμησας ὀπτῶν κρεῶν ἀπογεύσασθαι, στρέψον ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἑτέρας πλευράς. The resemblance of this to St. Lawrence's

[1] It is fair to add that after writing the above I found that the Bollandist reviewer thinks the section one of the most suggestive in the book.

'Assasti unam partem, uersa aliam et manduca' can hardly be mere coincidence. Of course it is arguable on which side the dependence lies; but probably it will be agreed that Socrates' source is likely to be a more respectable authority than the *Acta S. Laurentii*, a document which Ruinart would not print. Franchi has also edited in Ehrle's *Studi e Testi* the African *Passio SS. Mariani et Jacobi*.

(5) A study on the Roman Martyrology by Urbain [1], though published since the close of 1900, is so germane to the topics here being passed in review, that it seems proper to include it in this Chronicle. It forms part of the preliminary studies for the edition of the *Acta Martyrum* in the Berlin series. Its object is to reconstruct out of the Hieronymian Martyrology, supplemented from other sources, the Roman Calendar as it stood in the first half of the fifth century,—to isolate in fact the Roman element incorporated in the Hieronymian Martyrology (cf. the first three or four pages of the review of Achelis, referred to at the beginning of this Chronicle). After a brief account of the problems that encompass the Martyrology, we come to a valuable section on the 'Ueberlieferung' of the Acts of the Roman martyrs. The names are taken in alphabetical order, and the MSS containing the Acts are named. The references to MSS fill fifty pages, often in double column: there are seventy-five under St. Agnes, and eighty under St. Sebastian. And even what is enumerated can be only a tithe of the MS material that exists; for the list is practically confined to the set of Bollandist hagiographical catalogues, and so includes no Roman or Italian collections (except the Ambrosian), and no English or German or Spanish [2]. Of course this is no fault of Urbain's, who has done what he could; but it shows that his list, formidable as it is, is no more than a beginning. Any such list from which the Vatican and Munich Latin MSS are absent cannot be taken as a safe basis for scientific textual work. The important lesson is that the list brings home to us the fact that the mass of materials is too enormous for any one man to deal with, and that all that can be hoped for in our day is (1) a tentative edition of the whole cycle of Roman Gesta that will be a marked advance on anything we now possess—this it may be hoped M. Dufourcq will give us; (2) editions with some claim to finality of single Acts or groups of Acts.

A useful survey of the archaeological side of the question follows—the various mediaeval Itineraries are characterised and brief notes supplied on all of the sixty-five cemeteries, with references to the

[1] *Ein Martyrologium der christlichen Gemeinde zu Rom am Anfang des V. Jahrhunderts, Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Römischen Märtyrer*: Texte und Untersuchungen VI 3. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, pp. 266.)

[2] The Bollandist Greek catalogues of the Vatican, Chigi, and Barberini libraries, though published in 1899 and 1900, have not been laid under contribution by Urbain.

notices of each of them found in ancient documents or in recent investigations. In all this de Rossi naturally is the prominent figure.

The body of the book is taken up with the proposed reconstruction of the Roman Calendar. Each Roman entry of the Hieronymian Martyrology is taken in order and commented on, any supplementary information from other sources being brought to bear. These comments sometimes occupy only a few lines, sometimes they extend to three or four pages. Urbain's purpose is quite different from Dufourcq's: he seeks only to determine the text, without attempting to discuss the historical character of the statements or the genesis of the legends. He seems to have set to work with much care and judgement; but inevitably, in so difficult and delicate a task, there will be differences of opinion about many of his conclusions—in various places I find myself unable to follow him. Criticism, however, is disarmed by the frank way in which he emphasises the fact that his work is only an 'attempt.'

As an appendix comes the actual Calendar as reconstructed, without the comments. It contains about 160 entries, whereof forty-three are from the *Depositiones* of 354. Of course the list contains only the local Roman feasts; no doubt a number of foreign feasts had a place in the Roman Calendar, but no means exist of determining what they were. So far as I am able to form a judgement, Urbain's study seems to be a valuable contribution to the investigation both of the Roman *Gesta* and of the Martyrology. And I can believe it is a book that would be a helpful guide in Rome itself.

(6) Mrs. Smith Lewis has published the Syriac text, with translation, of the 'Select Lives of Holy Women[1],' which form the overwriting of the Sinai palimpsest of the Gospels. These lives appear to have been copied in 778. Most of them exist in Greek or Latin, and some have already been printed in Syriac; but some now appear for the first time in Syriac, and one or two seem to be quite new. The collection is of considerable interest, but from the hagiological rather than the historical standpoint, and some of the stories have a quaint beauty of their own. In any case they are samples of the light literature in which the Christian mind in East and West delighted for centuries. Appendix vii gives the pages of the underwriting which contain fragments of the Acts of Judas Thomas, 400 years older than any other witness to the text; these are edited and translated by Mr. Burkitt.

The Life of Eugenia is one of the Roman Gesta in Syriac; it will therefore be of interest to examine it. The *Acta Eugeniae* were already printed in Latin (Rosweyd, *Vitae Patrum*), in Greek (in the Metaphrast), and in Mr. Conybeare's translation from the Armenian (*Monuments of*

[1] *Studia Sinaitica*, ix (text) and x (trans.), sold separately (Cambridge Press).

Early Christianity)[1]. Conybeare showed that the Greek and Latin represented one redaction and the Armenian another; and he argued, I think successfully, that the Armenian represents a more primitive state of the text than the extant Latin or Greek, the latter being certainly the latest of all. The Syriac represents the same text as the Armenian. Probably the Armenian is still on the whole the purest text; but it can in places be emended by the help of the Syriac—in particular, at the end of c. xxv (Arm.) there is a lacuna represented by a long piece of the Syriac (trans. pp. 28–32), a portion of which certainly should stand in the text, being attested by the Latin and Greek. The mysterious Pope Nestor of the Armenian turns out to be Soter, though this involves an appalling anachronism, mitigated but not removed by the Cornelius of the Latin and of the Metaphrast's Greek.

A comparison of the other forms of the text would have been a help in the preparation of the translation: e. g. the other translators do not take ὕπατος (ܗܘܦܛܘܣ) as a proper name, but as 'consul' (fol. 22 *a* of the MS); and ܒܐܝܩܪܐ is not '*with honour* over the country of Africa,' but a transliteration of βικάριος, 'Vicar of Africa' (fol. 42 *b* of the MS).

When discussing the date at which the *Acta Eugeniae* were written, Dufourcq is satisfied with showing that the extant Latin form depends on Rufinus' *Historia Monachorum*, and therefore dates from after the year 400. Though we may not be prepared to go so far as Conybeare in holding that the original Acts are as early as the middle of the third century, yet the redaction represented by the Armenian and Syriac is certainly older than the Latin, and therefore the latter affords no indication of the date of composition. Whether the original was in Latin or in Greek, and whether it was written in Rome or elsewhere, are problems that still await investigation. Franchi in his *S. Agnese* announces that Greek MSS exist containing that redaction of the *Acta Eugeniae* which is represented by the Armenian and Syriac versions.

There seems to be good reason for surmising (with Dufourcq) that these Acts are an attempt to combine the memory of a Roman martyr Eugenia with the story of another Eugenia represented as living in Alexandria in the opening years of the third century. The Alexandrian portion is one of a favourite type of story—how a woman disguised herself as a man and lived in a monastery unknown, till death or some accident revealed her secret. Conybeare, who holds that the legend probably has some historical basis, maintains that there may have been Christian monasteries of men in the neighbourhood of Alexandria in the year 200. But the objection to such a view rests not on a mere argument from silence, but on the firm and settled traditions contained

[1] The Syriac too had already been printed by Bedjan in 1895, *Acta Martyrum* V.

in the body of monastic literature that arose in Egypt in the latter half of the fourth century. If we credit these traditions we must reject the Alexandrian portion of the *Acta Eugeniae* as absolute romance.

(7) This raises the question of the character of the hagiographical documents relating to early Christian monachism in Egypt. Twenty years ago they were commonly discredited, Weingarten's destructive criticism being then in vogue. But the 'Reaction' which has since that date set in in regard to Christian origins, has made itself no less felt in regard to monastic origins. A good illustration is supplied by (I believe) the most recent critical pronouncement on the subject, viz. a short tract by Prof. Völter of Amsterdam, bearing the same title as Weingarten's[1]. It will be in place here to cite his judgement on the *Vita Antonii*. After calling attention to the fact that a recently found Syriac version of the *Vita* shows that the printed Greek text is an almost contemporary rewriting of the book (without, however, on the whole essentially altering the character of the original), Völter says: 'The new discovery can only confirm us in the view that the work really came from Athanasius.' His verdict on the character of the *Vita* is, in my judgement, so sane and so applicable to others of the chief hagiographical documents connected with the early Egyptian monks, that I make no apology for giving two or three short extracts. He says that the author of the *Vita Antonii* 'intended nothing else than to record the truth. But he accepted whatever he heard or came across, and related it without doubting and without examination, and the more wonderful it was the better was he pleased.' Hence the book has to be used with caution, but 'there is no reason why we should simply reject it.' It is partly history, partly legend, and partly idealisation; but even the legendary and idealised portions contain 'a kernel of good history,' and 'the general picture which the *Vita* gives of its hero makes the impression of being essentially true to nature and true to history[2]' (pp. 6–9).

[1] *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 53).

[2] It is matter for regret that in the past year Prof. Gwatkin has allowed the Note on 'The Legend of Antony' to stand in the second edition of his *Studies of Arianism*. The Preface, indeed, explains that the author was not able to revise the book as he could have wished; it says that 'the whole question of Antony in particular urgently needs a comprehensive revision,' and it adds that a beginning has been made. I hope it will not appear ungracious to express the belief that in German critical circles the proposed investigation has for some time been looked upon not as beginning but as concluded. For instance, in a review of the Palladius volume of *Texts and Studies*, Preuschen implied that he considered the section on St. Antony to be superfluous, for 'with us'—i. e. in Germany—'there is no longer any doubt concerning the historical character of St. Antony's personality' (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, 123). Similar expressions of opinion might be produced from other representative continental scholars. Prof. Gwatkin's Note

(8) Two monographs concerned with early Egyptian monachism should be mentioned. M. Bidez in a *Recueil* published by the University of Ghent[1] has definitively established the truth of a position I had ventured to defend[2] against the authority of the Bollandists, both old and new; viz. that St. Jerome's Latin, and not any of the Greek or other forms of the work, is the original Life of Paul of Thebes, the First Hermit. Bidez has edited two Greek versions of the Life, with apparatus and an admirable Introduction on the sources of the text—quite a model of what such an edition should be. But once it is known that the Latin is the original, the Greek translations (in this particular case) cease to have much interest, and one almost regrets that so much good work was not devoted rather to the *Vita Antonii*, a document of first importance: among the numerous Greek MSS of the *Vita Antonii* it may be hoped that at least one may contain the original form of the work, signalised by Schulthess from certain Syriac MSS (cf. no. 7 above).

The second is a Syriac *Life of Schenoudi*, edited, with a French translation, by M. Nau[3]. Hitherto only Coptic and Arabic documents have been known. The Syriac version is much less extravagant, and has all the appearance of representing a purer form of the original Life, whether that was written in Coptic or (as Nau half suspects) in Greek. The Arabic Life is now seen to be the most corrupt of all, as is the case also in regard to the Life of Pachomius. These results very much impair the historical value of Amélineau's popular *Vie de Schenoudi*, written on the basis that the Arabic has preserved the most authentic form of the Life.

(9) Part i of Vol. V of the Oxford *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* contains a translation of the Georgian *Life of St. Nino*, the apostle of Georgia[4]. The life possesses, in a way, a unique interest, supplying (I fancy) a solitary instance of what would nowadays be termed a 'lady-apostle,'—a woman evangelising a country, preaching, exorcising, and (apparently) baptising, though this is not so clear. Her missionary career fell during the reign of Constantine. The earliest witness to the

of twenty years ago reflects Weingarten's views, then at the height of their influence. The statement in particular that there were no Christian monks in Egypt during the period assigned to St. Antony's lifetime (i. e. until after 350), would, if well founded, spread havoc over all recent work on early Egyptian monastic history and hagiology (e. g. St. Pachomius): and, indeed, Prof. Gwatkin had himself modified it twelve years ago in his *Arian Controversy* (p. 123).

[1] *Deux versions grecques inédites de la Vie de Paul de Thèbes* (pp. xlviii 33).

[2] *Lausiac History*, p. 286.

[3] *Une version syriaque inédite de la Vie de Schenoudi* (Paris: Leroux, pp. 39).

[4] *Life of St. Nino.* By Marjory and J. O. Wardrop (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 88).

story is Rufinus, who in his *Hist. Eccl.* (i 10) gives the outlines, and says he learned it himself from Bacurius, King of the Iberians (or Georgians). From Rufinus it was reproduced, with trifling alterations, by Socrates (i 20), and independently by Sozomen and Theodoret. The Armenian History of Moses of Chorene (ii 86) contains an account, similar but differing materially in detail. The chief difference lies in this, that in place of a miraculous setting up of a column in building a church there is in Moses a miraculous setting up of a great wooden cross on a hill. Carrière, however, shows (*Nouvelles sources de M. de Khoren*, 1893) that this substitution had been made in the Armenian version of Socrates, and was taken thence into Moses' History: and this was the last link in his chain of evidence that the History was not written before A.D. 700, and therefore cannot be a genuine work of Moses of Chorene. Carrière held that the Armenian Socrates was the only source of ps-Moses' account, even though it contains certain statements not in Socrates. But all the substantial additions—I do not count as such the insertion of biblical texts—except the reference to Gregory the Illuminator, might have been derived from the Life of St. Nino.

This raises the question of the date and character of the Life, points hardly touched by the editors. Mr. Conybeare supplies a translation of an Armenian version of the Life (pp. 67–88), which (he claims) carries the Life back to the fifth century; his reasons, however, appear to be by no means conclusive. Although substantially the same Life, the Armenian seems to represent a purer form than the printed Georgian text; but there is a better Georgian text, the readings of which are unfortunately only indicated in a rough and loose apparatus. The Life, in all the forms here presented, seems to be a very composite document, in which a more primitive Life has been fused with a freely rewritten version of the story as given in Rufinus or the Greek Socrates (cf. pp. 31–2, half 36, and fragments of 38–41, and the corresponding parts of the Armenian). And it is to be noted that the column miracle of Rufinus and the cross miracle of the Armenian Socrates are both in the Life. This raises the suspicion that the Armenian translator of Socrates may have derived his story from some Life of Nino.

Of course the Life gives a great mass of fresh information on Georgian history and antiquities whether authentic or not is a further question. Not until the textual problems underlying the relations of the documents have been unravelled, and the chronological data and numerous points of contact with external history tested, will it be possible to estimate the worth of the new materials. The task can be undertaken only by one who knows both Armenian and Georgian. Meanwhile what has been said here will suffice to show what interesting matter has been made accessible in this volume.

(10) Dr. Carl Bernoulli's *Merovingian Saints*[1] is a contribution to the study of the History of Religion rather than to pure Hagiography. Merovingian hagiology offers a wide and a most thorny field of enquiry, and many of the problems it presents are still in controversy between scholars of the first rank—a fact, I think, not sufficiently indicated by Bernoulli. The purpose of the book is to classify this whole literature, to reduce it to order, and to deal with it as a whole in a scientific and even philosophical way. It is so full of matter that it is impossible to give much more here than an account of the general nature of its contents. The first part deals with the Lives. These are divided into three classes: (i) Memoirs, written by personal disciples of the saints. Naturally the first place is held by Sulpitius Severus' writings on St. Martin; a full analysis of their contents is given, and then they are criticised from the historical and literary standpoints—this is the method pursued throughout. Ennodius, Eugipius and other biographers are severally dealt with. I am disposed to think that Bernoulli adopts an unduly sceptical attitude towards the *Vita Martini*, and that an estimate like Völter's estimate of the kindred *Vita Antonii* would here too represent more nearly the soundest criticism. (ii) The second class of Lives are those compiled not from memory but by means of enquiry and investigation. The principal writer in this division is Gregory of Tours, to whom is devoted a long and excellent chapter. (iii) Lastly come Legends: among them are included not only such stories as that of the Seven Sleepers, but also cases in which mythical accretions have become attached to genuine pieces of history: e. g. Bernoulli maintains that certain pagan beliefs and practices relating to the goddess Keretrud have passed over to the story and cult of St. Gertrude, the first abbess of Nivelle. Others of the proposed pieces of mythologising seem to have less to recommend them, and can hardly escape the note of fancifulness.

The second part treats of the cultus of the Merovingian Saints in its various aspects—tombs, churches, relics, miracles. It is in effect a sketch and a study of the popular religion, the beliefs and practices, current during the Merovingian epoch, especially before the coming of the Irish monks and missioners. This popular Merovingian religion, as revealed in Gregory of Tours and the *Vitae*, is one of the most curious phases of the onward march of Christianity, and Bernoulli's picture is a welcome help towards understanding it. No doubt all Bernoulli's readers will differ from some or other of his views; but probably all will agree that he has made a notable contribution to our knowledge of a branch of hagiology that is as rich as it is intricate.

[1] *Die Heiligen der Merowinger* (Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 336).

(11) I conclude with some *Miscellanea*. The contents of the *Analecta Bollandiana* have been recorded in the lists of 'Recent Periodicals.' Fasc. V (to p. 1120) of the Bollandist *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* has been published; it reaches to S, and brings the number of documents catalogued up to 7743; Fasc. VI will conclude the work. The Greek, Syriac and Coptic documents connected with Abbot Daniel of Scete are being edited in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* by Clugnet, Nau and Guidi respectively. A volume of the *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien* entitled *Der hl. Theodor von Studion* is an interesting contribution to the history of Byzantine Monachism at c. 800. The Early English Text Society has published an *Old English Martyrology* of c. 850 (edited by Herzfeld); while Maltzev has printed the Menology of the Greek Church (Sept.–Feb.) in Slav and German, in a volume of over a thousand pages. Two biographical articles in vol. iii of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*—on St. Paul by Findlay, and on St. Peter by Chase—deserve special mention; as do the articles *Hieronymus* (Zöckler) *Hilarius Pict.* (Loofs) and *Hippolytus* (Bonwetsch) in vol. viii of Herzog-Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*. In conclusion should be noticed what is a *Curiosum*, even in the field of hagiology,—an article in an American periodical which collects the evidence proving that St. Thomas the Apostle visited America.

E. C. BUTLER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) English.

Church Quarterly Review, July 1901 (Vol. lii, No. 104: Spottiswoode & Co.). Bible Criticism—Bishop Stubbs—A Study of Our Lord—An Irish Roman Catholic University—The Holy Eucharist: an Historical Inquiry, Part I—The Supply of Recruits for the Church—The Early Greek Philosophers—Modern Church-going as an Expression of Worship—The Missionary in China—The Commonwealth, Cromwell, and the Church—The Church, Democracy, and Socialism—Short notices.

Jewish Quarterly Review, July 1901 (Vol. xiii, No. 52: Macmillan & Co.). S. J. Solomon Art and Judaism—K. Kohler Abba, Father, Title of Spiritual Leader and Saint—T. Tyler The Origin of the Tetragrammaton—S. A. Hirsch Some Literary Trifles—M. Jastrow The Hebrew and Babylonian Accounts of Creation—A. Harkavy Fragments of Anti-Karaïte Writings of Saadiah in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg—M. Berlin Psalms ix and x and Nahum i—A. Büchler Der Patriarch R. Jehudah I und die griechisch-römischen Städte Palästinas—W. Bacher Zu Schechter's neuestem Geniza-Funde—S. Poznański Einige vorläufige Bemerkungen zu dem Geniza-Fragment *J.Q.R.* xiii 345 ff.—Critical notice: M. Friedländer Horowitz's 'Untersuchungen über Philon's u. Platon's Lehre von der Weltschöpfung.'

The Expositor, July 1901 (Sixth Series, No. 19: Hodder & Stoughton). G. G. Findlay Sanctification according to Christ—D. Smith The Evangelical Deposit and the Apostolic Witness—E. C. Selwyn The Christian Prophets at Philippi—J. H. Bernard Bishops and Presbyters in the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome—G. Matheson Christianity's Place in Moral Evolution—J. Moffat The Autonomy of Jesus: a Study in the Fourth Gospel—M. Dods Survey of recent English Literature on the New Testament.

August 1901 (Sixth Series, No. 20). J. Denney Faith and the Righteousness of God—J. W. Diggle The Law of Reciprocity in Religion—G. Matheson The Relation of Evolution to Holiness—E. C. Selwyn St. Paul identified with Antichrist by the Jews—J. Moffatt The Autonomy of Jesus—D. Smith Second Century Rivals of the Evangelic Jesus—J. P. Jones 'Justified in the Spirit'—W. H. Bennett Recent Old Testament Literature.

September 1901 (Sixth Series, No. 21). An Individual Retro-

spect of the Religious Thought of the Nineteenth Century—A. CARR 1 Corinthians xv 29–34: an Argument and an Appeal—J. RENDEL HARRIS An unobserved Quotation from the Book of Enoch—R. A. FALCONER Jude 22, 23—D. SMITH The Testimony of Christian Experience to the Historicity of the Evangelic Jesus—J. MOFFATT The Autonomy of Jesus.

October 1901 (Sixth Series, No. 22). T. K. CHEYNE The Seventeenth Psalm—An Individual Retrospect of the Religious Thought of the Nineteenth Century (*concluded*)—G. MATHESON Is God a Present Guide?—H. A. A. KENNEDY St. Paul's Conception of the Spirit as Pledge—D. SMITH The Supreme Evidence of the Historicity of the Evangelic Jesus—(The late) F. FIELD Notes on Select Passages in the Old Testament—J. DENNEY The Righteousness of God and the New Life—R. WINTERBOTHAM Judgment by Words and by Works.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, July 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 47: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co.). E. T. BROMFIELD Growth of Presbyterian Sabbath-School Polity—E. H. GRIFFIN Facts, Doctrines and Ideals—F. BRUNETIÈRE Calvin's Literary Work—J. R. SMITH Jesus' Witness to Himself in the Fourth Gospel—W. J. HINKE Philip William Otterbein and the Reformed Church—B. B. WARFIELD The 'Encyclopaedia Biblica' and its Critical Principles—L. B. CRANE Recent Studies in the Synoptic Problem—T. G. DARLING Dr. Kuyper on the Work of the Holy Spirit—Recent Theological Literature.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1901 (Vol. v, No. 3: Chicago University Press). T. K. CHEYNE From Isaiah to Ezra: a Study of Ethanites and Jerahmeelites—R. M. WENLEY Some Lights on the British Idealistic Movement in the Nineteenth Century—G. W. NORTHRUP The Fatherhood of God—J. MACPHERSON The Gospels as a Source for the Life of Christ—J. M. P. SMITH The Day of Yahweh—Recent Theological Literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Biblique, July 1901 (Vol. x, No. 3: Paris, V. Lecoffre, for the School of the Convent of St. Stephen at Jerusalem). P. BATIFFOL L'Église naissante, Hermas et le problème moral au second siècle—A. CONDAMIN Les chants lyriques des Prophètes: strophes et chœurs—L. HACKSPILL Études sur le milieu religieux et intellectuel contemporain du Nouveau Testament—Mélanges: G. MERCATI Trattato di S. Girolamo sulla visione d' Isaia; M.-J. LAGRANGE Les Prêtres Babyloniens, d'après une publication récente; J. P. VAN KASTEREN L'ancien Testament d'Origène; H. GRIMME Mètres et strophes dans les fragments hébreux du manuscrit A de l'Ecclésiastique—Chronique: H. VINCENT Une mosaïque byzantine à Jérusalem, Une mosaïque avec inscription à Beit Sourik, Hypogée antique à Jérusalem—Recensions—Bulletin.

October 1901 (Vol. x, No. 4).—F. PRAT Le nom divin est-il intensif en hébreu?—TH. CALMES Étude sur le prologue du quatrième évangile—M.-J. LAGRANGE L'inscription de Mésa—M.-J. LAGRANGE

Études sur les religions sémitiques: (3) Les déesses; Achéra et Astarte—Mélanges: V. SCHEIL Empreintes achéménides; A. JAUSSEN et H. VINCENT Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne; G. MERCATI Per la storia esterna dei codici marchaliano e claromontano; P. CHEBLI Notes anthropologiques recueillies dans le district de Botris-Batroun (Mont Liban) Chronique: A. JAUSSEN Coutumes arabes aux environs de Madaba—Recensions—Bulletin.

Revue de l'Orient chrétien, 1901 (Vol. vi, No. 2: Paris, A. Picard). J. PARISOT Les chorévêques—X: Griefs de l'Hellénisme contre la Russie (*suite*)—J.-B. CHABOT Les évêques Jacobites du viiie au xiiie siècle d'après la chronique de Michel le Syrien (*suite et fin*)—H. LEVANTIN L'Islam en Chine—A. PALMIERI L'ancienne et la nouvelle théologie russe (*suite et fin*)—F. NAU Histoire de sainte Marine: (1) Texte syriaque—M. F.: Ἐπιθεώρησις τῆς τοῦ κ. Διομήδους Κυριακοῦ θρησκευτικῆς ἐπιθεωρήσεως περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ιθ' αἰῶνος—Mélanges: A. D'AVRIL Le califat ottoman—Bibliographie.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, May–June 1901 (Vol. vi, No. 3: Paris, 74, Boulevard Saint-Germain). A. LOISY Les Mythes babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse: (3) L'organisation du monde; (4) La création de l'homme et sa destinée—J. TURMEL Le dogme du péché originel; Exposé de la controverse pélagienne—H.-M. HEMMER Histoire ecclésiastique: Époque moderne (*suite*)—A. LOISY Chronique biblique: (1) Ouvrages généraux; Introduction au Nouveau Testament—G. MESSIN Littérature religieuse moderne.

July–October (Vol. vi, Nos. 4–5). P. FOURNIER Études sur les pénitentiels: (1) Le Pénitentiel *Vallicellanum primum*—A. LOISY Les Mythes babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse: (5) L'Épilogue du poème de la Création; (6) L'épopée de Gilgamès, Eabani; (8) Le séjour de Sitnapishtim et la plante de vie—J. TURMEL Le dogme du péché originel dans saint Augustin: (1) Avant la controverse pélagienne; (2) Pendant la controverse pélagienne, La démonstration du péché originel—M. DE WULF La doctrine de la pluralité des formes dans l'ancienne école scolastique du xiiie siècle—Essais et notices: D. LENAIN Les Mélanges du professeur Funk—C. MICHEL Religions des peuples classiques avant le christianisme: (4) Religions et cultes grecs, (5) Philosophie religieuse—A. LOISY Chronique biblique: (1) Ouvrages généraux (*suite*); (2) Grammaire et critique textuelle.

Analecta Bollandiana, June 1901 (Vol. xx, No. 2: Brussels, 14 Rue des Ursulines). F. NAU Le texte grec original de la Vie de S. Paul de Thèbes—Ad carmina de S. Quintino—M. BONNET Actes de S. Thomas apôtre: Le poème de l'âme: Version grecque remaniée par Nicétas de Thessalonique—E. VACANDARD Principaux écrits sur S. Ouen du viie au xviie siècle—Miracles de SS. Eberhard et Virgile, évêques de Salzbourg—Miracula S. Cornelii papae Ninivensia—De codice 307 bibliothecae publicae Gandavensis: Appendix, Narratio de S. Servatio—De codicibus hagiographicis graecis bibliothecae civitatis Lipsiensis—Miracle de S. Thomas d'Aquin—Bulletin des publications hagiogra-

phiques—U. CHEVALIER Supplementum ad Repertorium hymnologicum (Exultemus in hoc festo—Gaudia debita).

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, July 1901 (Vol. ii, No. 3: Louvain, C. Peeters, for the Université Catholique de Louvain). J. FLAMION Les anciennes listes épiscopales des quatre grands sièges (*suite et fin*)—C. M. KAUFMANN La Pègè du temple d'Hiérapolis: contribution à la symbolique du christianisme primitif—Mélanges: E. VAN ROEY La collection des 'Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur' (*suite et fin*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue Bénédictine, July 1901 (Vol. xviii, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Lettres inédites de S. Augustin et du prêtre Januarien dans l'affaire des moines d'Adrumète—O. ROTTMANNER S. Augustin sur l'auteur de l'épître aux Hébreux—J. M. BESSE La vie des premiers moines gallo-romains—U. BERLIÈRE Le cardinal Matthieu d'Albano (*suite et fin*)—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—U. BALTUS Le nouveau testament par le R. P. Didon—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift, 1901 (Vol. lxxxiii, No. 3: Ravensburg and Vienna, H. Kitz). WEBER Ararat in der Bibel—KIRSCH Papst Benedict XIV und seine Bullen bez. Chinas—PETERS Textkritisches zu Job (*concluded*)—BRÜLL Die Ergreifung und Überlieferung Jesu an Pilatus (*concluded*)—FUNK Theologie und Zeit des Pseudo-Ignatius—KELLNER Wo und seit wann wurde 'Missa' bestehende Bezeichnung für das Messopfer?—Reviews—Analecta.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, May 1901 (Vol. xliv, No. 2: Leipzig, O. R. Reisland). G. FRANK Ein Rückblick auf die protestantische Theologie des 19 Jahrhunderts—A. HILGENFELD Die Geburts- und Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu, Luc. i 5–ii 52—R. LIECHTENHAN, Untersuchungen zur koptisch-gnostischen Litteratur—F. ZIMMER Urkundliches zu dem 'Königsberger Muckerprocess'—A. HILGENFELD Die Geburt Jesu aus der Jungfrau in dem Lucas-Evangelium—Review: A. H(ILGENFELD) P. Corssen, Die Recension der Philoxeniana durch Thomas von Mabug.

July 1901 (Vol. xliv, No. 3). F. W. SCHIEFER Das Problem der Sünde im 4 Ezrabuch—C. HOLSTEN Einleitung in die Korintherbriefe—A. HILGENFELD Die vornicänische Litteratur des Christentums und ihre Bearbeitung zu Ende des 19 Jahrhunderts—H. LIETZMANN Chronologie der ersten und zweiten Verbannung des Athanasius—J. DRÄSEKE Demetrios Kydones oder Nemesios?—F. NIPPOLD Zur 13 Auflage der Kurtz'schen Kirchengeschichte—E. REINHARDT Die gegenwärtige Verfassung der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche in der Türkei—A. HILGENFELD Zu Lucas iii 2—Reviews: F. GÖRRES F. Dahn, 'Die Könige der Germanen,' Band viii, 1897–1900; J. DRÄSEKE A. Schmitt, 'Zwei noch unbenutzte Handschriften des Joannes Scotus Erigena.'

Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, June 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 6: Erlangen and

Leipzig, A. Deichert). SCHULTZEN Zur Lehre von der Bekehrung (*concluded*)—K. SCHMIDT Der Irvingianismus, I—ULRICH Heilsglaube und Vorsehungsglaube—W. VOLLERT Christian August Anton Vollert (*concluded*).

July 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 7). BEYREISS Die christliche Vollkommenheit—K. SCHMIDT Der Irvingianismus, II—LOTZ Der Bund vom Sinai, I—WOHLENBERG Glossen zum 1. Johannesbrief, I.

August 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 8). P. RUTZ Taufe und Wiedergeburt mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kindertaufe—BEYREISS Die christliche Vollkommenheit (*concluded*)—LOTZ Der Bund vom Sinai, II—KEUSSLER Die Predigt nach dem 5. Artikel der Konkordienformel.

September 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 9). BORG-SCHÜTTMANN Der geschichtliche Christus als Glaubensgrund—FREYBE Der Ursprung der Sitte—BOEHMER Haggai und Zacharia zwei Propheten des Herrn—TH. ZAHN 'Retractationes'—WOHLENBERG Glossen zum 1. Johannesbrief, II.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, June 1901 (Vol. xxii, No. 2: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). ERBES Petrus nicht in Rom, sondern in Jerusalem gestorben (*concluded*)—FLADE Deutsches Inquisitionsverfahren um 1400—RIBBECK Die Herzoge von Brieg und die geistlichen Patronatsherren (*concluded*)—Analecta: KOSTER Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte Naumburgs von 1525 bis 1545 (*concluded*)—Miscelle von Luther.

September 1901 (Vol. xxii, No. 3). G. FICKER Bemerkungen zu einer Inschrift des Papstes Damasus—E. SCHOTT Joachim, der Abt von Floris—W. GOETZ Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi—J. GOTTSCHICK Studien zur Versöhnungslehre des Mittelalters—W. DIEHL Neue Funde zur Geschichte der Kastenordnungen des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen—Analecta: G. SOMMERFELDT Zu Matthäus de Cracovia's kanzelrednerischen Schriften; W. GOETZ Ein Brief Calvins.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, August 1901 (Vol. ii, No. 3: Giessen, J. Ricker). E. PREUSCHEN Paulus als Antichrist—P. CORSSEN Warum ist das vierte Evangelium für ein Werk des Apostels Johannes erklärt worden?—R. KNOPF Eine Thonscherbe mit dem Texte des Vaterunser—M. STEFFEN Das Verhältnis von Geist und Glauben bei Paulus, II—Miscellanea: E. NESTLE Luc. xx 36 bei Justin und Marcion, Apostolische Constitutionen ii 25.

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, July 1901 (Vol. xi, No. 4: Tübingen and Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr). FR. NIEBERGALL Christus und der Glaube—FR. TRAUB Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode und die systematische Theologie: eine Auseinandersetzung mit Tröltsch's theologischem Reformprogramm.

October 1901 (Vol. xi, No. 5). J. HERZOG Das Testament der Christlich-Sozialen Englands an unsere deutsche evangelische Kirche—F. KATTENBUSCH Der geschichtliche Sinn des apostolischen Symbols—RADE Zum Streit um die rechte Methode der christlichen Glaubenslehre.

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EUCHARISTIC BELIEF IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES[1].

THE purpose of this paper is to investigate the state of Christian opinion in reference to the Holy Eucharist during the interval between the end of the Apostolic age and the beginning of the last persecution.

The ground has often been worked, but usually as a part of the larger field of patristic teaching. There are reasons, as it appears to me, for handling the Ante-Nicene evidence separately, at least in the first instance. Each age offers its own interpretation of the common faith, and each may justly claim to be heard in turn, even if the law of continuity demands that judgement be reserved until the whole of the evidence is before us. To quote in the same sentence Justin and Cyril of Jerusalem, Irenaeus and Gregory of Nyssa, Tertullian and Hilary, Cyprian and Augustine, as if their combined testimony represented a constant tradition, is to ignore the great development of doctrine which accompanied the conversion of the Empire and within a century carried primitive conceptions many steps beyond the point reached before the Council of Nicaea. Even Ante-Nicene writers manifest a marked progress in opinion, and we shall have occasion to notice points of difference between the Eucharistic teaching of the second century and that of the third; but the belief of the second and third centuries is relatively homogeneous, so that it may properly form the subject of a single inquiry.

[1] The substance of the following pages was read at a meeting of the London Diocesan Society of Sacred Study, Oct. 8, 1901.

The evidence is fragmentary and incidental, yet upon the whole it is sufficient. No treatise upon the Eucharist, no synodical decree upon matters connected with it, no complete Eucharistic office or *anaphora*, has reached us from the first three centuries. On the other hand information comes in considerable abundance from many quarters, and in a variety of forms. It is contributed by the Churches of West Syria and Asia Minor, Gaul and Italy, Egypt and North Africa; it is conveyed through various channels—in episcopal letters, in apologies intended for the eye of the Pagan and the Jew, in treatises directed against heresy, in homilies and commentaries, in Church handbooks and orders, in sepulchral inscriptions and mural paintings. The manifoldness of the sources reveals the interest which the subject has already awakened, and seems to guarantee results fairly representative of the general belief of the Ante-Nicene Church.

1. It is evident that even at the outset of our period the Eucharist occupied an unique position in Christian worship. Indeed it may be said to have from the first absorbed all the elements of worship. Prayer, intercession, thanksgiving, the reading of the Scriptures, the homily, the collection of alms, are associated with it as with no other public office. At first there does not seem to have been any other public office. The Agape was either subsidiary to the Eucharist, or, if separated from it, was reduced to the character of a religious meal. Vigil services, where they existed, appear to have served as a preparation for the early Eucharist[1]. The *stationes* were simple fasts, during which some of the faithful abstained even from the Eucharist[2]; the daily hours were unknown, though the *Didache* prescribes the use of the Lord's Prayer three times a day in the private devotions of the faithful[3]. When the Church met for common worship, it came together to break the Eucharistic Bread.

[1] On the vigils see Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, p. 4 ff., and *Church Quarterly Review*, xli p. 398 f.; and cf. the Bishop of Salisbury's *Ministry of Grace*, p. 312 ff.

[2] Cf. Tert. *de orat.* 19.

[3] c. 8. It is significant that no other prayers are prescribed and no intervention of the bishops and deacons contemplated. The Hippolytean canons (Achelis, p. 122) contemplate a daily assembly at 'cockcrowing,' which is compulsory for the clergy.

The great Christian service was known as the Eucharist, the Oblations or Oblation, and the Sacrifice. Each name has a suggestive history. 'Eucharist' clearly had its origin in the thanksgivings or benedictions[1] pronounced over the Bread and Cup. These simple acts of worship, in which our Lord followed Jewish usage and possibly employed Jewish forms, were magnified by a fine Christian instinct into a great Eucharistic Prayer, which included thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, and other gifts of creation[2], but above all for the Incarnation, the Redemption of the world, and the spiritual endowments of the Church. The benediction which in the Jewish rite had been incidental and secondary became central in the Christian service. The note of praise predominated in the primitive liturgy; it was the weekly expression of the new spirit of joy and thankfulness breathed into human life by the coming of the Son and the Spirit. Before the time of Ignatius the name which properly described the central prayer was transferred to the service as a whole[3], while within the next half-century Justin already applied it to the Food which had been eucharistically blessed[4].

For the use of the word 'Oblation' in connexion with the Eucharist there is yet earlier authority. When Clement of Rome speaks of the oblations and gifts which it belongs to the presbyter's office to present, he doubtless includes among them, as Lightfoot recognised[5], the Eucharistic prayer and elements[6].

[1] *Εὐλογεῖν* is used of the Bread in Mt. (א B D), Mc., and *εὐχαριστεῖν* of the Cup in Mt., Mc., Lc. (xxii 17); on the other hand *εὐχαριστεῖν* is used of the Bread in 'Lc.' xxii 19, 1 Cor. xi 24, and *εὐλογεῖν* of the Cup in 1 Cor. x 16. In the narratives of the miracle of the Loaves *εὐλογεῖν* occurs in Mt. xiv, Mc. vi, Lc. ix, but *εὐχαριστεῖν* in Mt. xv, Mc. viii, Jo. vi *bis*; cf. also Lc. xxiv 30, Acts xxvii 35. How nearly synonymous the words are in this connexion appears from 1 Cor. xiv 16 *ἐὰν εὐλογῇς πνεύματι . . . ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ*. For instances of *εὐλογία* as applied to the Eucharist, a use of the word which appears to be specially frequent in Cyril of Alexandria, see *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, *s. v.*, and Brightman, pp. 508, 509.

[2] Cf. Iren. IV xviii 4, 6.

[3] *Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 6.

[4] *Apol.* i 66 *ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία.* Cf. Orig. *c. Cels.* viii 57 *ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος.* The process of transition may be seen in Ign. *Smyrn.* 6 *εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι κτλ*: cf. *Clem. hom.* xi 36 *εὐχαριστίαν κλάσας* with xiv 1 *τὸν ἄρτον ἐπ' εὐχαριστίᾳ κλάσας.*

[5] *S. Clement of Rome*, ii p. 134 f.

[6] *Cor.* 40 *τάς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι . . . ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν*: *ib.* 44 *τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς.* In c. 36, for *τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν τὸν προστάτην* the Latin has *pontificem*

M 2

The terms are suggested by the Levitical ritual, as the context shows; the prayers and thanksgivings of the Church, and the material offerings which symbolised the thankful rendering to God of His own gifts, were the *προσφοραί* of the new Israel [1].

'Sacrifice' as applied to the Eucharist may be traced with some confidence to the Eucharistic interpretation of Malachi i 11. 'This [sacrifice],' says the *Didache*, 'is that which was spoken of by the Lord, "In every place and time offer Me a pure sacrifice [2]".' Here *θυσία καθαρά* comes from the LXX, and *θυσία* represents the meal offering, as it does in nearly half the instances where it occurs in the canonical books of the Greek Old Testament [3]. This passage from Malachi is quite a *locus classicus* in early Eucharistic teaching; it is cited also by Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian [4]. By whom it was first applied to the Eucharist we do not know, but a use so early and widely distributed suggests that it had found its way into a primitive collection of *testimonia*; certainly it was accepted as a prophecy of the Eucharist by something like a consensus of Christian opinion in the second and third centuries. But in taking over *θυσία* into the Eucharistic language of the Church the earlier writers seem to have distinctly limited it to the Bread and Cup considered as an offering of the fruits of the earth. The word

et aduocatum precum nostrarum = (?) *τὸν ἀρχ. τῶν προσευχῶν ἡμ. κ. προστ.* The phrase *ἀρχ. τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν* occurs however in Orig. *de orat.* 10.

[1] *Προσφορά* is a rare word in the Greek O. T., occurring within the canon only in 3 Regn. vii 48, Ps. xxxix (xl) 6, Dan. iii 38. But (1) *προσφέρειν* is frequent in Biblical Greek, and *προσφορά*, perhaps through the influence of Ps. xxxix, is fairly common in the N. T.; (2) *προσφορά* is freely used in Ecclesiasticus, a popular book in the early Church and known to Clement (*Cor.* 59, 60). In other sub-apostolic writers *προσφορά* occurs but seldom (Barn. 2. 6, Polyc. *mart.* 14). But Irenaeus doubtless used it, and in reference to the Eucharist, (IV xviii 1 *ecclesiae oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri*): cf. Tert. *ad uxor.* ii 8, Clem. Al. *Strom.* i 19 § 96; on its later use see Bright, *Canons*, p. 45.

[2] c. 14 *ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κυρίου Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαράν.* Cf. LXX l.c. *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσάγεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ θυσία καθαρά* (מִנְחָה טְהוֹרָה).

[3] In the books of the Hebrew canon *θυσία* translates זבח 140 times, and מִנְחָה 133 times, out of the 300 instances, more or less, in which it represents a Hebrew word. In connexion with Clement's *δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς* it is well to bear in mind that מִנְחָה is repeatedly rendered by *δῶρα*: see e. g. Gen. iv 3 ff., where the interchange of *θυσία* and *δῶρα* is instructive.

[4] Justin *dial.* 28, 41, 116 f. Iren. IV xvii 5 f. Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii 22; *adv. Iud.* 5 f. Cypr. *testim.* i 16.

does not appear to have suggested to them a parallel between the Eucharist and the animal sacrifices of the Law[1]; it is perhaps significant that while θυσία is adopted from Malachi, no disposition is shown to use θύειν as an equivalent for προσφέρειν in a Christian sense[2].

The relation between the Eucharistic sacrifice and the Sacrifice of the Cross was not indeed overlooked, even in the second century. More than once Justin, in the *Apology* as well as in the *Dialogue*, refers to the Pauline formula τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν[3], using ποιεῖν in one context after a manner which shows that he regarded the word as bearing in this connexion a sacrificial sense[4]. Justin, however, seems to stand alone among writers of his generation in referring to the Eucharistic ἀνάμνησις; the next mention[5] of it occurs perhaps in Origen's homilies on Leviticus, where he is commenting on the Shewbread. Reading in Lev. xxiv 7 with some good MSS[6] of the LXX, ἔσονται οἱ ἄρτοι εἰς ἀνάμνησιν προκείμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ, he proceeds to say that Christ is the true ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως[7], since He it is ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον (Rom. iii 25); the Shewbread prefigured Him in this character, the Eucharist is His permanent memorial. Here the ἀνάμνησις is clearly understood in its Levitical sense, as a memorial before God; yet with characteristic versatility in the

[1] The Apologists strongly disclaim a material sacrifice; see Aristides, *apol.* 1, Justin *apol.* i 13, Athenag. *leg.* 13. For the attitude of the Church towards the Jewish sacrificial system cf. Justin *dial.* 22 ff., Tert. *adv. Marc.* ii 18, 22.

[2] Hippolytus, ed. Lagarde, p. 199, would be an exception, if the passage were genuine. Θύειν is frequent in the LXX, but was probably avoided because of its constant use in reference to the pagan sacrifices; cf. e. g. Polyc. *mart.* 12 ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν, and the contrast in the first canon of Ancyra: πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐπιθύσαντας . . . προσφέρειν . . . μὴ ἐξεῖναι. For a later Eucharistic use of θύειν cf. Brightman, p. 357. On θυσιαστήριον in Ignatius see Lightfoot ii p. 43 ff. Irenaeus, notwithstanding his language about the Christian oblation and sacrifice, places the Christian altar in heaven (IV xviii 6).

[3] *Apol.* i 66; *dial.* 41, 117.

[4] *Dial.* 41 ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως δὲ προσφορὰ . . . ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαριζομένων ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας προσφέρεσθαι παραδοθεῖσα [Lev. xiv 10], τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὃν . . . Ἰ. Χ. ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν (where ποιεῖν is clearly parallel to προσφέρειν).

[5] On Hippolytus see above (n. 2).

[6] *Hom. in Lev.* xiii 3 'erunt panes in commemorationem appositi Domino': cf. xiii 5 'erunt panes in comm. propositi ante Dominum.' The reading is found in codd. F M and about twenty cursives mentioned by Holmes and Parsons, and in Compl., Ald.; codd. B A have ἔσονται εἰς ἄρτους εἰς ἀνάμνησιν προκείμενα τῷ κυρίῳ.

[7] Cf. the Mozarabic *missa* 'in quarto dominico Pasche' (Migne *P. L.* lxxxv, col. 281) 'offeramus . . . panes propositionis.'

next chapter but one of the same homily, Origen interprets the word in the sense of a memorial which recalls the past to the recollection of men[1]. In like manner he is not careful to limit himself to one interpretation of the Levitical sin offering and the Aaronic priesthood. Christ is the only offering for sin, yet a certain propitiatory value belongs to the Eucharistic commemoration of His Death[2]. Christ is the true Priest, and the true Altar, as well as the Victim[3]; yet there are official 'priests of the Church' who encircle visible altars at which the Eucharist is offered[4].

These statements, which belong to Origen's popular teaching at Caesarea[5], seem to mark a distinct advance upon the teaching of Justin and Irenaeus. Yet all the writers hitherto mentioned speak of the Eucharist as a sacrifice only when they are interpreting Old Testament types or prophecies. There has been as yet no direct evidence to show that it was ordinarily known under that name. In the Latin Church of Carthage, however, this had certainly come to pass before the middle of the third century, if not some decades earlier. *Sacrificium* is Cyprian's ordinary designation for the Eucharistic service; to make the Eucharistic offering is *celebrare sacrificium*, and once *sacrificare*[6]. Other sacrificial terms are freely borrowed; the Bishops are *sacerdotes*, and their office is *sacerdotium*; the table or slab on

[1] *ib. c.* 5 'quid est enim quod nobis commemorationem Dei faciat? quid est quod nos ad memoriam iustitiae et totius boni reuocet, nisi uerbum Dei?'

[2] *Hom. in Lev.* v 3 'quae est hostia quae pro peccatis offertur, nisi unigenitus Filius Dei?' Cf. xiii 3 'ista est commemoratio sola quae propitium facit hominibus Deum.'

[3] *Hom. in Lev.* v 3 'saepe ostendimus ex diuinis scripturis Christum esse et hostiam ... et sacerdotem.' ix 10 'ad Christum uenisti pontificem uerum.' *Hom. in Ios.* viii 6 'ipse esse ostenditur et sacerdos et hostia et altare.'

[4] *Hom. in Lev.* v 3 'ministri et sacerdotes ecclesiae ... ipsi sacerdotes ecclesiae ... sacerdos ecclesiae.' *Hom. in Iud.* iii 2 'inuenies interdum etiam in nobis aliquos qui ... in altaris circulo uelut specula quaedam intuentibus collocati [sumus],' &c. Cf. *hom. in Ios.* ii 1 'cum uero uideris ... ecclesias exstrui, altaria ... pretioso Christi sanguine consecrari, cum uideris sacerdotes et leuitas ... uerbum Dei per Spiritus sancti gratiam ministrantes.'

[5] Cf. Eus. *H. E.* vi 36.

[6] See *Studia Biblica* iv p. 265 ff. Tertullian had so far anticipated Cyprian as to use *sacrificium*, *sacerdos*, and *ara* in a Christian sense (*ad Scap.* 2, *de orat.* 18 f., *de bapt.* 17, *de cult. fem.* 11). It would be interesting to inquire how far this terminology had its origin in the O. L. Bible; as regards Cyprian see Mr. E. W. Watson's remarks in *Studia Biblica*, iv p. 194 ff.

which the Eucharist was offered is *altare*; the whole service is *sacrificium dominicum*, and the consecrated Bread *hostia dominica*[1]. With this advance in terminology there is a corresponding advance in doctrine. Cyprian probably knew the traditional interpretation of Malachi i 11[2], but his view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is not based on that famous passage. He finds it in the words of institution, which he quotes in their Pauline form. Christ had called the Bread and Cup His Body and Blood; He had made them commemorative of His Passion. Cyprian contends that the Christian Priest 'offers in the Church a true and full Sacrifice to God the Father,' if he adheres strictly to the words and actions of Christ at the Institution[3]; and this Sacrifice is identical with the Sacrifice of the Cross[4], which the Eucharist by Christ's ordinance commemorates. It is in keeping with this deepened sense of the reality of the Eucharistic commemoration that the Church of North Africa was the first Christian community, so far as we know, which offered the Eucharist for the benefit of the departed; *oblationes pro defunctis* are already mentioned by Tertullian, while Cyprian speaks of *sacrificia pro dormitione defunctorum*[5]. It would be an anachronism to read into such words the meaning which they would naturally have borne if used by a mediaeval ecclesiastic, but the advance which they mark upon the teaching of the second century should be frankly recognised.

2. There was a second aspect of the Holy Eucharist with

[1] *De cath. eccl. unit.* 17. Mr. Watson writes (*op. cit.* p. 266): '*hostia dominica* is opposed to *falsa sacrificia*, 226. 9, and must be equivalent to *sacrificium*,' i. e. as he explains just before 'The Eucharistic Service.' But *hostia* is elsewhere in Cyprian the victim offered (*ep.* xxxi 5, lxxvi 3), and *h. dominica* is not an unnatural phrase in a writer to whom the Eucharistic Bread was *Domini corpus* or *sanctum Domini*, and the Sacrifice *dominicum*. Could the service be called 'dominicae hostiae ueritas'?

[2] The heading to *testim.* i 16, 'quod sacrificium uetus euacuaretur et nouum celebraretur,' leaves little doubt upon the point.

[3] See *Ep.* lxiii 9 ff., esp. § 14 'si Christus Iesus . . . ipse est summus sacerdos Dei patris et sacrificium patri se ipsum optulit et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem praecepit, utique ille sacerdos uice Christi uere fungitur qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur; et sacrificium uerum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum uideat optulisse.' The principle is not affected by the circumstance that Cyprian's argument relates to a matter of discipline which is not relevant to our subject.

[4] *ib.* 17 'passionis eius mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus, passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus.'

[5] Tert. *de coron.* 3: Cypr. *ep.* i 2.

which the Ante-Nicene Church was still more deeply concerned. The Eucharist was not merely the Christian oblation or sacrifice; it supplied food and sustenance to the Christian life. We shall endeavour to ascertain the exact meaning attached in the second and third centuries to the words of Christ which declare the Bread and the Cup to be His Body and Blood.

Three interpretations of these words find a place in Ante-Nicene literature. In some quarters a disposition is shown to spiritualise the words of Institution so far as to obscure their reference to His actual Flesh and Blood. It is remarkable that this tendency manifests itself in two of our earliest authorities. The Eucharistic forms of the *Didache*[1] speak only of the 'life and knowledge,' or 'knowledge, faith, and immortality,' revealed through our Lord, and the 'spiritual drink and eternal life' which are His gifts to the Church[2]. It is scarcely permissible to set these expressions aside on the ground that they 'emanate from some only half-Christian community[3],' for whatever may be the history of the *Didache*, the words in themselves embody a thoroughly Christian though too exclusively mystical a view, and might well have proceeded from some disciple of the school of St. John. Moreover, the same tendency appears in certain passages of the Ignatian letters, notwithstanding the evident desire of Ignatius to employ the Eucharist as a witness for the reality of the Lord's manhood. He blames the Docetic party for not admitting that 'the Eucharist is the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins'; he exhorts the members of the Church to 'use one Eucharist,' on the ground that 'there is One Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one Cup for union in His Blood[4].' Yet in other contexts, where the Docetae are not in view, he allows himself to use language scarcely less ambiguous than that of the *Didache*: 'faith is the Flesh of Christ, and love His Blood'; or again, 'His Blood is love incorruptible[5].' At the end of the century this mysticism found a home in the Christian School of Alexandria. Clement revels in it, as when he writes: 'The Blood of Christ is twofold:—in part it is fleshly, that by

[1] I am content to assume Harnack's limits of time (A. D. 131–160); a later date appears to me to be inconceivable.

[2] c. 9 f.

[3] Gore, *Body of Christ*, p. 97.

[4] *Smyrn.* 6; *Philad.* 4.

[5] *Trall.* 8; *Rom.* 7.

which we have been ransomed from corruption, and in part spiritual, that is, the Blood wherewith we have been anointed. To drink the Blood of Jesus is to partake of the Lord's incorruptibility [1].' Or again: 'The Flesh and Blood of the Word are the apprehension of the Divine power and essence [2].' Clement's successor, the greater Origen, distinguishes between the popular conception of the Eucharist, and the profounder view held by better instructed Christians; the latter had learnt to connect the Eucharistic Food with the nutritive properties of the word. 'What else can the Body and Blood of God the Word be but the word in its twofold character as that which sustains and delights the heart?' 'We are said to drink the Blood of Christ not only in the way of sacramental communion, but also when we receive His words in which, as He Himself says, our life consists [3].'

A second group of early Christian teachers, including the two most representative writers of the second century, cling to a more literal interpretation of our Lord's words, and endeavour to explain them by an operation of the Divine Word or Spirit upon the Bread and Cup. The words of Justin [4] are well known, but it may be convenient to print them here for the purpose of our examination: ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιη-

[1] *Paed.* ii 2 § 19 *διττὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ σαρκικόν, ᾧ τῆς φθορᾶς λελυτρώμεθα· τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, τουτέστιν ᾧ κεχρίσμεθα* [cf. Cypr. *ep.* lxx 27]. *καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι πιεῖν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς κυριακῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας.* Cf. *paed.* i 6 § 38 *φάγετέ μου τὰς σάρκας, εἰπών, καὶ πίετέ μου τὸ αἷμα· ἐναργὲς τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ πότιμον ἀλληγορῶν.* § 43 *ἄκουε καὶ ταύτῃ· σάρκα ἡμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀλληγορεῖ . . . αἷμα ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον αἰνίττεται. ἡ τροφή, τουτέστι κύριος Ἰησοῦς, τουτέστιν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, πνεῦμα σαρκούμενον.*

[2] *Strom.* v 10 § 67 *σάρκες αὗται καὶ αἷμα τοῦ λόγου, τουτέστι, κατάληψις τῆς θείας δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας.*

[3] *in Ioann.* tom. xxxii 24 (16) *νοείσθω δὲ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῖς μὲν ἁπλουστέροις κατὰ τὴν κοινοτέραν περὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐκδοχήν, τοῖς δὲ βαθύτερον ἀκούειν μεμαθηκόσι κατὰ τὴν θειοτέραν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τροφίμου τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου ἐπαγγελίαν.* *In Matt.* § 85 'panis iste quem Deus Verbum corpus suum esse fatetur uerbum est nutritorium animarum . . . et potus iste quem Deus Verbum sanguinem suum fatetur uerbum est potans et inebrians praeclare corda bibentium . . . nam corpus Dei Verbi aut sanguis, quid aliud esse potest nisi uerbum quod nutrit et uerbum quod laetificat cor?' *Hom. in Num.* xvi 9 'bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi non solum sacramentorum ritu, sed et cum sermones eius recipimus, in quibus uita consistit sicut ipse dicit.'

[4] *Apol.* i 66.

θέντος Ἰησοῦ *καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν*[1] *εἶναι.* The sentence is overweighted and obscure, partly because Justin had not thoroughly explored the thought which lay at the back of his mind. But it seems to be clear that he proceeds upon the hypothesis of an analogy between the Incarnation and the consecration of the Eucharist; as our Lord was made Flesh by the Divine Word, so the word which issues from Him, when invoked by the prayer of the Church, makes the Bread and Cup to be His Flesh and Blood[2]. Thus Justin is able to maintain that the Eucharist is what the Gospels teach us to believe. And being this, it is not to be regarded as ordinary bread and wine[3], though it retains the nutritive properties of ordinary food, but as possessing a sacred and mysterious character.

Irenaeus approaches the subject with another motive. Like Ignatius, he finds in the Eucharist a weapon to slay heresy. The false *gnosis* sought to divorce the spiritual from the material, and the Divine from the created. Against this disruption the Eucharist is a standing witness[4]. 'Either let the Gnostics change their view, or let them refuse to offer the oblation of which we have spoken. Our view on the other hand is in harmony with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist establishes our view.' The words that follow must be quoted in the Greek: *ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά, κτλ.* Christ, he writes further on[5], confessed the Cup to be His own Blood, and affirmed the Bread to be His

[1] i. e. in the Gospels, as the context shows (*οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι . . . οὕτως παρέδωκαν κτλ.*).

[2] So I venture to paraphrase the difficult words *τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ κτλ.* I find myself unable to accept Canon (soon, as I rejoice to know, to become Bishop) Gore's 'word of prayer' (*Body of Christ*, pp. 7, 289 f.); for (1) apart from the Lord's Prayer, which he excludes, there is nothing which really answers to the description; and (2) notwithstanding Heb. vi 2 (on which see Westcott), the order is almost prohibitory of this rendering (cf. Blass, ed. Thackeray, p. 99). Nor does c. 13 *λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας* (*J. T. S.*, i p. 112) reconcile me to it. Whether the *λόγος* is the *δύναμις ἡ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* of c. 33, or the word spoken at the institution, is a question which cannot be discussed here.

[3] Justin, *l. c.*: *οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν.*

[4] Iren. IV xviii 5. I have substituted *ἐπίκλησιν* for *ἔκκλησιν* of the printed texts, which has been shown to be an error by Harnack (*Texte u. Unters.*, N. F., v 3 p. 56).

[5] Iren. V ii 2 f.

own Body. The Cup is mixed, and the Bread made, but when they receive the Word of God, there results the Eucharist of Christ's Body and Blood[1], and yet these elements serve for the nutrition and formation of the substance of our flesh. How can our opponents in the face of these facts maintain that the flesh is incapable of receiving the Divine gift which is life eternal, seeing that it is fed by the Body and Blood of the Lord? As the earthly elements receiving the Word of God become the Eucharist, which is the Body and Blood of Christ, so our bodies, fed by the Eucharist, will after they are laid in the earth and dissolved therein, rise again in due season, the Word of God bestowing upon them the gift of resurrection. Irenaeus, it will be seen, reasons, not, as Justin had done, from the Incarnation to the reality of the Eucharistic Gift, but from the reality of the Eucharistic Gift to the Resurrection of the body. He begins where Justin ends, assuming that the Eucharist is what it is in virtue of the Divine word invoked upon it by the prayer of the Church, and inferring from these premises the resurrection of those who receive it into their souls and bodies[2]. But in taking over Justin's idea, he enlarges it by pointing out the composite character of the Eucharist which follows from it. If the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of the Lord, while retaining the nutritious properties of ordinary food, it must consist of two factors, an earthly and a heavenly, both real and substantial (*ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα*).

Although this theory receives its full exposition only in the writings of Justin and Irenaeus, it probably found wide acceptance in Greek-speaking Churches during the second and third centuries. It is enshrined in the Invocation of the Word or Spirit[3] which is

[1] The Latin, which I here translate, is probably nearer to the original than the Greek as given by Halloix (ii p. 501, ed. 1636). Ante-Nicene practice, following the letter of our Lord's words, seems to prefer *εἶναι* to *γίνεσθαι* in reference to the relation between the sign and the thing signified in the Eucharist; thus a few lines further on Irenaeus says that the elements *προσλαμβανόμενα τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ εὐχαριστία γίνεται ὅπερ ἐστὶ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

[2] Cf. Ign. *Eph.* 20, and the words in which the people are communicated according to the Anglican order.

[3] It need not be assumed that any form of invocation existed in the time of Irenaeus; the *εὐχή* was itself the *ἐπίκλησις τοῦ θεοῦ.* It is significant, however, that the earliest known Greek form invokes the Logos, and not the Holy Spirit as distinct from the Logos; see *J. T. S.*, i pp. 106, 112, and cf. Justin, *Apol.* i 33 *τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον.*

a characteristic feature in Eastern forms of the *anaphora*. The belief is echoed even by Origen when he speaks of the Bread as becoming, because of the prayer offered over it, 'a holy body that sanctifies those who use it with a sound intention[1].'

It is in the writings of the first Latin theologian, Tertullian of Carthage, that we meet with the third method of interpreting the words of institution. Tertullian differs from Justin and Irenaeus in two material points. In the first place he does not seem to regard the consecration as effected by the Divine Word or Spirit in answer to the prayer of the Church; to say the least, the power of the *epiclesis* is not in the foreground of his thought. To Tertullian the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Christ because our Lord distinctly called it so. 'The Bread which Christ took and distributed to His disciples He made His Body, saying (*dicendo*) "This is My Body[2]".' Thus the words of Institution are in themselves, apart from any subsequent operation upon the elements, a sufficient warrant for speaking of the Bread and the Cup as the Lord's Body and Blood. This designation for the Eucharist is used by Tertullian frequently and without restraint; while he employs occasionally such terms as *eucharistia*, *eucharistiae sacramentum*, or *sanctum*[3], with Latin downrightness he more commonly writes *corpus*, *sanguis Domini*. The phrase is used even in contexts where it is open to misconception; the communicant is said to 'handle' the Lord's Body, the unworthy communicant to 'offer violence' to it[4]; Christians who, according to a Carthaginian practice, reserved the Sacrament at home, are said to take the Lord's Body from the Church, and keep it in their houses[5]. It is clear that in the judgement of Tertullian the Bread and the Cup are not Christ's Body and Blood only in the act of communion, or to the faith of the communicant; they are such in themselves by virtue of Christ's ordinance and

On the other hand the Verona fragment (Hauler, p. 107) asks for the presence of the Holy Spirit: 'petimus mittas spm tuum scm in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae.'

[1] *c. Cels.* viii 33 ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργῷ εὐχαριστοῦντες καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἅγιόν τι καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς μετὰ ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους. Perhaps in arguing with a pagan Origen associates himself with the κοινοτέρα ἐκδοχή which his antagonist would have encountered and which Origen himself did not reject, though he deemed it inadequate.

[2] *adv. Marc.* iv 40.

[3] *de praescr.* 36; *de corona* 3; *de spect.* 25.

[4] *de idolatr.* 7.

[5] *ad uxor.* ii 5; *de orat.* 19.

promise. But if it be asked in what sense He called them so, Tertullian with equal frankness of speech replies that He designed the Bread to be 'the figure of His Body[1]'; that He included His Body 'in the category of bread' (*in pane censetur*)[2]; that He 'makes it present to us by means of bread' (*quo ipsum corpus suum repraesentat*)[3]. It has indeed been argued from Tertullian's use of *repraesentare*[4] that in the last-mentioned passage he intends to assert the actual presence of the Lord's Body in or by means of the Eucharistic Bread. The verb is capable of yielding this meaning, but it is equally susceptible of another[5], and in view of Tertullian's general attitude towards the question of the Eucharistic Gift, it is more natural to understand it here in the weaker sense. Tertullian in fact seems to have been satisfied with a virtual identification of the Eucharist with the Body and Blood of Christ: in his judgement, if we understand him rightly, the Bread and the Cup are figures, although not bare figures, since by Christ's ordinance they are authorised and effective representations of the realities which they symbolise. Such a view of the Eucharist well accords with the legal bent of the great

[1] *adv. Marc.* iii 19 'panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc iam eum intellegas corpori sui figuram panis dedisse,' iv 40 'acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit "Hoc est corpus meum" dicendo, id est, "figura corporis mei": figura autem non fuisset nisi ueritatis esset corpus.' Cf. the old form of the Western canon in Ps. Ambr. *De sacr.* iv 5 'fac nobis hanc oblationem . . . acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis D. N. I. Christi.' On *figura* in Tertullian see *de monog.* 6 'aliud sunt figurae, aliud formae.'

[2] *de orat.* 6 'Christus enim panis noster est, quia uita Christus et uita panis . . . tum quod et corpus eius in pane censetur—"hoc est corpus meum."' I.e. the words of institution identify the Body of Christ with bread, place It under the head of 'bread.' On Tertullian's use of *censeri in* see Roensch, *Das N. T. Tertullians*, p. 625 ff.

[3] *adv. Marc.* i 14.

[4] Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 310.

[5] *Repraesentare* is to make present to mind or eye what has been hitherto unseen or has passed out of sight: whether the presence is actual or not must be determined in each case by the context. The verb and its derivatives are favourites with Tertullian. In rather more than half the instances where he employs them actual restoration is intended (*de coron.* 15, *de orat.* 5, *de patient.* 3, *de pudic.* 14, *adv. Marc.* iii 10, iv 9, 16, 22 f., v 12, *de resurr. carn.* 14, 17, 23, 63). But this is not by any means his invariable use; cf. *apol.* 15 'Herculem repraesentat,' 16 'aliqua effigie repraesentat,' 23 'contemplatione et repraesentatione ignis illius correpta' (where the previous context shows that the *repraesentatio* is anticipatory), *de spect.* 17 'mimus repraesentat,' *de ieiun.* 13 'repraesentatio totius nominis Christiani' (a synod), *de monog.* 10, *de poenit.* 3, *adv. Prax.* 14 'Psalmi Christum ad Deum uerba facientem repraesentant,' 24 'ex personae repraesentatione . . . ut filius repraesentator patris haberetur.'

African's mind. Frigid and jejune as it may seem, it does not appear to have interfered with his sense of the reality of the Gift. 'The flesh,' he writes, 'is fed with the Body and Blood of Christ, that the soul may be sated with God[1].' The returning penitent is fed with the best food in the Father's House, even 'with the fatness of the Lord's Body, that is the Eucharist[2].' His theory of the Eucharist may have differed from that of his Greek predecessors, but he is one with them and with the whole Church in his estimation of the Eucharistic Food. It was Christ's Body and Blood which were received, in whatever way.

Whether Cyprian inherited Tertullian's view is not easy to determine. Probably his more practical mind did not seek a solution of the mystery in a theory of any kind. With Tertullian he held the Eucharist to be the 'Holy Body of the Lord[3],' but he does not add with Tertullian, *id est, figura corporis.* His comment on the story of the lapsed Christian in whose hands the Bread turned to a cinder—'so it was made to appear that the Lord withdraws when He is denied[4]'—suggests that he was not without some vague feeling that the Eucharistic Bread is interpenetrated by a consuming Presence which can, however, withdraw itself at pleasure. Yet he distinguishes between the Sacramental Gift and the Person of Christ, when in another interesting passage he represents the embrace of the Lord Himself by the victorious confessor as something more than the receiving of His Body in the Eucharist[5].

When we turn from the great teachers of the period to the rank and file of the Christian army, the laity and the majority of the clergy, it is less easy to arrive at an estimate of the prevalent belief. It is evident indeed that the κοινοτέρα ἐκδοχή, as Origen calls it, did not err on the side of a depreciatory view of Christ's great ordinance. The Bread and the Cup were given to the people with the words 'The Body of Christ,' 'the Blood of Christ,' and as such they were received, each communicant

[1] *de resurr. carn.* 8 'caro corpore et sanguine Christi uescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.'

[2] *de pudic.* 9 'opimitate dominici corporis uescitur, eucharistia scilicet.'

[3] *Ep.* xv 1 'eucharistiam, id est sanctum Domini corpus.'

[4] *De laps.* 26 'documento unius ostensum est Dominum recedere cum negatur, nec inmerenti ad salutem prodesse quod sumitur.'

[5] *Ep.* lviii 9 'armemus et dexteram gladio spiritali . . . ut eucharistiae memor quae Domini corpus accipit ipsum complectatur.'

adding his 'Amen[1].' Due reverence was shown to the consecrated gifts; at Carthage, in the time of Tertullian, and at Caesarea, in the time of Origen, the greatest care was taken not to let a drop or even a crumb fall to the ground[2]. Here and there we notice signs of a tendency to superstition, as in the singular reason assigned for this praiseworthy vigilance in the Hippolytean canons[3]. The Carthaginian practice of reserving the Eucharistic Bread at home in an *arca* for daily communion may have encouraged a somewhat materialistic conception of the Gift, of which there are traces in the stories told by Cyprian[4]. Among Gnostic Christians we hear of an attempt in one quarter to import into the mysteries a false realism, sleight of hand being used with the view of changing the colour of the wine at the moment of consecration[5]; and a fragment apparently due to the Valentinian Theodotus speaks significantly of a change in the elements which transcends appearances[6]. But the general belief of the Catholic Church at this period seems to have gone little beyond a simple identification of the consecrated Bread and Cup with the Body and Blood of Christ. Avircius had felt the pulse of the Church both in East and West: from his Phrygian home he had travelled to Rome and to Nisibis. But on the Tiber and on the Tigris he had found the same belief and practice with regard to the Eucharist; everywhere there had been set before him 'fish from the spring, large and choice, caught in the grasp of a pure maiden's hand, and with it good wine and bread[7].' The words recognise the

[1] Tert. *de spect.* 25; Eus. *H. E.* vi 43, vii 9; cf. Achelis, *die canones Hippolyti*, p. 100 f.

[2] Tert. *de coron.* 3 'calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur.' Orig. *hom. in Exod.* xiii 3 'nostis qui diuinis mysteriis interesse consuestis quomodo cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et ueneratione seruatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur, reos enim uos creditis (et recte creditis) si quid inde per neglegentiam decidat.'

[3] Achelis, *op. cit.* p. 120 'ne potiatur eo spiritus malignus.'

[4] *De lapsis* 26.

[5] Iren. I xiii 2 *ποτήρια οἴνῳ κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ.*

[6] Clem. Al. *exc. Theod.* § 82 *καὶ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἁγιάζεται τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ὀνόματος, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντα κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον οἷα ἐλήφθη, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει εἰς δύναμιν πνευματικὴν μεταβέβληται. οὕτως καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κτλ.* The *μεταβολή*, it will be observed, is not limited to the Eucharist: cf. Cyr. Hier. *cat. myst.* iii 3.

[7] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii p. 723 Πίστις *πάντη δὲ προῆγε | καὶ παρέθηκε τροφὴν πάντη, ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς | πανμεγέθη, καθαρόν, ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος*

reality alike of the earthly elements and of the heavenly gift, the δύο πράγματα which Irenaeus had already seen in the Eucharist; but they cannot fairly be taken to support any particular theory of the Eucharistic Presence. The same may be said of the scenes painted on the walls and roofs of the Roman catacombs, so far as they may be claimed for this period[1]: the banquet of fish and bread which so often appears indicates the assured belief that our Lord gives Himself in the Eucharist, but does not necessarily imply more. There is a significant absence in Ante-Nicene monuments of any reference to the adoration of Christ in the Eucharist; indeed, it is scarcely possible that Eucharistic adoration can have been practised by an age which sent the Eucharist from Church to Church, kept it in private houses for daily use, and in emergencies was prepared to convey and administer it to the dying by the hand of a child[2]. The Ante-Nicene Church took Christ's words as true, and revered the Bread and Cup which He called His Body and Blood; but so far as our evidence extends, it does not lead us to conclude that she based on this belief and reverent attitude a system of practical devotions such as that which was afterwards built upon them. She was satisfied with the knowledge that in the Holy Eucharist she had an unfailing provision of the Bread of Life.

Whatever view may be taken of this attitude, it certainly made for peace. As we have seen, some of the greatest teachers of the period differed among themselves in their interpretation of the Eucharistic offering and the manner of the Eucharistic Gift. But there is no indication that they were conscious of differences under either head. Still less could the 'simpler' members of the Church have realised that their leaders were divided in opinion. No sides were taken; there was no Eucharistic controversy; no charge was laid against a brother because he understood the words of Christ in this particular sense or in that. The times

ἁγνή· | καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἔσθειν διὰ παντός, | οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα, κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου. Zahn's text (*Forschungen*, v 70 f.) is identical with Ramsay's, and the conjectures made by other editors do not affect the witness of the passage so far as it concerns our subject. Can καθαρόν be an allusion to θυσία καθαρά! With ἰχθὺν . . . ἐδράξατο may be compared the Autun inscription : ἔσθιε, πῖνε . . . ἰχθὺν ἔχων παλάμαις.

[1] De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, ii p. 338 ff.: plates xv, xvi, xviii.

[2] Iren. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v 24 : Dionys. Al. *ap.* Eus. vi 44.

were not free from serious controversies on other questions connected with the interpretation of Scripture and the discipline of the Church; but on the subject of the Eucharist no dispute arose. It was as if men felt that no discordant note must be struck when they spoke or wrote of the One Bread which is the symbol and bond of the One Body of Christ.

H. B. SWETE.

...LEY'S THEORY OF THE ...ONEMENT.

... with the prevalent tone and temper of ... country, within the Church of England ... doubt that an enormous but singularly ... taken place in the current conceptions of the ... impenetrable has been the reserve of ... considered the representatives or successors ... In official pronouncements, in formal ... as well as in the pulpit, the Gospel of the ... to a very large extent taken the place ... Atonement. Undoubtedly it is impossible ... of the Incarnation, it is impossible to ... without implying some doctrine of ... But the doctrine has been for the most part ... explicit. So far as isolated references and ... pulpit teaching (I mean, of the best pulpit ... it would be quite possible to get the ... that in the main the views which are com- ... with such names as Maurice and Robertson had ... the school who are looked upon (even more ... look upon themselves) as the disciples of ... In this, as in so much else, there has been ... two streams of thought to which what we may ... theological revival of the nineteenth century ... due. Yet side by side with the preaching of the ... revelation of the love and the character of God ... a somewhat perfunctory repetition of traditional which left one in some doubt as to what was really great subject either by the leaders or by the e High Church party. The present writer can during the past fifteen or twenty years a sermon

in which the doctrine of Substitution was distinctly taught, but he constantly hears language which can hardly be justified if it is to be distinctly rejected. For this silence those who are not in love with the traditional Protestant theology on this matter have every reason to be thankful. The most fundamental revolutions are the most silent; and, where a position is abandoned without controversy, the abandonment is often more complete than a controversial victory could have secured. A doctrine which has ceased to be preached is for all practical purposes dead. Still, the ghosts of dead doctrines are often troublesome; and those who hold that intellectual clearness has its value, and that a Church is not in a healthy condition which is practically without a Theology, will welcome any indication of an attempt to put an end to the prevalent vagueness on the subject. Such an indication is to be found in the appearance of Dr. Moberly's book. Whatever may be thought of the position which he takes up, it must be admitted that *Atonement and Personality* is a serious attempt at theological thinking, and that it demands serious attention, consideration, and discussion. Dr. Moberly is one of the very few Church of England theologians to whom Theology means something more than either ephemeral polemic on the one hand, or biblical and historical learning on the other.

There is one reason for which Dr. Moberly's book may be especially welcomed. It shows a consciousness, such as has too often been lacking in the works of professed theologians on such subjects, that it is impossible to approach them satisfactorily without coming to terms (so to speak) with a number of philosophical questions. There are whole libraries of modern theology, especially of Anglican theology (for both Roman Catholic and continental Protestant theologians have usually some philosophical basis), which betray not the slightest consciousness that they are discussing great problems of human thought, which form the subject of a science or group of sciences called Philosophy, and which have been treated of by some of the greatest intellects of modern Europe. Dr. Moberly does not claim to write as a philosopher; and his book contains little reference either to the great classical systems or to the more recent developments of philosophical thought. But he does appreciate the existence of philosophical problems, and the need of determining one's

relation to them before one can reach a scientific or rational Theology. To this fact is largely due the great advance which this book exhibits upon any attempt to deal in a formal and systematic way with the doctrine of the Atonement which has been made by any Anglican theologian of late years. The best compliment that can be offered such a book is to subject it to respectful but serious criticism. There is much in it for which we may be heartily thankful, but there is some danger (as it appears to me) lest the authority which it seems in a fair way to acquire may bring back in a subtle and more attenuated form the very ideas which it professes to repudiate; and that is why I venture to set forth some of the difficulties which it raises in my mind. It is impossible to doubt the sincerity and earnestness with which Dr. Moberly attempts to explain the doctrine of the Atonement in such a way as to reconcile it with the imperative demands of Reason and of the moral consciousness. The question is whether he has succeeded. The merely negative character of this inquiry must be my excuse if the task of criticism is undertaken by one who has no pretensions to the theological learning which would enable him to sit in judgement upon a work of theological research. For this reason I say nothing about the interesting and very candid and sympathetic historical Appendix.

I must say a few words to start with as to what may be called Dr. Moberly's method. A theologian who sits down to write a book upon Christian doctrine is not bound to prefix to his work a treatise on New Testament criticism or Inspiration, but he may reasonably be expected to give us some indication of his attitude towards these problems: for it is by his attitude towards them that it will be determined how far his work can be treated as a philosophical discussion of a philosophical subject, and how far it must be looked upon as a more or less ingenious defence of a preconceived theory which really rests (for those who accept it) upon external authority. On this vital question Dr. Moberly has not given us so much as an inkling as to the state of his mind. We can only say that the way in which he uses Scripture approximates to that of the Schoolmen. When the philosophical armour is getting a little thin, he takes refuge in an isolated text, torn apart from the context, without any attempt to ascertain the real mind of it, the intellectual presuppositions, the intellectual

atmosphere, of its author. Thus texts from St. John's Gospel are cited as carrying with them the authority of our Lord Himself; as though that Gospel could, in every part and every word of it, be regarded not merely as reproducing in a form coloured by much subjective reflection on the part of the author a side of our Lord's teaching which is absent or less prominent in the Synoptists—but as containing the *ipsissima verba* of His discourses[1]. 'The great Baptismal formula' of Mt. xxviii 19 again is cited as 'supremely authoritative,' without the slightest reference to the fact that the language of St. Paul about Baptism, 'in the name of the Lord Jesus,' and the well-attested employment of such a formula in the early Church, have suggested grave doubts as to whether we have before us in this passage words which really came from the lips of Christ[2]. So again the most obscure of St. Paul's sayings—those which it is most difficult to reconcile alike with his own general line of thought and with the general spirit of the New Testament, the sayings whose form is most visibly coloured by rabbinical habits of thought—are treated as, in their most obvious and literal interpretation, a conclusive and sufficient basis for a whole system of Doctrine, eternally binding upon the Christian Church[3].

[1] Dr. Moberly quotes for instance John x 30—not x 32, as the reference is given by Dr. Moberly—('I and the Father are One') to show that 'it was not indeed obscure to His consciousness that He, the Incarnate, was all the while something more than He was as Incarnate' (p. 95). Yet in the same chapter we are told that they are not 'primarily words of revelation as to the timeless relations between the First and the Second Persons of the Eternal Trinity' (p. 107). They are statements 'about the essential truth of the relation of the Incarnate, as Incarnate, to the Eternal; the relation of Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, to His God and Father—obedient dependence on whom was the Breath of His Life' (p. 108). I find these points of view hard to reconcile. I should add that I do not myself regard it as improbable that the words were actually used by Christ: but I do contend that we cannot (consistently with any critical view of the fourth Gospel) use them to *prove* facts about the Consciousness of Christ which are not sufficiently attested by the general picture of that consciousness resulting upon the Gospel records as a whole. Understood as they seem to be in the two last passages they satisfy this test: understood in the first sense they do not. John viii 58—again wrongly given as ix 58 by Dr. Moberly, p. 95—seems harder to interpret in accordance with this canon.

[2] Mr. F. C. Conybeare has recently shown that the quotations from Eusebius make it highly probable that his text originally stood: *πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν* (see his recent paper in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Darmstadt, 1902, Heft i).

[3] E. g. 2 Cor. v 21; Gal, iii 13; Rom. v 14 sq.

On the particular question of the Atonement Dr. Moberly's implicit deference to the authority of the Councils is of less moment, since fortunately there is little or nothing in their teaching which can be treated as a pronouncement upon the subject; but in the preliminary chapter on the Incarnation we feel that authoritative decisions are employed in a way which postulates that they carry with them not merely authority but absolute infallibility. It is a pity that Dr. Moberly has not indicated the grounds of such a belief and the point at which (if anywhere) Reason has anything to say to the questions with which he deals. We do not of course complain that a Christian theologian, writing for students of Christian theology, should presuppose a general belief in the existence and authority of the Christian Revelation. But we should have liked some indication—however slight and incidental—of the meaning which he attaches to Revelation. With the great body even of the more conservative theologians the significance of that word has been, not indeed diminished, but profoundly changed by the results of Biblical criticism, by the study of comparative religion, by the scientific study of Church history, and by many other intellectual influences. It is inconceivable, of course, that a scholar occupying Dr. Moberly's position should be ignorant of this change or of the grounds upon which it rests, or that so acute a mind should have been wholly unaffected by his knowledge: but a reader who had no evidence to go by but the book before us might be excused if he supposed that for Dr. Moberly all that is implied by the phrase 'historical criticism' simply did not exist.

I will give a single instance of the lengths to which our author is prepared to carry his reliance upon authority, and of the extremely arbitrary selection of the authorities to which he defers. If we are to find theological authority anywhere, one would suppose it would be in the writings of the Greek Fathers, contemporary with the great General Councils, who applied the term ὑπόστασις to denote distinctions within the Godhead. It has generally been recognised how crude and blundering have been the efforts which Western theology has made to translate into Latin the subtleties of Greek metaphysical thought. It would naturally be supposed that the Greek original possessed more authority than the Latin translation, and that if a Latin word

is apt to suggest associations which are foreign to its Greek original, the scholarly theologian would carefully warn us against being misled by these associations. Not so Dr. Moberly:—'There is something essentially lacking in the word ὑπόστασις. And just for this very reason; that, with all its subtle suggestiveness, it is still, so largely, an *impersonal* word. It is abstract rather than actual, a conception rather than a living whole. . . . There was after all something positive which was needed; and something which, with whatever lack of full completeness, only the word "Person" really supplied; or had, at least, the capacity of supplying. The word Person has a fulness and totality of meaning of its own, and certainly nothing short of the inclusive completeness of personal being can be predicated, at any moment, of God—whether Father, Son or Holy Ghost' (p. 160). Thus, according to Dr. Moberly, the true doctrine of the Holy Trinity was never really grasped, or at least not expressed, by Basil or the Gregories, but was left to be discovered by the Latin fathers who, with many apologies and many confessions of its unsuitability, employed the term 'persona' to translate ὑπόστασις. And an explanation based upon this discovery of the Latins is eternally binding upon the Church! Dr. Moberly might have added that his own doctrine of the Holy Trinity was not yet discovered even by the Latin framers of the *Quicumque vult*; for he consistently assumes that the word 'persona' must be held to carry with it all the meanings and associations of the modern 'Personality.' After such a procedure one is not surprised to find that what St. Thomas (if not St. Augustine) gives as a rational, though doubtless inadequate, explanation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is somewhat slightingly spoken of as a mere 'analogy.' As far as we can see, the Thomist doctrine of the Holy Trinity is treated as pure Sabellianism.

It is true that in what Dr. Moberly says about the 'mutuality of contemplation, mutuality of love' between the Persons of the Holy Trinity, he could quote much patristic and other authority; but he forgets to take into account the meaning which was attached to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity by platonizing Fathers and Schoolmen. When the Father is thought of as loving the not yet incarnate Son or Logos, the Logos with many of them stands for the whole of Creation, with all the

souls that were to be born, as well as the whole scheme of the Incarnation, immanent in the divine Thought. If such language gives to the Logos a distinction which is not that of an 'aspect,' the distinction is very different from that of two 'Persons' in the modern sense of the word. Dr. Moberly uses language which is simply meaningless if we are not to regard each Person of the Holy Trinity as having an intelligence, will, emotions of His own, however closely in harmony with those of the other two Persons. If such be the true doctrine of the Trinity, St. Augustine's comparisons to the fount, the stream and the water [1], or St. Thomas' 'power, wisdom and love' would cease to have any truth or validity *even as analogies*. They would be grossly and irreverently misleading. Dr. Moberly prudently passes very lightly over those phases of the orthodox doctrine which are most capable of a rational interpretation, and least capable of being interpreted in accordance with his views. As is usual with the modern Anglican theologian (the scholastically trained Roman Catholic knows better), Dr. Moberly, when insisting on the separateness of the Persons, always thinks of the relations between the Father and the Son. Since to the popular mind the Son, even before the Incarnation, is mentally envisaged as the pre-existent human Jesus, all that is said on this topic meets with ready acceptance: though we must do Dr. Moberly the justice to say that he is himself quite free from this confusion [2]. But what of the personality of the Holy Spirit? Although a whole chapter is specially devoted to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, we are left in doubt whether Dr. Moberly would be prepared to condemn as Sabellian St. Augustine's and St. Thomas' doctrine that the love of the Father for the Son is the Holy Ghost. 'There can be no mutual relation between aspects. The heat and the light of flame cannot severally contemplate, and be in love with, one another. Whereas real mutuality—mutuality which involves *on both sides* personal capacities—is the one thing which we most unflinchingly assert' (p. 165). But can we suppose Love—the love of one person for another—to contemplate and be in love with the two persons who love one another? If the word 'aspect' always carries with it

[1] St. Augustine employs this as a popular illustration, but he generally prefers the *mental* analogies upon which the doctrine of St. Thomas is based.

[2] See the valuable note on pp. 208–15.

the suggestion of a characteristic which may be put on and off, which is dependent for its existence upon the caprice of the beholder or the variations in his point of view (which would be really Sabellian), would Dr. Moberly be prepared to describe as a Sabellian explanation of 'Persona' St. Thomas' equivalent 'proprietas'? I will not say that Dr. Moberly, in his anxiety to avoid Sabellianism, falls into Tritheism, but I will say that he would do so but for the fact that all that he says about the distinction of Persons is flatly contradicted by all that he had previously said about the Unity of God: for Dr. Moberly does not deny 'personality' to the God who is One in Three. If therefore the word 'personality' is to be applied also to each Person of the Holy Trinity, surely it must be in a different sense of the word. This is an admission which no disciple of St. Thomas would hesitate to make, but it is never made by Dr. Moberly. Surely a writer who is prepared to ascribe so much authority to Latin theology, and to speak so slightingly of Greek, might have done well to bestow a little more reflection upon the writer who represents the culmination of that development. When Reason and Authority are at issue, one must make up one's mind to choose between them; but such a decision is unnecessary in a matter on which one can have St. Thomas and the Pope on one's side. I will not contend that every technical distinction of St. Thomas lends itself easily to translation into terms of modern thought; but I do unhesitatingly say that his doctrine of the Holy Trinity involves far fewer difficulties than Dr. Moberly's. I can only cordially echo the latter's own aspiration: 'If the thought that wishes to be orthodox had less tendency to become Tri-theistic, the thought that claims to be free would be less Unitarian' (p. 85).

But I will not linger further on what is after all not the main subject of Dr. Moberly's book. I could not go further into it without a full philosophical investigation of the elaborate treatment which the idea of Personality receives at his hands. I will only say that, in the interests of what he takes to be the orthodox doctrine of the Holy Trinity, he seeks to disparage the ideas of separateness and individuality associated with the idea of Personality in ordinary modern language. It is possible that more intimate familiarity with the tendencies of modern metaphysical

thought (as represented for instance by Dr. Herbert Bradley) might lead him to suspect that he has entered upon a line of thought fatal to any idea of personality either in God or in man. It is painful to see an orthodox theologian playing with ideas, which, taken seriously and followed out consistently, would land him—let me say, to put it mildly—considerably nearer the position of Spinoza than he would wish to find himself. It is a pity that the philosophical equipment of so many of our more thoughtful theologians should often be rather a slight tincture of Hegelianism than a serious study of the one original modern thinker of the very highest rank whose thought is profoundly and without qualification Christian—Hermann Lotze.

But it is time to approach the main argument of the book. Unlike most modern writers upon the Atonement (even one so thorough-going and exhaustive as Ritschl), Dr. Moberly realises that the pre-supposition of any clear and intelligible ideas upon this subject is a clear and consistent idea of the meaning which we attach to such words as Punishment, Satisfaction, Forgiveness, and the like. Up to a certain point it is impossible to desire (if we make allowance for a somewhat exuberant rhetoric which at times obscures his thought) a better or more philosophical treatment of those subjects than is to be found in the introductory chapters of the work before us. They are written with sympathy and spirituality as well as with insight. So long as Dr. Moberly speaks of human punishment, he is emphatic in regarding punishment as a means to an end, as the expression of a love which desires the amendment of the sinner as well as the moral and material good of society, and in rejecting the idea of retributive or vindictive punishment. The theory of 'retributive punishment' which forms the ethical pre-supposition even of Dr. Dale's doctrine of the Atonement is distinctly disallowed. It is admitted, one does not quite see why, that 'both these aspects, the retributive aspect, and the equation aspect, of human justice, belong indeed in fact to human justice; but belong to it not as it is justice, but as it is human; belong, that is, and can be seen directly to belong, to the necessary imperfectness of such corporate and social justice as is possible on earth.' In human justice, it is true 'the individual must be sacrificed to the community.'

This social purpose of punishment would, however, one would have thought, be put down as preventive or deterrent, and deterrent punishment is not retributive. But at all events Dr. Moberly is quite clear that the object of ideal human justice, in so far as it can afford to think of the criminal only, is not to avenge the past, but to bring the offender to a due sense of his guilt, and so to make him better. Dr. Moberly insists rightly (as it appears to me) upon the meaninglessness of any supposed 'equivalence between sin and punishment.' 'All human punishment . . . aims at, and at least outwardly represents and symbolises, a certain change in the culprit's own personality'—that 'change of self which we call penitence' (pp. 10–11).

So far all seems clear. But then we are suddenly told that, though we always 'begin to punish with a moral intention in respect of the punished, hoping for his amendment, our hopes may utterly fail. More and more, it may be, the depraved man becomes a human tiger. Then we punish, if we have the power, not the less but the more' (pp. 11–12). But do we? Or if we do, do we do so for any other reason than the protection and the moral improvement of society? It requires some boldness to maintain that punishment is not originally retributive, and yet that, when punishment is known to be useless for its true purpose, we should go on punishing. Such an astonishing combination of opinions has never, so far as I am aware, been held before[1]. What is the explanation of such a sudden *volte-face*? It is not far to seek. 'We dare not explain away the awful word "Hell," as meaning only a purgatory. We dare not, until the possibility of Hell has been authoritatively explained away, deny the ultimate possibility of the idea of a punishment which is *not* restorative' (p. 12)[2].

Here we have a signal instance of the unsatisfactoriness of an argument which is conducted without any explicit indications of its ultimate premisses. What authority would Dr. Moberly recognise as being entitled to 'explain away' everlasting punishment? Would the authority of Reason and Conscience be sufficient? Are Reason and Conscience against the idea of everlasting punishment, in the ordinary sense of punishment, which to Dr. Moberly

[1] It is true we are told that there was a 'latent retributive character' already (p. 14).

[2] There are of course those who would say that punishment is from the first partly retributive and partly something else, but this is not Dr. Moberly's position.

explicitly means actual pain? It looks very much as if Dr. Moberly would admit that they were, if he were not compelled to the opposite opinion by his deference to authority. And, if they are, would it not be as well to investigate (here he cannot plead that the critical question is irrelevant to his main issue) whether he is quite sufficiently certain of the historical accuracy of a single reported saying of our Lord, of the correctness of the Evangelist's Greek translation of the single Aramaic adjective on which the whole question turns, or of the correctness of the popular interpretation of it, as to feel justified in forcing upon the Christian consciousness a doctrine opposed to the reason and conscience with which God has endowed us, and to the general tenor of that conception of His nature which Christ has revealed to us? Or is some other authority in question? Would it not have been satisfactory to know whether Dr. Moberly can point to a single word in the teaching of St. Paul or St. John, to favour the doctrine of everlasting punishment? Or is it only the authority of the Fathers and the *Quicumque vult* which is in question? I will not dwell on the subject further, but will merely identify myself with words which I quote, not from Dr. Farrar or Bishop Westcott, but from a writer more in sympathy with Dr. Moberly's presuppositions, though he fully appreciates the distinction between authority and infallibility.

'These statements' [the assertion of endless punishment together with the belief that only a small minority will be saved, to which last of course Dr. Moberly is not committed] 'are difficult to believe, because they imply:

(*a*) 'The charge against God of amazing cruelty and injustice, such cruelty and injustice as would cover their perpetrator, were he a human being, with ineffaceable infamy, and secure for him the abhorrence of mankind.

(*b*) 'The failure, to a very great extent, not merely apparent and temporary, but a most real and eternal failure, to redeem and save mankind. . .

(*c*) 'That good will never fully overcome evil, and destroy it, but good and evil will be alike everlasting. That God will never fully and finally subdue or reconcile His enemies; but that His enemies and Himself will be eternal together [1].'

[1] *What is the truth as to Everlasting Punishment?* pp. 136–7.

'Is it possible intelligently to believe in Almighty God, and also to believe that His purpose—His greatest purpose ever made known to us—will be finally, fearfully, everlastingly a failure. That He may work out that purpose to its final issue, its sure accomplishment, by means utterly mysterious to us; that He, with whom "a thousand years are as one day," may be tied by no limit of time in the achievement of what He wills to do—this is conceivable; but that He should fail finally is inconceivable—inconceivable unless we are prepared to resign our belief in "One God the Father Almighty," and fall back, in company with the ancient heathen, into a dim conception of some "fate" superior to the gods; the darkest and most dismal of all creeds. . . .

'It must, however, never be forgotten that there is nothing like an unbroken chain of evidence, nothing like universal consent; for from the days of Origen, in the third century, down to our own day, among the innumerable multitude of writers of sermons and commentaries, who have been content, without inquiry, to assume, and then to improve upon, the doctrine of endless misery, there have been here and there thoughtful and learned men, who have not been content so to assume, who have considered and examined a question so full of terrible interest; and again and again the issue of inquiry has been that they have rejected a doctrine which certainly appears to be more utterly and hopelessly dishonouring to God than any other which it is possible to conceive [1].'

It is obvious that this presupposition of an everlasting Hell must greatly weaken the force of Dr. Moberly's argument for those who cannot attribute to God any punishment not dictated by love, and who cannot ascribe to love the infliction of endless torture which is not to have, and which God knows will not have, any moral result whatever.

But I return to the consideration of his theory on its own merits. Dr. Moberly thus sums up his position:

'For ourselves, in the meanwhile, it is sufficiently clear; (1) that all our punishment presents itself at first to our unreflecting thought under the aspect of retribution, objective and external; (2) that, on reflection, we recognize that all our punishment has

[1] Ibid. pp. 164–6.

really the disciplinary motive and meaning; that is, it is really a means so to change personalities which are now potentially righteous but actually sinful, as to make them, in consummated antithesis against sin, actually righteous; (3) that in proportion as our punishment realizes its own meaning, its outward hardness tends to fade into an inner severity of will; retribution more and more is merged in contrition; penal suffering comes ever increasingly to mean the suffering of penance rather than of penalty: but (4) that in proportion as it fails in that essential purpose which made it what it was, it does acquire more and more that simply retributive character, whose climax is not Calvary but Hell' (pp. 23–4).

The theory thus sketched involves not a few difficulties. All that Dr. Moberly says about the repentant criminal's joyful acceptance of his punishment is intelligible enough so long as he is speaking of the sinner imperfectly penitent, who may recognise the value of the discipline, recognise that he is being 'made perfect through suffering,' but Dr. Moberly seems to apply it also to the ideally penitent sinner. One cannot see why, if punishment is simply a means to the getting rid of evil, if it has (as our author uncompromisingly asserts) no expiatory value in itself, the sinner in whom the evil will has already been completely changed should still be punished. It is true, as Dr. Moberly points out, that even the ideally penitent criminal may still have to be punished for social purposes, because human justice 'must think primarily of the effect of its action, not on the criminal but on other men,' and because 'humanity knows no standard by which to try, and has no proper right to accept' [why not, if the idea of an *a priori* duty of retributive punishment is abandoned ?], 'perfection of penitence' (p. 20). But all this belongs to the imperfection of human justice: there seems no reason why it should be applied to ideal or divine justice. And a more formidable difficulty remains. We are first told that the retributive or apparently retributive character of human justice belongs to its essential defectiveness, and forms no part of its true character. Why then must God, when the punishment has failed of its purpose, still go on punishing? When that is the case, when the true object of punishment has failed, then God, it would seem, goes on punishing either without an object or for

an object which is not the true object of punishment. If retributive punishment is not deserved, is not moral, is not reasonable at first, why does it become justifiable and reasonable at last? Non-retributive, disciplinary punishment is at first inspired by love. By what is it inspired afterwards? I have failed to find a clear and intelligible answer to this question. There seems to be an attempt to answer this question by insisting that 'the punishments of God are what we should call self-acting'—that 'the judgment of God upon sin is but the gradual necessary development, in the consistent sinner, of what sin inherently is.' Sin brings its own punishment 'as death is the necessary consummation of mortal disease' (p. 15). It is no doubt a natural and necessary consummation in accordance with the actual laws of nature. But does Dr. Moberly regard the laws of nature as independent of the will of God? If not, the connexion must surely be capable of rational justification; but it is just the rational justification of a law which makes endless pain the consequence of a sin of which the sinner has ceased to be capable of repenting, which some of us find it difficult to understand. And even if we confine ourselves to the world as it is, can we assert this necessary connexion between sin and pain? Surely it is not in accordance with experience that sin produces pain except (*a*) in a sinner who recognises its true character, and therefore is partially at least already penitent, or (*b*) in consequence of some physical effect of the particular sin, which must be in this life supposed to be due to the God-made laws of our present physical nature. That sin should lead to pain may, indeed, be accepted as a necessary feature of a rational order of things. It is what the moral consciousness demands, and the moral consciousness demands it just because in human experience pain is at least the condition of moral improvement. But does the moral consciousness require such a connexion where the improvement is *ex hypothesi* impossible? Yes, if the retributive theory of punishment be true: No, if (as Dr. Moberly holds) it is false.

I pass over the difficulties involved in a theory of free-will such as is postulated by Dr. Moberly—a freedom which is capable for ever of resisting the purpose for which the man was made in the image of God. I forbear to ask whether to believe that evil will be eternal does or does not, in the language of the late

Bishop of Durham, amount to Dualism. I will allow that the idea of a will eternally fixed against good is a possible one. On that hypothesis, a punishment lasting so long as the sinner voluntarily resists God's will may be held to be rational and intelligible—on one condition only, that there is always a possibility of its producing its effect. But why should the punishment continue when, according to the conception of everlasting punishment which Dr. Moberly seems to adopt, moral improvement is *impossible*? Such a view is intelligible only on the retributive theory of punishment. If Dr. Moberly should reply that it is only in man that retributive punishment is irrational, one may ask once again why what is irrational in man should become rational in God? There might be more possibility of a successful attempt to grapple with these problems if Dr. Moberly were content to limit his conception of everlasting punishment to the *poena damni*, to the eternal loss of a good which the sinner has once enjoyed, or to an exclusion from blessedness, from the beatific vision (as the Schoolmen would have said), which, though a loss, could not well be felt as pain by the utterly impenitent sinner. But Dr. Moberly insists that punishment must be actual pain. In one place Dr. Moberly says that 'the climax of such a progressive alienation is that incompatibleness with God which we call Hell.' But is this 'incompatibleness with God' intrinsically and necessarily painful, except to those who desire the fuller vision of God, and are therefore partly penitent? Human experience would not seem to suggest that it is so; and, if it is not so by any intrinsic necessity, why should it be made so in a rational universe, unless it serves some purpose? If it does serve a purpose, why does not Dr. Moberly tell us what that purpose is, or may conceivably be? We are only told that it is not mere retribution, for that is a mere feature or apparent feature of the most imperfect human punishment. It is not expiation; for pain by itself does not expiate. It is not moral improvement; for moral improvement is *ex hypothesi* impossible. If Dr. Moberly merely accepts on external authority a dogma which fails to commend itself to his own reason and conscience, he would have done well frankly to tell us so. But he attempts to explain, and an explanation ought surely to be intelligible—unless, indeed, that too rests upon authority.

I pass on to the two chapters upon penitence and forgiveness—two subjects (especially the last) strangely neglected both by philosophers and theologians. By most professed moral philosophers forgiveness is entirely passed over, except indeed by those who, in their zeal for retributive punishment, would make all forgiveness immoral; while the theologians are generally too much absorbed with the question how forgiveness is to be obtained, to bethink themselves of the necessity of telling us what indeed it is. These chapters are to my mind the most admirable in the book. They breathe a real insight into the Christian ideal of life. I shall not attempt to analyse their contents. It must suffice to give their gist in so far as they bear upon the main argument. Dr. Moberly insists much upon the difficulty of true penitence, upon the necessary imperfection of all human penitence. Ideal penitence is not reached until there is complete identification of the will with God. There is some discussion as to how far penitence can be said really to do away with or cancel the guilt of the past. As far as I understand Dr. Moberly, true or ideal penitence would do this: 'Penitence is really restorative. Its tendency is towards what might truly be called "redeeming" or "atoning." It would really mean in me, if only it could be consummated quite perfectly, a real re-identification with the Law and the Life of righteousness' (p. 41)[1]. Imperfect human penitence does not accomplish this atonement: for, just because it is imperfect, that implies that some of the evil will, some effect of the past sin, still remains in the present character of the sinner. How far then can punishment or suffering be said to undo or cancel the past? And here I feel still greater difficulty in putting together Dr. Moberly's various statements on the subject. He is quite clear in laying down that mere endurance of pain as such, mere externally inflicted torture, has no such effect. When the sinner recognises the justice of his punishment, identifies himself with it, and patiently accepts it, then indeed, it seems to be suggested, it does contribute to this result. But this perfect penitence, 'the consummation of penitential holiness—itself, by inherent character, the one conceivable atonement for sin,—would be possible only to the absolutely sinless' (p. 43). It

[1] But this doctrine seems hard to reconcile with a sentence at the bottom of p. 34 where Dr. Moberly seems to say just the opposite.

would seem to follow, and it seems to be suggested by Dr. Moberly, that that perfect identification with the suffering for sin which is to help towards this result is likewise only possible to the perfectly penitent, and therefore only to the sinless. I postpone all criticism upon the theological use which we shall find Dr. Moberly hereafter making of this doctrine. For the present, I will only emphasise the difficulty I have already suggested. In the imperfectly penitent person it is intelligible why suffering, acknowledged and felt as due to his guilt, should have, in a sense, the effect of undoing the past, for it tends to make his will really better. But what can it do for the man whose repentance is *ex hypothesi* ideally perfect? On the retributive theory punishment is still due for the past, though there is no good result which it will effect in the present. In saying that the ideally penitent ought still to be punished, Dr. Moberly seems to endorse that theory. Here again Dr. Moberly, the moment he becomes theological, or is preparing to become theological, seems to fall back upon a view of punishment which, as an ethical doctrine, he professes to have abandoned.

The chapter on forgiveness, admirable as in many ways it is, is difficult to summarise—for here (as elsewhere) Dr. Moberly fails actually to develop the conclusions to which his argument seems to point—but I trust I am not doing him an injustice by stating his position thus. The idea that forgiveness necessarily implies remission of punishment is inadequate. On the one hand remission of punishment sometimes falls short of forgiveness. It is possible to say 'I will not punish you—but I can never forgive': the man who remits a penalty but still hates has not forgiven. On the other hand it is quite possible to forgive and yet to punish. Whether punishment is remitted or inflicted must depend upon circumstances. It will be determined (so far as the interests of others allow) by a regard to the true good of the offender, which may now enjoin and now forbid the partial or entire remission of penalty. Punishment can never morally be remitted when it might morally have been inflicted, or inflicted where it might morally have been remitted. There can be nothing capricious or arbitrary about true forgiveness. Forgiveness is only made possible by the forgivableness of the offender. It implies a restoration of the attitude of person towards person,

which was altered by the wrong-doing. And this restoration is only morally possible where there is some penitence on the part of the offender. The penitence may be very imperfect; there the forgiveness (with or without remission) may be bestowed as a means to greater penitence. There is no pretending that the offence has not been committed, or that the offender is other than what he is. Ideal forgiveness is simply the attitude of love (which includes due hatred of the sin) in the form which it assumes towards one who has done wrong but has repented of the wrong. The nature of that attitude and its exact manifestation, in the way of remitted penalty or otherwise, will depend upon the amount and the nature of the offender's penitence. 'It is not consummated perfectly till the culprit *is* righteous: and love does but pour itself out to welcome and to crown what is already the verdict of righteousness and truth' (p. 61). I am conscious that I am here defining a little further than Dr. Moberly has defined: but such seems to me the conception of forgiveness to which Dr. Moberly points. If it is so, it is one which I can heartily accept.

In the next chapter upon 'The Person of the Mediator' the writer approaches his main subject. I have already touched upon his treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and will not enter upon that matter again. I shall confine myself to so much of the chapter as directly bears upon the doctrine of the Atonement itself, merely observing that I approach his treatment of it from the point of view of one who shares with him the belief in the divine nature of Jesus Christ, though, it may be, unable to accept much which Dr. Moberly would regard as involved in that doctrine. I have found it, I own, exceedingly difficult to extract from this and from the following chapters any one consistent line of thought; and the only way in which I find it possible to expound Dr. Moberly's position, is to examine separately each of the distinct lines of thought which are combined in Dr. Moberly's theory. Of course I do not mean to say that he is bound to find any one single meaning in a great doctrine like that of the Atonement. On the contrary there would be a considerable presumption against any treatment of the subject which failed to recognise that it represents many truths. Nor do I

suggest that Dr. Moberly's theories are actually inconsistent with one another. What does make our task difficult is the writer's tendency to fly off from one to another. As the difficulties of one point of view become apparent, he half-abandons it and hurries on to another, the deficiencies of which are in turn eked out by running on to yet another, or doubling back to the first. It is quite possible that each of these views may be true, and so a part or aspect of the whole truth. What I cannot acquiesce in is the view that a number of theories, each of them by itself indefensible and untrue, can collectively amount to the truth and the whole truth, except, indeed, in the rather technical sense in which philosophers may hold that every truth that is less than the whole is partial untruth. This is a presupposition which perhaps Dr. Moberly will not share, for (we are told) that 'if two truths, which intellect imperfectly correlates, are nevertheless to be really held together, they are best held not by a refusal to affirm either positively, for fear of interfering with the other, but by a fearless assertion, in its turn, of each' (p. 85). No words could better describe Dr. Moberly's own method. As practical advice to the common-sense thinker, and especially in the region of practical or religious thought, the maxim has its value. But that is just because common sense does of necessity imperfectly correlate the various aspects of truth. But it is the business of the philosopher (and in my simplicity I should have supposed of the theologian also) to effect this 'correlation.' How far this is done by Dr. Moberly, we shall hereafter examine. Meanwhile, I content myself with saying that these criticisms are written from the point of view of one who holds that the principle of contradiction is not yet an exploded superstition[1].

(1) The first line of thought which can be traced in these

[1] Lest my philosophy should be pronounced out of date, I will fortify myself with a quotation from an Hegelian writer of acknowledged power: 'Hegel has taught us that the contradictions which the abstract understanding finds in an idea may be due to the idea being too concrete, that is, too true, to be adequately measured by the abstract terms of merely formal thought. But a contradiction is very far from being a sign of truth. On the contrary, as Hegel fully recognised, an unreconciled contradiction is a sign of error,' McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*, p. 23. It is merely the 'abstract understanding' which is accused by Hegelians of self-contradiction or inconsistency, not (as with Dr. Moberly) 'Intellect' itself.

chapters is the one which regards the Atonement as really making men better. It declines to separate the death of Christ from His life. The whole work of Christ has lifted humanity to a higher level, has set before it a new ideal, has awakened a penitence which nothing else could do, and so has really taken away, and still takes away, sin in proportion as the sinner appropriates to himself the saving efficacy which is always potentially there. The suffering, including and culminating in the final agony and death, is an incident and a necessary part of this work. By exhibiting the faithfulness of Jesus to His vocation, His perfect obedience to His Father, it constitutes an essential part of the manifestation of His character. For those to whom that character is the perfect revelation of God, the suffering is therefore an essential element in the revelation of God's love. And the sympathy which was shown in the voluntary bearing of suffering by the unique Son of God, touches the heart, moves repentance, inspires confidence, and makes possible the approach to God. In all this I am using my own language, not Dr. Moberly's. But this line of thought seems to be implied by all that he says about the possibility of similar saving influences being exercised in limited ways by one ordinary man over another:

'Consider, then, the case of a man in whose character we may happen to be interested very closely, and whose character is unmistakably bad. The daily hope and prayer in respect of him is that he may not be that which he is, and may become what he is not. But what is to be done? One thing is plain from the first. He must not be simply left alone. To leave him wholly to himself is to abandon hope. Instinctively you rather ask, who is there about him? has he a mother? a sister? a high-principled companion? a really good friend? If he has; *there*, you say at once, is the point of hope. Everything will probably turn upon that friend. And then comes the second thought; yes, but if parent, sister, friend, is to be his salvation, to be the living lever whereby he is himself really to become the very thing he is not, it will be no light task, no light pain, for the saving friend. What heaviness of heart there must first be,' &c. (p. 75).

'It is not a friend who will lecture, so much as a friend who will bear; not a friend who is ready to separate himself

from, but a friend who is willing himself to enter into, the shadow of the cloud of misery and sin' (p. 76).

These extracts represent the view which, though every age of Christian thought has borne witness to it, may, as a formulated theory, be conveniently associated with the name of its great mediaeval champion, Abelard, and it is one with which I am in the fullest sympathy. I can only desiderate a fuller and more complete exposition of it. Dr. Moberly, I may add, does fairly ample justice to Abelard in his historical supplement.

(2) From the idea of the saving influence of suffering borne on behalf of another (*ὑπέρ*) which may even be called vicarious suffering, since it works for the salvation of the sinner in lieu of and no less effectually than suffering of his own, Dr. Moberly subtly passes to the idea of a punishment borne in the place of another (*ἀντί*). This is the old idea of vicarious punishment pure and simple. There are, indeed, many apologies, qualifications, explanations, reservations, admissions, distinctions. In one place we are told 'that it is only with the greatest caution, and exactitude of definition, that the word "punishment" can be safely applied to the atoning sufferings of Christ' (p. 23). But if the following passages mean anything at all, they mean vicarious punishment—the old Protestant but wholly uncatholic doctrine [1]; though the 'caution' in Dr. Moberly's treatment is perhaps more obvious than the 'exactitude of definition':

'On the one side, we should recognize at least that there might be cases, in which, if no one could exactly be a substitute for the guilty, yet at least some could more nearly approach to being so than others. It is something to recognize that the impossibility is not, in all cases, absolute and equal: that there are at least degrees of impossibility. Degrees of impossibility imply, at least ideally, degrees of possibility also. A stranger, hired for money to undergo a loss of limb or liberty, would always be an insult to true equity. But one who was very closely identified with the wrong-doer in condition, or blood, or affection; a tribesman dedicating himself for a tribal wrong; the

[1] It is true that the accepted 'Catholic' term 'Satisfaction' seems to mean much the same thing at bottom: but it is vaguer and free from some of the coarsest associations of 'Vicarious Punishment.'

willing representative of a conquered nation, or army; the father, on behalf of his own child; the husband, for the sake of his wife; is it impossible to conceive circumstances under which a willing acceptance of penalty on the part of some one of these would as truly be the deepest hope of the transformation of the guilty, as it would be the crown of his own nobleness? Imagine, ideally, these three conditions; first that he who so intervened to bear did so at his own most earnest desire, of love; secondly that he was so near to the guilty accused that he might claim a wholly exceptional right to represent him,—near as (under conceivable circumstances) husband might be to wife, or parent to child, or son to father; and thirdly that this sacrifice of vicarious endurance was indeed the truest and the deepest way to produce the contrition and sanctification of the guilty. . . It may be said, perhaps, that of the last two conditions asked for, neither could ever be quite absolutely realized. Between man and man, on earth, they probably could not. But what we may recognize, even between man and man, is some faint approximation towards—even if never, or even nearly, a realization of—the conditions under which vicarious penalty would be not intelligible only, but the supremest manifestation of righteousness as well as of love' (pp. 77–9).

Dr. Moberly then contemplates the case where it is the Judge himself who has been wronged (does not this very comparison carry with it the suggestion that sin is a personal wrong or indignity suffered by God, which lies at the base of some of the most revolting features of the popular theology?):

'If it is the king's own son who has been maltreated and robbed; and if the king, in a mood of divine insight, truly sees that his free acceptance of this injury in the person of his son, will be the turning-point of the conversion to goodness of the robber, and it may be of a whole district of brigandage; the very closeness of the identification between himself and his son makes possible an equity which, had the son been a stranger, would have been unrighteous' (p. 79).

In these paragraphs we already seem to see a confusion between the idea of suffering and the idea of penalty. So long as we confine ourselves to the case of earthly justice, it is no doubt possible to conceive of cases in which one person might wish to bear the penalty for another, and in which such an exhibition

of love might actually move repentance in the offender, and do the work of punishment more effectually than punishment itself. But could such a proceeding really be called punishment or justice? We can hardly say much of the righteousness or the justice of the supposed king, who should allow of such a substitution; but, if we wished to defend his conduct, we should have to say that he remitted the punishment on the condition of a suffering being borne by the innocent person, which could no longer be conceived as punishment at all. If Dr. Moberly were willing to accept this distinction, we should have no objection to admitting his illustration: but it must be remembered that, in so far as the penalty which would otherwise have been inflicted is conceived of as intended for the moral improvement of the offender, and the substitution is allowed simply as a means to effecting that improvement in another way, we have here only a particular case of suffering on behalf of another, of suffering which produces a real good in the sinner. But we are already afraid that Dr. Moberly intends by this illustration to smuggle back the grossly immoral idea of a retributive punishment which by some *a priori* moral necessity has to be endured, but which may nevertheless be transferred from the guilty person to the innocent—ideas which in his treatment of punishment he professes to have abandoned. The subsequent course of Dr. Moberly's argument shows us that these fears are not groundless.

(3) But Dr. Moberly himself feels that to justify such a substitution, or at least to justify our saying that in the human parallel which he suggests the penalty has really in some sense been borne by the offender himself, a much closer identification of the offender with his substitute is required than is afforded by any human relationship. Here he passes to that mode of thought which regards the penalty borne by Christ as having been suffered by every individual sinner because it has been suffered by One in whom the whole of humanity was somehow summed up, included, represented. This is the mode of thought which may be traced first of all in the crude, vague, shifting idea of 'recapitulatio' in Irenaeus, and which was afterwards developed into a metaphysical theory at the hands of Fathers and Schoolmen

whose minds were steeped in the crudest form of a realism which, though derived from Plato, it would be an insult to call Platonic. Christ's 'relation to the race,' says Dr. Moberly, 'was not a differentiating relation, but a consummating relation. He was not generically, but inclusively, man' (p. 86). 'The only relation which can at all directly compare with it, is that of Adam' (whom Dr. Moberly apparently thinks of as an historical person), 'who, in a real—though a primarily external, and therefore inadequate—sense, was Humanity' (p. 88).

On this theory I would make three remarks:

(*a*) In what Dr. Moberly says about our Lord's 'inclusive humanity,' when he says 'His relation to the human race is not that He was another specimen, differing, by being another, from everyone except Himself,' he seems to approximate to that position, so often reached by mediaeval theology, which made Christ not a real human being at all, but a mere metaphysical entity which had somehow got incarnated in a human body. If we really pressed Dr. Moberly's language, it would not be difficult to convict him of the heresy known as Nihilianism, which, just because Christ was humanity at large, denied that He was a man at all ('Christus secundum carnem fuit nihil'). Does Dr. Moberly really mean to tell us, not as a rhetorical flourish, but as a sober piece of historical or psychological fact, that Christ was not one specimen of the human race, 'differing, by being another, from everyone except Himself'? When St. John leant on Jesus' breast at supper, does Dr. Moberly really mean to say that there were not two men there, but only one? If he does not, he really ought not to indulge in this sort of rhetoric, when he professes to be writing a philosophico-theological book. Personally, I have no taste for such exaggeration even in the pulpit. Whatever Christ was more than man, He surely was a man as much as any other. If Dr. Moberly denies this, he not only comes very near to Eutychianism or Apollinarianism, but he separates himself from all that is best, all that is most truly religious and most spiritually effective, in the thought of his own age—the most rigidly and scrupulously orthodox thought as well as any to which might be applied the epithet of 'liberal.' If I wanted to find words in which to correct such one-sidedness, I should turn to the writings of Dr. Gore

or Mr. Ottley. Dr. Moberly, in short, substitutes a metaphysical Christ for the Christ of history.

(*b*) The theory is only intelligible on the basis of a metaphysical Realism which I cannot suppose Dr. Moberly seriously to hold. If humanity is to be thought of as having a concrete real existence apart from the individual persons who are human, it may be that the whole of humanity can be said to have suffered the punishment due to their sins, because Christ, in whom all humanity was included, suffered. It *may be*, because, when we start with a theory which is unintelligible, it is difficult to say what may or may not be logically deduced from it: but even upon these premisses it is difficult to see why the whole of humanity should be supposed to be present in Christ any more than in any other specimen of the race. The ideal of humanity is another matter: but a bad man or a savage is still a man. To insist upon the moral solidarity of the human race, upon the dependence of every man for his very being upon his social relations, upon the closeness of the moral and spiritual relation between Christ and the whole race which He has redeemed, upon the mystical moral or spiritual (not physical or metaphysical) union between Christ and His Church—all these considerations are nothing to the point. The question is whether we can really say that all men suffered because Christ suffered. In Dr. Moberly's own words, we can only say 'There is, and there can be, no such thing as impersonal humanity.' A Universal taken apart from the particulars is not personal or real[1].

[1] If it were worth while to subject so loose a theory to serious metaphysical examination, we might point out that if we adhere to the old conception which made the *genus* include all the properties common to all its species and to all individuals in each, the whole of Humanity (if the word 'whole' can be applied to an abstraction) is present in every individual. Or if (with modern logicians) we hold that the true conception of the Universal includes not merely those characteristics which every individual of the class possesses but all the specific, perhaps even the individual, modifications of which it is capable, then the 'whole of Humanity' was not present in Christ. The Universal Man is not a passionless being because different men have different passions: it has all the passions of uncivilised men and civilised men, of bad men and good men: the concept includes the possibility and actual existence of both species. The Universal Man is not a colourless animal, but one who may be black or white or yellow. All universals are abstractions, but the 'humanitas' of mediaeval thought is the abstraction of an abstraction. I may remark incidentally that when he says that 'God is a particular' (p. 83), Dr. Moberly is saying the opposite of what he means. He means a 'singular' term: only a Polytheist could call God a 'particular.'

(c) If we admit the statement, where is the ethical value or justification of such a suffering by humanity in the person of Christ? It was not humanity that sinned and incurred a penalty, but individual men. Humanity may have paid the penalty in Christ; but individual men did not. And why should 'humanity' pay a penalty? Because justice demands retribution or expiation? But Dr. Moberly has repudiated that theory. Because punishment makes men better? But will such suffering of a penalty by Christ really make men better? We have already given reasons why, if that is what is meant, we should no longer speak of punishment or penalty: and, if that word is removed, we return to the Abelardian theory of the subjective influence of Christ's death upon the sinner, which Dr. Moberly regards as so miserably inadequate.

(4) But there is a fourth theory which may be regarded as the characteristic feature of Dr. Moberly's interpretation. The theories of vicarious punishment and 'recapitulation' are put forward with so many reserves and qualifications and withdrawals that we are after all left in the dark as to whether Dr. Moberly really holds them or is only playing with them. But in the remaining theory we at last encounter something which is apparently regarded as really true—inadequate no doubt as all human thought about the divine nature must be—but literally, and not metaphorically or analogically, true as far as it goes. This is the theory of vicarious penitence. The theory, reduced to plain terms, appears to be that the power of 'sympathetic self-identity with others,' implied in a measure by every human being's sympathy for another's sin, is such that it may be said to amount to penitence for the sins which the man did not commit, and that in the sinless Son of God that penitence reaches such intensity that it becomes available for the sins of all men, and has the same effect as if they had actually repented[1].

'Penitence, in the perfectness of its full meaning, is not even conceivably possible, except it be to the personally sinless.

'Is penitence possible to the personally sinless? I should

[1] I pass over the argument intended to show that such vicarious penitence is only possible to one who is both God and Man, which runs very much upon the lines of Anselm's theory.

perhaps be entitled to emphasize in reply each of these two thoughts: the first, that if the perfection of atoning penitence cannot be achieved by the personally sinless, it will become on reflection more and more manifest that it cannot be either achieved or even conceived at all; and the second, that it is just this—the voluntary sin-bearing of the sinless, the self-identity with righteousness in condemnation of sin of One whose self-identity, though sinless, could take the form of surrender of the self in the very attitude of the ideal penitent, which is, if anything is, vital to the whole history and being of the Gospel, or the Church, of Jesus Christ. But I do not wish to urge anything at this moment from the side of dogmatic authority' (pp. 117–8).

I will not discuss the question how far the obscurely phrased and evasive formula about 'self-identity with righteousness in condemnation of sin' and the like can be accepted as a fair statement of any doctrine which can be regarded as vital to Christianity, or which has been at all consistently maintained by a consensus of scriptural or patristic or any other authority. I will only say that the doctrine thus stated seems to be a totally different thing from the theory which makes Christ repent of sins which He has not committed, and which makes this vicarious penitence available by way of atonement for those sins.

How is this surprising doctrine defended? By the same expedient to which I have before referred, of oscillating between two totally different positions. The considerations which establish the one are assumed to have proved the other. The two views which Dr. Moberly (if I may venture to say so) confuses are these:

(*a*) He tells us that 'the law of vicarious suffering or vicarious energy, as a principle running everywhere throughout human life, is not suspended when we pass within the region of consciousness of sin. Others do in fact suffer and sorrow on their reprobate's behalf, not only with their reprobate, but more deeply and keenly than he does or can for himself. Not only the pain is in their lives, but the shame is in their hearts—in proportion, it may be, to his shamelessness and their love. Nay, more, this reality of shame in them, the product of the near-

ness of their love, is your strongest element of hope for him' (p. 118).

Here we revert to the first of our points of view—the view which explains the Atonement by the moral effect actually produced upon the heart of the sinner by the work of Christ, including the suffering which was involved in His sympathy for sinners and the whole of His life and death for them. But this is not vicarious penitence, objectively operating to do for the sinner something which no penitence of his own could do. It is only by awakening, and in so far as it does awaken, penitence that such and such-like cases of vicarious suffering have any effect whatever.

But (*b*) Dr. Moberly goes on to tell us that all human penitence is imperfect. Yes, and in so far as it is imperfect, the sinner surely is not wholly set free from his sin: and, in so far as he is not, why does the fact that Christ's penitence was perfect constitute any ground why his own punishment should be remitted, or why he should be treated by God differently from the way in which he would have been treated had no such sinless sufferer been penitent and suffered on his behalf? There is nothing in all Dr. Moberly's explanations and analogies which helps us to understand this except the constant harping on the idea of the solidarity of the human race ('Are we not, after all, much more of one piece than we are willing to recognize?'), and the inclusion of all humanity in Christ, which takes us back to a point of view, the difficulties of which I have already endeavoured to indicate. Are we really to suppose that, because man was only imperfectly penitent, God would not have treated him in the way that was really best for him (this, we have seen, is, according to Dr. Moberly, the true attitude of pardon), unless the Sinless had achieved a perfect penitence; or that, because the Sinless had achieved that penitence, God will treat him in a way which was not really best for him? This is what seems necessarily to follow from the idea of vicarious penitence; and this would be to fall back upon the crudest form of that popular-orthodox theology of substitution which Dr. Moberly professes to repudiate so heartily.

One of the difficulties which we encounter, in trying to grasp Dr. Moberly's view, is the difficulty of connecting what he says about the efficacy of vicarious penitence with Christ's death. If

the penitence suffices, whence the need of pain or punishment? Dr. Moberly seems constantly slipping back into the old theory of vicarious punishment. He seems, in fact, to try to bring back the coarser view by associating it with the more refined theory of vicarious penitence, with which it has no real or logical connexion. Perhaps the following passage will serve as well as another to illustrate the connexion in which the death and sufferings of Christ are supposed to stand with His vicarious penitence:

'If from our point of view, the point of view of the imperfectly penitent, penitence must include meek acceptance of punishment, remember that punishment, so far as it ministers to righteousness, is only itself an element in penitence. What would have been punishment *till it became penitence*, is, in the perfectly contrite, only as penitence. It is true that penitence is a condition of suffering. The suffering of penitence may quite fairly be termed penal suffering. But whatever suffering is involved in penitence is part of the true penitent's free-will offering of heartwhole condemnation of sin. To the penitent, in proportion as he is perfected, there is no punishment *outside* his penitence' (p. 131).

It is really very difficult to extract the thought out of this wilderness of words. It sounds very well to talk about punishment being penitence and penitence including punishment. But, surely, if words are to mean anything, penitence is one thing and punishment another. Why then is the perfectly penitent to be still punished—the penitent for another's sin to receive another's punishment? Earlier in the book we were led to believe that penitence might render punishment unnecessary, or (if it was still necessary) this was for the further moral improvement of the offender or the protection of society. This last surely can have no application to the vicarious punishment of Christ. And the idea of retribution had, we supposed, been abandoned. A dim consciousness that something is wanting to the completeness of the theory seems to have induced Dr. Moberly to vary the phrase by talking of disciplinary pain:

'The suffering involved in this is not, in Him, punishment or the terror of punishment; but it is the full realizing, in the personal consciousness, of the truth of sin, and the disciplinary pain of the conquest of sin,' &c. (p. 130).

In increased perplexity, I would ask, Granted that the full realizing of what sin is is painful, why does it involve pain with which it seems to have no necessary or intrinsic connexion —the mocking, the crown of thorns, the scourge, the cross? Granted that penitence may be vicarious, how can we talk of disciplinary pain, where the sin is another's? Can we talk of the Sinless being disciplined or morally improved by suffering? Can disciplinary pain mean pain which serves as discipline to another? And how can the pain of one serve as discipline to another? That it may move repentance I understand, but that is the view which Dr. Moberly regards as inadequate.

The theory now under examination cannot, it would appear, be supported by any great weight of authority. But it is not new. Dr. Moberly's thought seems in the main derived from McLeod Campbell's earnest and thoughtful book, though he has sought to combine it with various inconsistent theories which that writer distinctly repudiates [1]. Something still more closely resembling Dr. Moberly's theory appears to have been maintained by the Lutheran theologian Häring. And I will conclude my remarks upon it by quoting the words in which Ritschl deals with it:

'According to Häring, the point is that the imperfect repentance wrought by men is completed by an analogous work on Christ's part. This does not imply that Christ Himself repented of sin; for as He had no personal experience or knowledge of sin, this work is not to be imputed to Him. But Häring thinks it may be assumed that Christ's consciousness in His vocation included the painful knowledge of the opposition of all sin to God, and thus realized the purpose of punishment, which sinners with all their sense of guilt do not perfectly realize. I admit in general that in Christ we have to count upon the purest and tenderest sense of the contrariety of sin to God; but if such a value is to be put on that as is done by Häring, I expect Scripture proof to be adduced. I regard a construction which entirely dispenses with the latter as unreliable. It arouses a suspicion that the picture of Christ is being touched up at one's own pleasure. . . . For we are responsible only for our own sin. It is

[1] McLeod Campbell entirely gives up the idea of Substitution, and though he contends for a 'retrospective aspect' practically merges it in the 'prospective.'

therefore a mistaken tendency which gives rise to the requirement of the Pietists, for the sake of which Häring postulates that supplementary work of Christ. As the attribute of guilt cannot be proved to belong to original sin, it is a delusion to expect our own repentance to make itself responsible for sin as a whole. But if it cannot do that, we must not look for any supplement in Christ's infinite grief for sin, which, being in any case different in kind from repentance, can in no way serve as a supplement [1].'

Only one more chapter of Dr. Moberly's book remains which calls for anything like detailed examination for our present purpose; and that is the chapter headed 'Objective and Subjective.' If the reader has followed the preceding line of criticism, he will have observed that wherever we have found Dr. Moberly's analysis of the effect of Christ's work in harmony with the requirements of common sense and ordinary morality, it is some *subjective* effect that is in question. Wherever we have found his theories difficult to understand, the examination of the reasons alleged for them has always ended either in resolving them into some subjective effect—into the actual penitence, moral renewal, moral enlightenment, moral progress, due to that work—or in finding the real difficulties untouched. No illustration or analogy or argument has really tended to make any of the objective effects claimed for the death of Christ one whit more intelligible than before. That is especially so with regard to Dr. Moberly's most peculiar and characteristic theory—that of vicarious penitence. That the suffering of the Innocent for the sins of the guilty should move a sinner to repentance and amendment, that is intelligible. That this suffering —call it penitence or not—should *apart from such effects* aid or facilitate a pardon not otherwise possible or justifiable, has been found to be wholly unintelligible. But Dr. Moberly is committed by the orthodox tradition—I mean the tradition of modern orthodox theology, for conciliar authority is absent, patristic authority doubtful and conflicting, biblical authority susceptible of more than one interpretation—to assert an *objective* effect. And therefore we have a whole chapter headed 'Objective

[1] *Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. trans. by Mackintosh and Macaulay, pp. 553-4.

and Subjective.' We might have expected to receive from this chapter some enlightenment as to the way in which it is supposed that the vicarious penitence and the vicarious suffering can benefit us apart from their moral effects upon us. But we are disappointed. All that this argument for an 'objective' atonement comes to is the assertion (1) that the death and sufferings of Christ must have actually happened as facts of history before they could produce any effect on us, and (2) that this effect of the Atonement cannot be appropriated apart from the work of the Holy Spirit, and that that work postulates the historical life and death of Christ: 'Calvary is the condition precedent and enabling of Pentecost.' But all this does nothing to support the kind of objective Atonement implied by Dr. Moberly's previous theories. In this sense, who that believes in an atonement at all has ever denied its 'objectivity'? We ought perhaps to notice that the subjective view is combated by the curious argument that the same effects might have resulted 'from an *erroneous* belief in Calvary and the Ascension, as from a true one, if only the erroneous belief were sufficiently protected from every suspicion of doubt.' If we were to admit that they might, what then? Because God might have produced certain moral effects by causing the general belief in a lie, is that any reason for refusing the mode of redemption which He has actually provided for us, or for putting upon it an interpretation which Reason and Conscience repudiate? Really Dr. Moberly's argument reminds one of Naaman's 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?' and some of the sermons against Scepticism and Rationalism which I have heard preached upon that text.

Surely the means of Redemption provided by God would be no less precious because other means might conceivably have attained the same end. And after all has the idea of the truthfulness of God no place in Dr. Moberly's theology?

Throughout the book there appear to run two great confusions:

i. The confusion between an effect produced upon the character of the sinner and an obliteration of sin or guilt which takes place independently of any such effect.

ii. The confusion between the retributive view of punishment and the disciplinary.

In the first case, all the reasoning goes to establish the subjective view, while the objective is surreptitiously introduced into the conclusion. The conclusion seems to be arrived at by assuming that what commends and makes intelligible the first thesis will prove the second. In the second matter, the retributive view of punishment is explicitly rejected, though with the illogical reserve that when punishment fails to produce penitence, it then becomes retributive—a view which Dr. Moberly does not attempt to support by any argument whatever. Yet the whole of Dr. Moberly's argument in support of his actual thesis assumes the retributive view. In short, whenever anything in the traditional view is shocking to the Reason and the moral consciousness, it is repudiated while formally under discussion, but assumed more or less undisguisedly in the subsequent argument.

Criticism is of no use unless it is honest and thorough-going, and therefore I have not hesitated to express freely the difficulties which I have felt with portions of Dr. Moberly's argument. I approached it with the sincere hope of finding in it much that I could admire and learn from. In a sense I have not been disappointed. For it would be possible for me by a *cento* from Dr. Moberly's pages to express most of what I believe, and even to repudiate most of what I do not believe. There is hardly a passage or an idea to which I have objected, against which I could not adequately protest by some selection from Dr. Moberly's own words. But Dr. Moberly's mind, perhaps owing to the very breadth and catholicity of his sympathies, seems incapable of appreciating the fact that the gulf between fundamentally opposite and inconsistent modes of thought cannot be bridged over by a dexterous turn of phrase. His mind is subtle, but his subtlety sometimes reminds one that there are other kinds of subtlety besides that of the philosophical thinker. In the less controversial parts of his work there is undoubtedly much to admire, and the whole tone of his treatment is immensely in advance of that of some current theological textbooks. It is because they hoped more from it that it will disappoint many who would have been fully prepared to welcome a fresh treatment of the Atonement emanating from the school of which Dr. Moberly is a distinguished

representative. For the frankness with which I have spoken I believe I shall be readily pardoned by Dr. Moberly himself—more readily perhaps than by some of his followers.

I may be asked what theory of the Atonement it is proposed to substitute for those which have been criticised. That is a question which it is quite beyond the compass of this article to answer. The general drift of the treatment which I desiderate has perhaps been sufficiently indicated by the agreement which I have ventured to express with large parts of Dr. Moberly's work. An adequate modern treatment of the subject—at least an English treatment of it—is still much to be desired; but, if I have felt it a duty to introduce a discordant note into the chorus of approbation with which the book has been received, it is largely because I fear it may draw away the attention of theological students from the writings from which they would be able to collect what seem to me more reasonable—I will venture to add, far more worthy and far more reverent—ideas about this great subject, from the writings of Maurice and Westcott and Llewelyn Davies, from the scholarly history of the subject by Nutcombe Oxenham, and above all from the profound and inspiring, if somewhat dry and technical, treatise of Albrecht Ritschl, which has recently been made available for English readers. It is a significant fact that it should be possible for an Oxford Professor of Theology to write an elaborate treatise upon the doctrine of the Atonement without so much as mentioning the name of Ritschl, or alluding to any of the characteristic ideas of a school which has coloured the whole theological thought of modern Germany.

H. RASHDALL.

AN EIRENICON FROM CULTURE[1].

DR. PERCY GARDNER writes as a representative of culture. He has won his laurels in the field more particularly of Classical Archaeology, where he is well known as a scholar of much learning, cautious, patient and judicious in his habits of mind. He therefore approaches his subject rather from the scientific and research side of letters, but still distinctly from the side of letters.

He also writes with a seriousness of tone that well befits the subject he has chosen. Although speaking as a layman and from the layman's point of view, he has evidently a deep interest in religion. We may see in his book a real *eirenicon*. He is anxious to reconcile religion with the newer views of criticism and science. And amongst the many attempts that are made in that direction his own is distinguished by the earnestness of conviction which characterises it on both its sides.

Dr. Gardner's *eirenicon* is not one of those that are really attacks in disguise. He does not offer an olive-branch with a sword underneath it. And yet I am afraid that his *eirenicon* is not quite so complete as he himself supposes. It contains, as he is aware, a great deal of criticism. His general position is that it does not matter what were the historical facts so long as the ideas of religion are preserved. And therefore, in spite of the earnestness with which these ideas are enforced, the Christian reader must be prepared to have many things that are dear to him severely questioned. And the questioning is not always quite what might have been expected from a writer of Dr. Gardner's attainments.

He is a student of theology, and has read a good deal on certain lines. He speaks sympathetically and warmly enough

[1] *A Historic View of the New Testament.* By Percy Gardner, Litt.D. (London, A. & C. Black, 1901).

of some theologians; but they are all of the same kind. Outside a particular group the theology of the present day seems to be much less familiar to him. I do not complain that his authorities are mainly German. The Germans are no doubt ahead of us both in thoroughness of criticism on many sides and, as he rightly remarks, in the whole domain of systematic thought. It is true also that he throws in as a make-weight Matthew Arnold and the *Encyclopaedia Biblica.* Nor would I suggest that he has not read some at least of the newer productions of English theology. But he has strangely failed to catch its spirit. Only in that way can I explain to myself many of the assertions that meet me in his pages. Such for instance as these:

'There is a general consensus among the mass of theologians that when Christian history and doctrine are concerned the ordinary canons of evidence lose their applicability—that the eyes must be accustomed to a non-natural light, and look at the literature and the history of the early Church as if it were something that stood quite by itself, and out of relation to all else going on in the world' (p. 1).

'The Reformed Churches . . . have tried to find working compromises, and usually they have succeeded. For example, they have condoned the inroads of science on the biblical account of creation; but historic science is commonly warned off the ground occupied by the New Testament' (p. 21).

To the best of my belief there is no solid foundation for either of these statements.

'Of course a great many Christians will strongly object to the application of any such principles as these to New Testament history. They will maintain that the inspiration of the Gospels was such as to lead the authors not only into an appreciation of the character and the teaching of the Founder, but also into an exact knowledge of His career. But, in fact, the inconsistencies which exist between the statements of the various Evangelists sufficiently prove their fallibility. "But these inconsistencies," it will be replied, "may be reconciled." It was in this fashion that our parents laboured to reconcile the six days of creation in Genesis with geologic fact, and Joshua's command to sun and moon with astronomic fact, until in time they discovered that the purpose of the Scriptures was to communicate to us

not scientific fact but spiritual truth. In precisely the same way the scientific facts of history are not matters of revelation, but things which we must search out as best we are able' (p. 73).

I would not say that this description may not have been true some fifty years ago, but it seems rather superfluous and misleading now.

'Although our preachers in church are seldom willing to allow that they do not fully understand the views of Paul, yet I fear that many of them would soon fail under cross-examination. Paul is unquestionably a very difficult writer: and perhaps one of the chief reasons of his difficulty is the reality of his inspiration' (p. 217).

I do not suppose that it often comes in the way of the preacher to say that he personally either does or does not 'fully understand the views' of St. Paul. But I imagine that if our preachers were cross-examined on the point they would one and all begin by frankly confessing that there was a great deal that they did not understand.

It is not surprising that the Church of Rome comes off rather badly.

'The forgiveness of sins, which in the Roman Church is represented as the privilege of consecrated priests and a miraculous act, appears by Jesus to have been represented as one of the constant and regular phenomena of spiritual life' (p. 82).

'What is yet stranger the doctrine of the mediatorial character of Christ was for ages and ages obscured by a thousand superstitions, while saints of very doubtful lives, and human priests buried in superstition, acted in the Church the mediatorial part' (p. 238).

These, I am afraid, are pure and simple crudities, after the manner of Exeter Hall. The following is rather in the manner of Victoria Park:

'There are many . . . who think that the spiritual life of man is a field which can be known only by ordained persons, or which must be mapped out by the authoritative decision of Churches' (p. 102).

For all his scholarship it must be confessed that Dr. Gardner's hand is sometimes heavy. This applies even to the criticism of individuals. It does not strike us altogether pleasantly to read

at the outset of a course of 'Jowett Lectures' that 'He (Jowett) handed on the task to a man of greater courage and greater literary skill, Matthew Arnold,' &c. (p. 2). Though we may see perhaps what is meant, and though I would be the first to welcome the praise of Matthew Arnold, every one must feel that the epithets are not the right ones. Whatever his place in the history of English theology, the Master of Balliol certainly had no want either of courage or of literary skill. And again, I do not think it right to speak of another illustrious man (Browning) without any qualification as asserting 'that evil and sin are delusive appearances, not realities' (p. 225).

The truth seems to be that Dr. Gardner's style, though it has many merits, is seen at its best in broad effects. It is less successful in catching the finer shades and distinctions. But if, as Renan used to say, 'Truth lies in a *nuance*,' the argument is sometimes rather seriously thrown out.

It would not be fair to judge of the whole book by the little *florilegium* just given. Frankly speaking, I do not think that it always hits the happiest note possible. It assumes that theologians (i. e. the majority of English theologians) are much in need of instruction, and the instruction is imparted sometimes—of course not always—in a manner that is rather *de haut en bas*.

And yet the book is of value, and of value really as an *eirenicon*. It belongs to a class that is becoming rather common at this moment. But it is distinguished from most members of the class by certain features that are, I conceive, really to its advantage, and that I would gladly embrace as points of substantial approximation.

In the first place, I welcome the language that Dr. Gardner uses in regard to doctrine.

'There can be no question as to the growing impatience felt for doctrinal discussions among the English laity. It is a feeling which has suddenly arisen, and grown with such rapidity that it were madness longer to neglect it. We hear on all sides a repudiation of the recognised formulae, and a desire for a religion free from doctrine. Religion without doctrine would be unintelligent religion, which could not hold its own in the world of thought, but would be transient as emotions and untrustworthy

as sentiment. What is really wanted is not the expulsion of religious doctrine, but the formulation of a body of doctrine fitted to contain those ideas of religion which are vital among us, and to present them to the world in a form which shall be suited to modern ways of thought' (p. 65 f.).

'I do not agree with those Christians—very numerous in our days—who hold that doctrine in religion is out of date, and life and character the sole tests of faith. This is an exaggeration of the truth. *A priori* metaphysical constructions, such as the more elaborate creeds or the *Westminster Confession*, are out of date. But for doctrine there still remains a place, though less exalted than of old, and functions which are important though more humble than our ancestors supposed. Doctrine cannot hope to comprise eternal truth in human words, but it can summarise in intelligible speech the experiences of the religious life' (p. 265 f.).

I do not in the least ignore the amount of difference which this last passage still leaves open; but it is a real gain to have so much as this admitted. The field of debate would be considerably narrowed if it were agreed that we are to have doctrine, and if the only question were to determine what is right doctrine.

Still more important is the longer paragraph which I proceed to quote:

'There can be no question that the transfer of the theory of evolution, and of the survival of the fittest, from the domain of biological to that of social and historic science must needs not only add greatly to the dignity of history, but also make us look on the past with more appreciative and less coldly critical eyes. For if those theories be well founded it follows that no religious movement of the past can have been altogether wanting in justification; if it had not had some reason for success it could not have succeeded. And if there be any divine control of events, we are bound to regard it as at least probable that in the great majority of cases it was the good rather than the evil in the movement which won for it the victory. So doctrine accepted in the past by the Church [if accepted on grounds of experience rather than of logic] is almost sure to have in some way expressed the best mind of the Church, and tended towards progress. Instances of retrograde tendencies and of corrupting doctrines may of course be found; but we shall be justified in considering them as the

exception, not the rule—the result of disease, not of normal growth. We may put away for ever the base and degrading view that past history is but a record of the faults and follies of mankind—that the history of the Church before the Reformation was nothing but a downward course' (p. 263 f.).

I shall have a word to say presently on the subject of the clause that I have enclosed in brackets. But in the meantime it seems to me that if we may take this passage in full earnest (and all Dr. Gardner writes may I conceive be so taken) its significance is quite fundamental. I could not wish for a better corrective for much that seems to me erroneous in criticism.

And yet I am not sure that Dr. Gardner always remembers his own counsels. If he had, would he not have written rather differently, e.g. about miracles? The belief in miracles is surely one that God has permitted—we might even say, encouraged—on a very large scale. It must have a place in His eternal purposes. So that the problem is rather to find out what that place is than simply to discard it. If we were to grant all the critic says, should we be nearer to the divine plan? I am afraid we should be further from it.

Another set of fundamental passages that I would very cordially welcome are those which have reference to divine revelation and inspiration. These passages also appear to me to contain very much the root of the matter. It is true that Dr. Gardner is feeling his way, as others of us may be feeling our way; and I willingly confess that we have not yet reached the ultimate and wholly satisfactory expression. But I believe that Dr. Gardner is well on the way towards it.

Take for instance the following:

'The history of religion is the history of the gradual revelation to man of the divine will. This revelation I have elsewhere called the gradual penetration of societies by the divine ideas. And though the phrase *divine ideas* is in some degree misleading, as every such phrase must be, it is very useful. Only we must steadily bear in mind that these ideas are not intellectual concepts. They are manifestations of force, acting primarily on will and emotion, and only by degrees taking intellectual form, and embodying themselves in custom and art and organisation' (p. 44).

There may be some question between us as to how far these 'divine ideas' took shape in intellectual concepts; but that I regard as secondary. I understand Dr. Gardner to allow that at least 'by degrees' they take intellectual form. I should have thought that they did so almost from the first moment at which we can historically trace them. But that is a detail; and for the rest I should be content to accept Dr. Gardner's language as it stands.

Another mode of statement, perhaps slightly more explicit, occurs later.

'The history of a religion, we have maintained, is the history of the gradual translation of divine impulses or ideas into human forms. First into ways of life and behaviour; then, on the intellectual side, into history and prophecy and doctrine; then into organisation and ceremony and art' (p. 70).

Perhaps I ought again to reserve the question of sequence: but in the main I should be agreed.

And my agreement perhaps goes further than Dr. Gardner would expect. For instance, it would I think quite include the following:

'As regards the Christian history in particular, it is to be observed that divine impulse and inspiration in those who wrote it by no means lifts them above error. This indeed is made obvious enough when we observe that various inspired writers sometimes give inconsistent accounts of the same events. Inspiration acts primarily on the will, but it also has a wonderfully illuminating power on the intellect. This illumination, however, does not extend to the revelation of fact. No inspiration of which any trace is to be found in history communicates to the inspired man an infallible knowledge either of physical law or of historic event. The search for what is matter of physical science has to be pursued by our ordinary faculties according to rigid method, and is not made easy by religious illumination. The same principle holds in regard to historic fact. Inspiration does lead men frequently to brilliant insight into the character and the motives of great religious teachers of past times, but it can never furnish us with trustworthy details as to particular events of their lives. For these we must go to testimony and document and the canons of historic probability' (p. 72).

It is, I suppose, very much a discovery of the last generation that inspiration does not involve infallibility in the record of fact, and that it is quite compatible with evolution in the growth of doctrine. But these are truths that most theological students have succeeded in assimilating.

I have no wish to contest the ground with Dr. Gardner here. Neither should I be careful to argue with him on the subject of the Canon. I too do not believe in an absolutely hard and fast line surrounding a certain group of books and isolating it completely from all others. The metaphor Dr. Gardner is fond of using, of a mountain-chain with high and highest peaks, seems to me to describe the facts very well.

Among the corollaries which Dr. Gardner draws from his view of revelation is one that I believe has a great deal of truth.

'Instead of dwelling on nice metaphysical distinctions of substance and personality, which have to us lost their meaning and attraction, the modern theologian will try to ascertain through observation aided by history what is the actual nature of divine revelation to man, and how it uses the medium of humanity. In my opinion investigations of this kind are quite as likely to be destructive of the less as of the more orthodox systems of Christology which have prevailed in the past—as likely to put out of court many rationalist and theistic views as the Athanasian Creed itself' (p. 269).

Another line of tendency on which many of us will be glad to see in Dr. Gardner an ally is in his insistence upon the social side of Christianity.

'As the growth of historic knowledge and the acceptance of evolution in religion is setting aside the shallow rationalism which marked the eighteenth century, so social feeling among men is laying the axe to the root of the mere individualism which has in recent times been a constantly increasing danger among us. Socialism, alike in thought and in action, has gained much ground. It has become impossible to think of a man as an isolated being, without relation to the stock from which he springs and the human beings to whom on every side he is closely related. The community no less than the individual has to be considered as an unity, with history, with purposes, with ideals.

'It is not strange, in view of this trend of feeling, to find that

the most prominent place in the Ritschlian theology is taken not by the conception of the spiritual life in individuals, but by that of the Kingdom of God. It is not the individual so much as the society or community which is the recipient of divine inspiration. The object of God's love is not men taken one by one, but humanity as organised in the Kingdom of God through love. It may be that in this matter Ritschl goes too far, for after all it is only in the consciousness of individuals that divine inspiration can be realised; religious utterance must come from individuals; and the will of individuals must lead society in the right way' (p. 270 f.).

I am really almost ashamed to have quoted from Dr. Gardner so freely; but I much prefer to use his language rather than my own. I desire to appeal to him as a wholly independent witness. On all the points on which I have hitherto touched I can truly say that we are both travelling the same road. I value such affirmations as these not only for their own sake but also for the quarter from which they come. I should be in hopes that they would meet with a wider acceptance than I could myself gain for them.

But our agreement is still far from being exhausted. I have quoted instances in which Dr. Gardner comes out more than half-way to meet me; and he will naturally expect that I should show some willingness to meet him. This I am glad to be able to do. The question in my mind is to which of several passages I should turn in order to show this willingness.

Towards the end of his lectures Dr. Gardner draws together three suggestions which he submits 'to the judgement of those who are responsible for our religious teaching.' The suggestions are these:

'First: Belief in the continuity and inspiration of history must needs clear and exalt our views of the history of the Christian Church, which must be taken as a whole.

'Second: Proper appreciation of the function of the will in active and religious life must have a direct effect on doctrine.

'Third: The growing habit of regarding society as an organism rather than a mere congeries of individuals must tend to revive the Founder's teaching as to the Kingdom of Heaven' (p. 262).

It costs me nothing at all to endorse all these suggestions. I am sure that there are many besides myself who would feel that they expressed—and neatly and concisely expressed—conclusions towards which they were themselves working. If the adoption of these suggestions is calculated to bring us any nearer together, their end has been already attained.

Nor again would it cost me much to state in a form that I could accept the four propositions singled out by Mr. Wilfrid Ward as common to the teaching of Cardinal Newman and the late Professor Auguste Sabatier (see p. 267). The article in the *Fortnightly Review* for May 1901, to which Dr. Gardner refers, is extremely interesting and instructive, and I would join in commending it to my readers.

But it may perhaps be most profitable for me to say a word on what Dr. Gardner describes as,

'The two great teachings of modern liberal theology: the relative or practical character of doctrine, and its gradual evolution in the history of the Church—two views of which the former stands at the basis of doctrinal construction, the second at the basis of religious history as understood in our times. No claim of absolute truth can be made on these lines for any doctrinal statements: they are the outcome of the observation of religious feeling, and must not be confounded with mere statements of the speculative intelligence' (p. 254).

Here too there is a great deal in which I can agree. I agree that doctrine is relative, and that it is practical; I agree that it has been gradually evolved in the history of the Church. I should, however, perhaps differ a little in the statement of what I meant by each of these propositions; and I should differ rather more in the inferences which I drew from them.

It may be well to take the points one by one.

I certainly believe that doctrine is relative. It is relative in two ways, at once to the age in which the doctrine itself is formulated and to the truths which it aims at expressing.

All human knowledge is relative. In this respect Christian doctrine is no exception, neither is it in any way peculiar. All human knowledge is conditioned by the faculties of man by which it is apprehended; and most human knowledge, outside mathematics and some forms of physical science,

varies more or less from age to age in the terms in which it is stated.

It is also quite true that in the successive statements of doctrine, as of other kinds of knowledge, there is a gradual evolution. It took several centuries before the leading points of doctrine could be stated in a way that was in any sense final; and even that degree of finality was relative. The beliefs of a Christian as such must needs from age to age be adjusted to the whole body of his beliefs. I am aware that Dr. Gardner himself is aiming at such a readjustment. I suppose that I too, and those who think more with me, are aiming at the same thing. The main difference between us would be as to the amount of stress that we should be prepared to lay upon 'continuity.' I am glad to see that Dr. Gardner recognises continuity as far as he does. I am only not quite sure whether he gives full effect to it. In some respects his teaching seems to me to be rather discontinuous. At the same time I allow that readjustments of doctrine must be made by means of experiments. I take Dr. Gardner's book as an experiment; and I must not quarrel with it because it goes further than I should be prepared to go myself.

It would not be easy to use stronger language than Cardinal Newman used as to the imperfection and inadequacy of human statements of doctrine. I am tempted to ask Dr. Gardner if, under that head, he is not satisfied. In any case I cannot think that the difference between us in this respect can be beyond the possibility of reconciliation.

Of course Cardinal Newman employed his theory of development to justify the whole fabric of Roman doctrine as it stands. But it is possible to believe in development and to believe in continuity without taking quite so optimistic a view of one particular line of development. The fact that the Roman system has evoked such strenuous protests and at the present moment stands in antagonism to so much that most of us are compelled to think true, must needs cast grave doubts on its validity. It can hardly be that any Christian body has hit upon a perfect formulation of its beliefs. All our systems are more or less 'broken lights.' We can only strive to make them approximate nearer to reality. But we are more, and not less, likely to succeed

in the attempt by using our utmost endeavour to keep in touch with that which has gone before.

But the epithet that is most important for Dr. Gardner's purpose is 'practical.' He insists that doctrine is 'relative or practical.' By the two terms together he intends to describe the most distinctive feature of his book.

If Dr. Gardner were asked what he himself regards as most characteristic and valuable in his own constructive effort I do not doubt that he would point to his attempt to harmonise Christian belief with the newer psychology, and in particular to do justice to the part played by the will in the life of man. He claims kinship with Professor A. Sabatier in France, Professor Lipsius of Jena in Germany, and Professor William James of Harvard in America. From the last-named writer he quotes two striking passages which supply the philosophical basis of the whole volume. It is worth while to give these passages in full, as more than anything else they will help to place us at the centre of the position.

'The willing department of our nature dominates both the conceiving department and the feeling department.' 'I am sure I am not wrong in stating this result as one of the fundamental conclusions to which the entire drift of modern physiological investigation sweeps us. If asked what great contribution physiology has made to psychology of late years, I am sure every competent authority will reply that her influence has in no way been so weighty as in the copious illustration, verification, and consolidation of this broad general point of view.'

Again:

'The mind is a transformer of the world of our impressions into a totally different world—the world of our conception; and the transformation is effected in the interests of our volitional nature, and for no other purpose whatever. Destroy the volitional nature, the definite subjective purposes, preferences, fondnesses for certain effects, forms, orders, and not the slightest motive would remain for the brute order of our experience to be remodelled at all. But as we have the elaborate volitional constitution we do have, the remodelling must be effected; there is no escape. The world's contents are given to each of us in an order so foreign to our subjective interests that we can hardly

by an effort of the imagination picture to ourselves what it is like. We have to break that order altogether, and by picking out from it the items which concern us, and connecting them with others far away, which we say "belong" with them, we are able to make out definite threads of sequence and tendency, to foresee particular liabilities and get ready for them, and to enjoy simplicity and harmony in the place of what was chaos' (p. 37 ff.: the quotations are from *The Will to Believe*, pp. 114, 117).

This vigorous statement is evidently on the direct line of descent from Kant, with his distinction between the Theoretic and the Practical Reason. It is a development of the doctrine of the Practical Reason in the form of psychological analysis. But it should not be forgotten that in the application of this doctrine to religion the theologians preceded the philosophers.

When Dr. Gardner brought out his work *Exploratio Evangelica* it was pronounced by several critics to be 'Ritschlian.' Dr. Gardner now explains (p. 258) that when it was written he had not read Ritschl. None the less it is highly probable that the influence of Ritschl, conveyed as it were underground, was really at work in it. We are familiar with the phenomenon of the same ideas appearing in different places at the same time; but Ritschl's views had been so long before the world and had taken so strong a hold in Germany that they had undoubtedly filtered through into English thought before he came to be much mentioned by name. And although Dr. Gardner speaks somewhat disparagingly of Ritschl, I am unable to see that his own position marks any real advance or improvement upon his predecessor's.

Neither in his case nor in Sabatier's does it seem to me that the real relations of the will and the emotions to thought in religion have been worked out to any degree of maturity. Dr. Gardner's language in particular seems to be uncertain and hesitating. He wants to make the processes of emotion and volition more independent of thought than it is really possible to make them. He repeatedly speaks of religious experience as though it were the *basis* of doctrine, whereas experience must surely be experience of something that can hardly take tangible shape otherwise than in the form of doctrine.

Experience does not originate but must needs be originated. Emotion does not generate itself, or project itself vaguely into

space. It must have an object. In other words it must set before itself the conception of an object. And that conception must be capable of analysis. It may be described as right or wrong. And it must be possible to test and correct it, so as to make it more right and less wrong. If it is to be the ground of experience and emotion, it must be such as to excite wholesome experience and worthy emotion. It must harmonise with the best conceptions man can frame as to his own place in the world and the duties that flow therefrom.

I gladly allow that experience plays a most important part in verifying the processes of the mind. I am quite ready to believe that will and emotion enter in at a very early stage in those processes and exercise a formative influence upon them. Bacon was right in saying that the human mind does not give a 'dry light'; at least the departments in which it does are extremely few.

The ultimate beginnings of religious belief are indeed matter for speculation, and for very delicate and subtle speculation. To assign the exact place in them to will and mind and feeling is difficult enough. It is a question if we can account for the processes merely by such creative activities as man possesses in himself. I am far more inclined to agree with Dr. Gardner in postulating a divine energy as at work from the first, dominating and shaping the whole process at every stage.

But whatever may be the case as to the beginnings of religion, Christianity at least is definitely historical. The Christian emotions all have their roots in certain historical events; and as without those events they would never have come into existence, so also it is not at all likely that they can be maintained without reference to them. From the days of the primitive Church onwards we can see that the minds of Christians have been full of one great presupposition. Remove that presupposition and the rest falls to the ground.

Christian doctrine is really the working out in detail of what is contained implicitly in that presupposition. Ritschl I believe did an excellent work in vindicating for Christian experience its pre-eminent share in determining the character of Christian doctrine. But the experience must have a ground; the emotions must have an exciting cause; and if that cause is to move

effectively the heart and mind, it must do so through the medium of concepts framed as other concepts are framed, i. e. in words expressive of ideas which the mind does all it can to make conformable to their object.

The weakness of Dr. Gardner's position comes out when he has to speak of the conception of the Person of Christ (pp. 99–102). He professes himself unable to reach any adequate view of this by the method of historical and critical inquiry, and he rests, so far as we can see, contentedly in his ignorance. He notes on p. 100 a number of facts that appear to have a strong claim to consideration, and yet he treats them as if they did not exist. He has no theory, and he is satisfied to be without one. He simply, as the French would say, 'passes on to the order of the day,' leaving the problem unsolved behind him.

It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast to the way in which the early Church approached this subject. Dr. Gardner admits that to Christians of all ages the conception of Christ Himself has been the centre of their beliefs. 'The person of the Master is to His followers, to the Church, of incomparably greater interest than His teaching. Christianity is at bottom not the perpetuation of a school, but the continuation of a life. It is what Jesus was, not what He taught, that has been the salvation of the world' (p. 99). In one breath we are told this, and in the next we are told that the historical data are insufficient to determine what Jesus was. This is the impotent conclusion of the whole matter.

Surely the ordinary Christian of to-day is far nearer to the mind of those who held actual converse with the Lord. Yet if we are to lay stress on religious experience, where could we find a religious experience more valuable, nay more crucial, than theirs?

I would say, By all means let us revise our analysis of that experience. Let us try to define more exactly in what it consists and what it implies. But do not let us suppose that we can have the fruits of Christianity without having its root. It was historical Christianity, as we know it, that conquered the world. But what sort of guarantee have we that the vague Agnosticism which it is proposed to substitute would ever have conquered it? It seems to me that Dr. Gardner has equally failed to explain

the triumphs of Christianity in the past and to plant it on a firm foundation for the future.

I do not feel it incumbent upon me to follow all through his treatment of the different parts of the New Testament. It is very much what we might expect. I see many summary verdicts to which I should demur; but they have been made before, and are sure to be made again.

There are however just two points on which it may be worth while to make some comment: what is said about the Fourth Gospel, and the place in Christian history assigned to St. Paul.

Dr. Gardner adopts the more moderate view as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, much as it is stated by Harnack (p. 182). He believes that the author may have been a disciple of John, the son of Zebedee, and that it contains a tradition which may have come from him (pp. 183 f., 195).

I have been struck by more than one reference to the narrative of the Fourth Gospel with the view expressed in which I should cordially concur. Indeed these references seem to imply a more healthy historical sense than we often find.

Thus Dr. Gardner quotes the verses, John vii 41, 42: 'Some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was? So there arose a division in the multitude.' He adds, '*These words take us into the heart of the controversies of the first century*' (p. 123). I emphasise this remark because I believe it to be so exceedingly true. Not that it would follow even here that the author is necessarily reproducing the exact words that were spoken. It would be a strained inference to suppose that he remembered them exactly after the lapse perhaps of some fifty to sixty years. But in any case I do not hesitate to say that both these words and much of the context give us a vivid glimpse, faithfully preserved, of actual life.

To the same effect is another reference on p. 183. 'In some passages—that which records the events of the last supper, for example—his sources of information seem to be more accurate than those of the Synoptists. And the mention of people and places sometimes seems to show precise local knowledge, as when

he speaks of "Aenon near to Salim," and when he records the events by the pool of Bethesda, and the doings of Nathanael and Nicodemus' (p. 183).

I would invite Dr. Gardner seriously to consider whether touches like these—and they might be easily multiplied—are really consistent with the hypothesis of transmission, however good, at second-hand. Those who accept such a theory as Harnack's think they have done all that is required of them when they have allowed that certain details in the tradition have the appearance of truth, and when they infer that these details may have come actually from St. John.

But I would ask, Are these details on closer inspection such as would be preserved even by the best tradition that is not that of an eye-witness? I should greatly doubt whether even a modern narrator would reproduce so faithfully a scene far removed from himself both in place and time. And my doubt rises to positive scepticism when I am asked to believe this of an ancient narrator. The moderns are in the habit of transferring themselves to past times and of seeking to catch not only the salient facts but also the atmosphere, so to speak, by which they were surrounded—the little minute touches which go to complete the picture. But the ancients had not yet really begun to make the effort to do this. I infer for myself, and I am not without hope that historically-minded critics will agree with me, that the details of which I have been speaking come directly from an eye-witness, and from no one else.

I am not in the least shaken in this inference by the observations which Dr. Gardner has made as to the discourses in the Gospel. I can accept, and most English theologians would accept, the greater part of what he says in regard to these discourses. We are ready to grant that the writer of the Gospel has exercised (unconsciously) a considerable shaping influence upon them. But we should altogether deny that this shaping influence is in the least degree inconsistent with their being the work of an Apostle. Rather, we think, it is just an Apostle—and we might add, a leading Apostle—who would be most likely to exert such an influence. The Fourth Gospel is in any case the work of a great mind; it is such a Gospel as we might have had (e.g.) from St. Paul.

I hardly need stay to point out the little exaggerations[1] and illicit processes that have found their way into this, as into most parts of Dr. Gardner's book. But I must just note in passing that he has—quite naturally and pardonably—ascribed to the doctrine of the Logos, and to St. John's teaching generally, a more Hellenic and intellectual character than it really possesses.

If Plato really stands, as perhaps he does, at the head of the line which ends in the Johannean doctrine of the Logos, the line is a very long one, and there has been much modification by the way. The theologian is aware that when St. John speaks of 'knowing' and of 'truth,' the meaning that he puts into those words is more than half moral.

St. John's doctrine of the Logos is very little Hellenic; and the critics are probably right in saying that the Apologists of the second century have gone too far in identifying his doctrine with that of the philosophers. Still I would fain believe, and do believe, that what Dr. Gardner justly calls the 'remarkable passage' quoted from Justin Martyr on p. 198 f., and others like it, are really borne out by, and really breathe the fundamental spirit of, the Gospel.

The other point on which I desire to make a last comment is the construction put upon the evolution of Christian doctrine in the first century.

Dr. Gardner believes that the three main factors in this evolution are St. Paul, the author of the Fourth Gospel, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He repeatedly writes—and he is of course not alone in writing—as though the great innovator or initiator were St. Paul, and then the *Auctor ad Hebraeos* and the Fourth Evangelist developed hints thrown out by him. In this way we arrive at the more transcendent parts of the Christian creed.

It would be wrong to blame Dr. Gardner for doing what theologians and critics generally have been in the habit of doing.

[1] e. g. on p. 194, Dr. Gardner seems to have forgotten that it is St. John who writes, 'Except ye see signs and wonders ye will in no wise believe' (iv 48); and he also seems to have forgotten that the Synoptists wrote, 'Woe unto thee Chorazin! woe unto thee Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes' (Matt. xi 21; Luke x 13).

It has long been the custom to map out the New Testament into a number of *Lehrbegriffe* or systems of doctrine, Pauline, Sub- or Deutero-Pauline, Petrine, Johannean; to give elaborate analyses of each of these, but to leave the whole of which they are the parts, the 'common Christianity' which they go to form, to take care of itself; and least of all to trouble about the Christianity of the rank and file as distinct from that of the leaders.

Only of late is it beginning to be seen that this is a mistaken procedure. The consciousness of this mistake has been spreading in this country as well as in Germany; but it finds, perhaps, the clearest and most forcible expression in a monograph by one of the free lances of New Testament criticism, Professor Wrede of Breslau, *Über Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten neutest. Theologie* (Göttingen, 1897).

Dr. Gardner's position is based upon the older view; but it is not difficult to show that it is really untenable. It begins by ascribing to St. Paul an extent and degree of influence that he had not and could not have.

The author of the Acts has often been accused of softening down the differences between parties in the Church, but never, I think, of overstating them. Yet this is one of his pictures: 'And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he rehearsed one by one the things which God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And they, when they heard it, glorified God; and they said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews of them which have believed; and they are all zealous for the law: and they have been informed concerning thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it, therefore? they will certainly hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee,' &c. (Acts xxi 18–23).

This is the kind of circle which we are to suppose bowed its neck to the yoke and meekly accepted all that was most characteristic in St. Paul's teaching.

I am afraid we know too much of its real relations to St. Paul to believe that this can have been the case. We are allowed to

see too much of the sharp controversies which divided them. But if we can see where those controversies were hottest, we can also see how far they spread and what lay outside them. What lay outside them was the real 'common Christianity.' We can infer with some strictness what that common Christianity included. It certainly included the belief that 'Jesus is the Lord,' that 'Jesus is the Christ,' that 'Jesus is the Son of God,' that He died for our sins according to the Scriptures. It included the active work of the Holy Spirit.

I grant that St. Paul worked out those beliefs in ways of his own; but he added nothing to their essential content.

If we are to learn what was really the common Christianity underlying all the different schools and tendencies of the Apostolic age, we must set about the task rather differently from the way in which most critics have approached it.

It is natural enough for the critic to assume, when he sees an idea or a doctrine for the first time, that it did not exist before. He at least regards it as dating its existence from the writer in whom he first finds it. In this way many things are set down to St. Paul and St. John and writers like the *Auctor ad Hebraeos* which it is more than probable did not owe their origin to them.

The real problem which lies before criticism at the present moment is not merely to tabulate and label such points as these, but to discover what lies behind them. I suspect that we shall find that more than we suppose runs up really to the teaching of our Lord Himself. The critics are so much in the habit of taking the Synoptic Gospels as the full and sufficient measure of that teaching, that they fail to appreciate their limitations. They fail to see where the hints given in these Gospels stop short of the reality; and then they go on to refer to disciples much that probably had its roots behind or beneath them in the teaching of the Master.

For instance, in Dr. Gardner's book, it is assumed that St. John's parable of the vine and the branches is merely a variant of the Pauline parable of the body and the members (p. 193). If St. John speaks of Christ as the Way it is because the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of Him as dedicating for us 'a new and living way' (*ibid.*). The ideas of Christ as Sacrifice

(p. 235) and Christ as Mediator (p. 237) are referred to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Christian baptism probably did not begin till after the Crucifixion (p. 190). The mystic doctrine of Baptism and the higher view of the Lord's Supper are due to St. Paul (p. 230).

Such assumptions as these are difficult to deal with. We cannot directly disprove them; we can only place by the side of them another alternative hypothesis, which must be tested upon a broad scale by a constructive view of the whole course of development in the Apostolic age.

It is not however upon the details of criticism that Dr. Gardner's book appeals to us. I doubt if he has added anything very substantial to the theories current among writers of his school. He for the most part assumes these as not needing proof, and rarely seems to contemplate the possibility that a passage or an incident may be interpreted in any other way. Sometimes, as conspicuously on p. 221 f. (with the phrase 'as he had already rejected the appeal to miracle' on p. 227[1]), his treatment is so one-sided as to amount to special pleading. And, as I have hinted, there are a good many general statements that seem to me very imperfectly to correspond with the facts.

In all this we scarcely recognise the circumspect investigator of Hellenic antiquities. The value of the book, however, consists not in its criticism, but in the warmth and seriousness with which it is written, in the interest which it shows in religious experience, and most of all I believe in the sincerity of its acceptance of a continuous divine purpose running through the whole history of the human race. Where these conditions exist, a better understanding ought not to be far away.

W. SANDAY.

[1] Let the reader confront these pages with the very plain and direct language of 2 Cor. xii 12, Rom. xv 18; and let him remember that 'spiritual gifts' included χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων and ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων (1 Cor. xii 9 f.).

DOCUMENTS

THE COMMENTARY OF ORIGEN UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

IN 1844 Dr. J. A. Cramer published his transcript of the MS known as CCIV in the Coislin Collection of the French National Library in Paris. This MS contains a Catena of quotations from patristic commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, including that to the Ephesians.

It has long been known (cf. Dr. Westcott's article 'Origen' in Smith's *D. C. B.*) that many fragments of the Commentary of Origen were to be found here, but for various reasons they have been suffered to lie in obscurity, and have not yet been incorporated into any of the complete editions of Origen.

The following text is now published in order that a more accurate copy of the MS may be available than that given by Cramer, and that the quotations from Origen may be disentangled from the fragments of Chrysostom Theodoret and Severian, with which they are often almost indistinguishably mingled, and presented in a separate form. No attention is called to such variations from Cramer's text as are merely due to correct transcription of the MS. Cramer is entitled to very real gratitude for bringing the Catena to public notice: but his edition is extraordinarily inaccurate—how inaccurate only those can fully realise who have compared it with the original.

There is a very intimate relation between the Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Ephesians of Origen and St. Jerome. The latter freely acknowledges his debt; 'illud quoque in praefatione commoneo, ut sciatis Origenem tria uolumina in hanc epistolam conscripsisse, quem et nos ex parte sequuti sumus' (*Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, Tom. vii, pars i, pp. 543, 4). We are thus furnished with a very useful test for determining the limits and authenticity of many of the quotations which the Catena ascribes to Origen. Jerome translates occasionally an entire passage, but his normal method is to give a free reproduction of the Greek original. Although we are thus able to trace much of

his work to its source, there can be little doubt that Origen's assistance has been drawn upon to a far greater extent than we are able definitely to show.

It would occupy too much space to print the text of Jerome's version, where it corresponds with Origen, but references have been given to Vallarsi's edition of Jerome (Verona, 1737). It is probable that, by careful comparison, something can still be done to correct the text of Origen given below.

The MS belongs to the eleventh century, and is well written and well preserved. A grateful acknowledgement is due to the Trustees of the Hort Fund, who facilitated a second collation. My thanks are also due to Dr. Swete, Dr. Armitage Robinson, Mr. Turner, and Mr. Webb of Magdalen College, Oxford, for various suggestions and emendations of the text.

With regard to the form given to the text, a new chapter division has been marked, as a rule, each time that the catena mentions the name of Origen, i. e. at the commencement of every quotation or continuous series of quotations from his Commentary: the paragraph divisions have been arranged simply according to the natural breaks in the sense. For the further convenience of the reader clarendon type has been employed to mark the words on which Origen is commenting, and uncial type for other Biblical quotations or allusions: under both heads it has seemed best to include in the special type such words as are in substance part of the text commented on or alluded to, even though the actual form or termination of noun or verb, as the case may be, in the Biblical text is not retained by Origen. The text of the lemmata at the head of the chapters is given within square brackets in those cases where it is not part of the catena quotation from Origen himself. References are given in the margin to the pages of Cramer.

THE TEXT: EPH. i 1–14.

§ I.

Eph. i 1 [**Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ.**]

101 [*ἀκούσωμεν τί καὶ Ὠριγένης φησὶ περὶ τούτου*]

εἰ ἡ **διὰ** *πρόθεσις τὸ ὑπηρετικὸν ἐμφαίνει (ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξητάσαμεν διηγούμενοι τὸ* ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΙ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ, *τιθέντες καὶ τὰς φαινομένας ἡμῖν εἰς τοῦτο ἀνθυποφοράς), ζητητέον πῶς ἀπόστολός ἐστι Παῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ* **διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ.**

I 3. Jo. i 3

I 2–18: Jerome (ed. Vallarsi vii) 543, 544

ὁ μὲν οὖν τις ἐρεῖ, μὴ πάνυ ἀκριβοῦν πανταχοῦ τὸν Παῦλον τὰ τῶν προθέσεων ἰδιώματα, ὅπερ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων σημαινομένων. ἄλλος δέ, διαφορὰν εἰδὼς τοῦ 'διὰ Θεοῦ' καὶ τοῦ **διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ**, ἐρεῖ ὅτι ἄτοπον ἂν ἦν εἰ ἐγέγραπτο **Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ Θεοῦ**· εἰ δὲ τὸ **θέλημα** τοῦ **Θεοῦ** ὑπηρετικόν ἐστιν, ἡγουμένου ὄντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρωμένου αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τοῦτο ἄλογον.

ἐπιστήσεις δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ **θελήματος** τοῦ **Θεοῦ** εἰ δύναται τάσσεσθαι ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ· ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐστὶ Θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία, οὕτως ᾖ καὶ **θέλημα** αὐτοῦ, Θεοῦ ὑπόστασιν ἔχον αὐτόν· ἐὰν δέ τινι ἀπεμφαῖνον φαίνηται οὐσιῶσθαι λέγειν τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλημα, ἐπιστησάτω εἰ μὴ ἡ δοκοῦσα ἀπέμφασις παραπλήσιός ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ καὶ σοφίας Θεοῦ καὶ λόγου Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ ὁδοῦ· παραπλήσιος γάρ μοι δοκεῖ τυγχάνειν περὶ πάντων τούτων, ὡς οὐσιωμένων ἐν τῷ μονογενεῖ Λόγῳ.

§ II.

Eph. i 1 *b* [**τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.**]

['Ωριγένης δέ φησι] 102

ἐπὶ μόνων Ἐφεσίων εὕρομεν κείμενον τὸ **τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι**· καὶ ζητοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ παρέλκει προσκείμενον τ⟨ῷ⟩ **τοῖς ἁγίοις** ⟨τὸ⟩ **τοῖς οὖσι**, τί δύναται σημαίνειν. ὅρα οὖν εἰ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ ὄνομά φησιν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ χρηματίζων Μωσεῖ τὸ ⟨ὁ⟩ ὤν, οὕτως οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ ὄντος γίνονται ὄντες, καλούμενοι οἱονεὶ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι εἰς τὸ εἶναι· ἐξελέξατο γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ μὴ ὄντα, φησὶν ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ. καὶ ζητήσει τις, πῶς τὰ ὄντα καταργεῖ· ἀλλὰ ἀκού⟨ω⟩μεν ἐπιφέροντος αὐτοῦ τὸ ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐὰν γάρ τις μετεσχηκὼς τοῦ εἶναι, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς μετοχῆς, ἑαυτῷ καταχαρίσηται τὴν τοῦ εἶναι αἰτίαν, καὶ μὴ τὴν πᾶσαν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναφέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ ὅμοιον καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα χαρισάμενον, τότε καταργεῖται τὸ ὄν.

[i 3] **εὐλόγητος ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ.**

ὁ μέν τις ἐρεῖ, διὰ τὰς ἐν Λευιτικῷ καὶ Δευτερονομίῳ εὐλογίας καὶ εἴ που

13, 16. 1 Cor. i 24. 16. Apoc. xix 13 17. Jo. xiv 6; Jo. xi 25 II 4. Exod. iii 14 6, 8. 1 Cor. i 28, 29 11. Gen. i 26 15. *e.g.* Levit. xxvi 3–13; Deut. xxviii 1–14

II 2–12: 545 A B 15–34: 546 D–547 A

I 7. *ὅπερ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων σημαινομένων* MS: if this is right, it must apparently mean 'as is the case also in his dealing with other [examples of several] meanings [to one word].' 14. *αὐτόν* MS: perhaps *αὐτό*.

II Eph. i 1 *b*. *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* MS: but the comment shows that Origen's text did not contain the words, at any rate in this position. 3. *τῷ τοῖς ἁγίοις τὸ τοῖς οὖσι* (cf. iii 14) Robinson: *τοῖς ἁγίοις τὸ τοῖς οὖσι* Lightfoot: *τὸ τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι* MS *τὸ ὁ ὤν* Turner: *τὸ ὤν* MS 8. *ἀκούωμεν*: *ἀκούομεν* MS

ἄλλοθι τῆς γραφῆς τοιαῦται εἰσὶν ἀναγεγραμμέναι, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν ἐκείνων δέ, λέγεσθαι τὴν **πνευματικὴν** εὐλογίαν· ὡς **τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμᾶς εὐλογοῦντος** οὐκ ἐν σωματικῇ ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις **εὐλογίᾳ**, ἀλλὰ **πνευματικῇ**. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐκδέξονται οἱ ἑτερόδοξοι, νομίσαντες ἂν καὶ ἀφορμὴν τοῦ διακόπτειν τὴν θεότητα ἐκ τοιαύτης ἐκδοχῆς λήψεσθαι.

ἡμεῖς δὲ παραστήσαντες ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ νόμον δέδονται αἱ εὐλογίαι, εἰ σωματικῶς νοηθεῖεν, τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ὑγιῶς βεβιωκέναι, ἐλέγξομεν τοὺς οὕτως ὑπειληφότας ἤτοι ψεύδεσθαι τὸν τὰς εὐλογίας δεδωκότα, ἢ τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς προχείρου ἐκδοχῆς νοούμενον ἐπηγγέλθαι τοῖς βιώσασι καθὼς προσέταξεν. ἀκόλουθον γάρ ἐστι τῷ ὁ νόμος πνευματικός
103 ἐστι καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐλογίας εἶναι πνευματικάς. οὐ τετεύχασι δὲ σωματικῶς τῶν εὐλογιῶν, φέρ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ προφῆται· οὐ γὰρ ἐδάνεισαν ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς ἄνθρωποι περιελθόντες ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγίοις δέρμασιν, ὑστερούμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακο⟨υ⟩χούμενοι, ἐν ἐρημίαις πλανώμενοι καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς, οὐδὲ εὐλόγηνται ἐν πόλει ἢ ἐν ἀγρῷ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ ἀποθῆκαι αὐτῶν εὐλόγηνται, ἃς οὐδὲ ἐκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ ὅρα εἰ μὴ ἐκ τούτων ἀναγκάσομεν τοὺς ἄλλως νοοῦντας μεταθέσθαι (εἰ τηροῖεν τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ τὰς εὐλογίας δεδωκότος Θεοῦ) πρὸς τὸ πνευματικῶς αὐτὸν δεδωκέναι αὐτὰς τοῖς μακαρίοις ἑαυτοῦ.

οὐ μόνον δὲ πᾶσα εὐλογία πνευματική ἐστιν ἣν εὐλόγηνται Παῦλος καὶ οἱ παραπλήσιοι αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδεμία αὐτῶν σωματική, ἀλλὰ καὶ **ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις**. ἔπρεπε γὰρ τούτοις ὧν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, θησαυρίζουσιν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἔχουσιν ὅπου ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ὁ θησαυρός, καὶ **ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις** τῶν πνευματικῶν τυγχάνειν εὐλογιῶν. πῶς δὲ ἤδη ἐστὶν **εὐλογήσας ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις**, ἄξιον ἐπισκέψασθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἴρηται 'ὁ εὐλογήσων' ἡμᾶς. καὶ ὅρα εἰ δύναται τὸ **ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις** εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς καὶ ἔξω αἰσθήσεων·' οὕτω γὰρ καὶ θησαυρίζει τις ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὴν καρδίαν οὐκέτι ἔχει ἐπὶ γῆς, τουτέστιν ἐν τοῖς ὑλικοῖς καὶ σωματικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ, τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἀεὶ αὐτῇ ὁμιλῶν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἀκριβέστερον θεωρῆσαι ἡμᾶς, ἀμφότερα εἴρηται περὶ τῆς εὐλογίας, καὶ ὅτι ἐστὶ **πνευματικὴ** καὶ ὅτι **ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις**· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅτι **ἐν Χριστῷ**, οἱονεὶ ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ τῇ Σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῇ Δυνάμει.

§ III.

Eph. i 4 *b* [**εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ.**]

25. Rom. vii 14 27. Deut. xxviii 12 28. Heb. xi 37, 38 30. Deut. xxviii 3, 5 37. Phil. iii 20 37, 43. Matt. vi 19–21

35–48: 547 A–C

16. *πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν ἐκείνων δέ* MS, and Origen is fond of putting *δέ* late in the sentence: but in XXVIII 7 *πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν δὲ ἐκείνου* 29. *κακοχούμενοι* MS

[Ὠριγένης φησί] 106

ζητήσαι δ' ἄν τις πρὸς τὸ **εἶναί** τινας **ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον** τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰ μὴ τὸ προφητικὸν ἐναντιοῦται τούτῳ λέγον οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶς ζῶν· εἰ δὲ κατενώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ πᾶς ζῶν οὐ δικαιωθήσεται, πῶς **κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ** ἔσονται **ἅγιοι**; εἰ γὰρ **ἅγιοι καὶ ἄμωμοι** ἔσονται, καὶ δικαιωθήσονται.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν τις καταφυγὼν τοῦ προφητικοῦ ἐρεῖ, τὸ μὴ δικ⟨αι⟩οῦσθαι κατενώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ πάντα ζῶντα τοιοῦτό τι σημαίνειν οἱονεὶ ὅλος καὶ ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ χρόνου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται κατενώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ πάντως ἡμαρτηκέναι ποτέ, ὅπερ ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχῃ οὐ κωλύει τὸ **εἶναί** τινας **ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ**, ἐκ διορθώσεως τοιούτους γεγενημένους· ἢ καὶ τό, 107 ⟨εἰ⟩ μὴ πᾶς ζῶν, ἀλλ' οὖν γέ τινας δικ⟨αι⟩οῦσθαι.

[i 5] **ἐν ἀγάπῃ προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἱοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτόν.**

ἤτοι τὸ **ἐν ἀγάπῃ** τῷ **προορίσας** συναπτέον, ἢ **ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου προορίσας ἡμᾶς** ἐν υἱοθεσίᾳ ⟨**διὰ**⟩ **Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτόν** ὥστε **ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ.**

δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς 'υἱοθεσίας' τὸ μὴ φύσει εἶναι υἱοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοὺς προορισθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἂν γοῦν ταχθείη τὸ ὄνομα τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτων οἱ λαβόντες τὸ ⟨π⟩ν⟨εῦ⟩μα τῆς δουλείας εἰς φόβον ἀποδόντες τὸν φόβον ἄξιοι γίνονται ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι οὐκέτι ὑμᾶς λέγω δούλους, οἱ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λαμβάνουσι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς υἱοθεσίας. ὅτε δέ τις τὸν Υἱὸν λαμβάνει οὐ πρότερον ἐσχηκὼς αὐτόν, τότε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κεχώρηκε τῆς υἱοθεσίας· οὕτως γὰρ **διὰ Χριστοῦ** ἡ υἱοθεσία ἡμῖν ἐπεισέρχεται. ἐπὶ τῷ μέντοιγε **εἰς αὐτὸν** καταντῆσαι **ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἀγάπῃ προορίσας ἡμᾶς** ἐν υἱοθεσίᾳ **διὰ Χριστοῦ**· τούτοις γὰρ ἐπιφέρεται τὸ **εἰς αὐτόν.**

[i 5 *b*] **κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ.**

τὸ τῆς 'εὐδοκίας' ὄνομα οὐ πάνυ τι τετριμμένον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνηθείᾳ νομίζω ὄν, ὠνοματοποιῆσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑρμηνευσάντων· ἐχρήσαντο γὰρ τῇ λέξει ἐπὶ τῶν προφητικῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ πδ' ψαλμῷ, εὐδόκησας Κύριε τὴν γῆν σου, καὶ ἐν ρε', μνήσθητι ἡμῶν Κύριε ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ σου· καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀμβακούμ, καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ. πλὴν ἡ εὐδοκία ἐμφαίνει τὸ 'εὖ' καὶ τὸ 'δοκεῖν' ὥστε μὴ ἂν λεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν δοκούντων ἡμῖν οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μόνων τῶν ἐπαινετῶς δοκούντων.

III 3. Ps. cxlii (cxliii) 2 19, 21. Rom. viii 15 20. Rom. xiii 7; Jo. xv 15 31. Ps. lxxxiv 2 (lxxxv 1) 32. Ps. cv (cvi) 4 33. Habb. ii 4

III 2–12: 549 E–550 C 14–16: 550 CD 29–35: 551 BC

III 7, 12. δικαιοῦσθαι (*bis*) Cramer: δικοῦσθαι (*bis*) MS 12. εἰ μή Robinson: μή MS 15. διά (cf. l. 23): om. MS 19. πνεῦμα Gregg: ὄνομα MS

ζητητέον οὖν πῶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ **προορίσας εἰς υἱοθεσίαν** οὓς προώρισεν ὁ θεὸ[ς] **κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ** προώρισε· καὶ ἀπόδειξιν εὑρετέον τ[ὴν] **εὐδοκίαν** εἶναι **τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ** ἐπὶ τούτοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ **ἐπαινε[ῖσθαι]** **τῆς** εἰς τοὺς σωζομένους **χάριτος αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν** εὐδόκησεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημ[α].

§ IV.

Eph. i 6 [**ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ.**]

109 [Ὠριγένης φησίν]

'ἠγαπημένος' ἁπλῶς λέγεται ὁ Σωτήρ· ἐπεὶ κἂν πλανῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωπ[οι] περὶ τὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης κατάληψιν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς σοφίας, τὴ[ν] πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν 'ἀγαπᾶν' σοφίαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνη[ν]. [διὰ] τοῦτο 'ἠγαπημένος' λέγεται ὁ Μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ, πάντων ἀγαπώντων τ[ὰ] ἐπινοούμενα αὐτῷ, ἤτοι δὲ σφαλλομένων τοῦ σκοποῦ ἢ ἐπιτυγχανόντων ὥσπερ πάντες τεθήπασι τὸν Θεόν, σφάλλονται δὲ οἱ ἀποπίπτοντες τῆς ὑγιοῦ[ς] ἐννοίας περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[i 7] **ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τ[ῶν] παραπτωμάτων.**

ἀπολύτρωσις ⟨ἡ⟩ λύτρωσις γίνεται τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ γενομένων ὑπὸ το[ῖς] πολεμίοις· γεγόναμεν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτ[ου] καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν πονηραῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδεήθημεν ἀπολυτρώσε[ως]
110 καὶ τοῦ ἐξαγοράζοντος ἡμᾶς ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλοτριωθέντας αὐτοῦ ἀπολάβ[ῃ]. ἔδωκεν οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λύτρον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ αἷμα· διόπερ **ἔχομεν τὴ[ν] ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων.**

τῇ ἀπολυτρώσει ἕπεται **ἡ ἄφεσις τῶν παραπτωμάτων**, πρὶν ἀπολυτρωθῆ[ναί] τινα οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἀφέσεως παραπτωμάτων. πρῶτον ο[ὖν] ἀπολυτρωθῆναι ἡμᾶς δεῖ καὶ μηκέτι εἶναι ὑπὸ τῷ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντι κα[ὶ] κεκρατηκότι, ἵνα ἐλευθερωθέντες καὶ ἔξω γενόμενοι τῶν (ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω) χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ δυνηθῶμεν λαβεῖν **τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων** καὶ θεραπευθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐνεργῆσαι κατ' εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρετάς.

[i 8] **κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.**

ὁ νοήσας τί ἐστὶ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, καὶ συγκρίν[ων]

IV 3, 4. 1 Cor. i. 30, 24; Jo. xiv 6 12. *cf.* 2 Cor. iv 4, Eph. ii 2 15. *e.g.* Exod. xxi 30 25. Eph. ii 5, 9; 1 Cor. ii 13

IV 2–8: 552 D–553 A 11–16: 553 B 17–23: 554 A 25–43: 554 A–C

IV 11 ἡ: ἡ MS

παραπτώματα παραπτώμασι, βλέποι ἂν κατὰ τὴν λέγουσαν παραβολὴν περὶ τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα δηναρίων τίς ὀφείλει πλείονας χάριτας ὁμολογεῖν τῷ συγχωρήσαντι τὸ χρέος οἰκοδεσπότῃ. ἔτι δὲ θεωρῶν πῶς οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀνακαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς, **τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς** τοῦ Θεοῦ **χάριτος** συνίδοι ἄν, καὶ ὡς **ἐπερίσσευσεν** οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς κλητοὺς καὶ ἐκλεκτούς, μάλιστα τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τῶν διαθηκῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ξένους τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ, τῷ παραπτώματι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἑλκυσθέντας ἀπὸ τῆς πατρικῆς χρηστότητος ἐπὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον **τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χ⟨άρι⟩τος αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς** τοὺς μακαρίους μείζον' ⟨ἄν⟩ τις κατανοήσαι θεωρῶν τὸ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν; καὶ τὸ εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι λεγομένου ἔσεσθαι δὸς ἵνα ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἕν ἐσμέν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἓν ὦσιν. οὗτος δὲ ὁ πᾶς **πλοῦτος τῆς χάριτος** τοῦ Θεοῦ, **ἧς ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς** τοὺς ἁγίους, ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἐπιχορηγούμενος καὶ αὔξων καὶ πληθυνόμενος, ἤτοι ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενον καὶ συμπαρεκτεινόμενον κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἔχει τὸν τυγχάνοντα τῶν προειρημένων, ἢ ἀπολειπόμενον κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπολείποιτό τις, 111
οἱονεὶ κενὴ γένοιτ' ἂν πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ χάρις· εἰ δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνελλιπῶς ποιήσαι, λέγοι ἂν τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ κενὴ ἐγενήθη.

§ V.

Eph. i. 9 [**ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ ἣν προέθετο ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν.**]

[Ὠριγένης φησί] 112

τί τὸ **πάσῃ σοφίᾳ** καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τί τὸ **φρονήσει**; κέχρηται τῇ λέξει καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ Κυρίου καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. εἴ τις οὖν κατένοησε τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ τίνα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ καὶ ἔξω αὐτῶν μὴ βλεπόμενα, καὶ κατακερματίσας τῷ λόγῳ ἰδίᾳ τὰ ἀόρατα καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὰ ὁρατὰ ἐξετάζοι τὴν σοφίαν ᾗ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν ὁ Θεὸς (πάντα γὰρ ἐν σοφίᾳ φησὶν ὁ Δαβὶδ ἐποίησας), οὗτος τὴν παρὰ Κυρίου πᾶσαν ⟨ἂν⟩ ἐπιβλέποι σοφίαν.

27. Luc. vii 41 28. Rom. viii 18 31, 32. Eph. ii 12 (Rom. ix 4) 35. 1 Cor. vi 3; 1 Pet. i 12 36. Jo. xvii 21, 22 38. Col. ii 19 43. 1 Cor. xv 10
V 3. Ecclus. i 1 7 Ps. ciii (civ) 24

V 4–8: 554 D

IV 34. *χάριτος* Gregg: *χρηστότητος* (probably from the preceding line) MS *μείζον' ἄν τις κατανοήσαι* Gregg: *μεῖζον τίς κατανοῆσαι* MS 38. *ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς* MS: possibly *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς*, the *μακάριοι* of line 34 being the Saints of the first generation in contrast with the *ἅγιοι* of line 38, all Christians 'from the beginning' onwards (Turner)
V 5. *ἰδίᾳ . . . ἰδίᾳ*: *ἴδια . . . ἴδια* MS 7. **πᾶσαν ἂν ἐπιβλέποι** Gregg: **πᾶσαν ἐπιβλέποι** MS

ἀλλ᾽ εἰκός τινα ἀπογνόντα τὸ ἤδη δύνασθαι **ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει** γενέσθαι τὸν ἔτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο περικείμενον, κατακούοντα δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐκ μέρογc γινώcκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρογc προφητεύομεν, προσκόψειν τῷ ἐν πάσῃ **σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος** αὐτοῦ, ὡς κατακεχαρισμένως μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθῶς εἰρημένῳ· ἵνα γὰρ καὶ ἐν σοφίᾳ γνωρισθῇ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις αὐτῷ **τὸ μυστήριον** τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν πάσῃ **σοφίᾳ** γνωρίζεται πάντα αὐτῷ ἐκ μέρογc γινώσκοντι καὶ ἐκ μέρογc προφητεύοντι. ὅρα οὖν εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ζήτησιν ταύτην ἄλλη διαστολὴ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἁρμόζει τῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον οὕτως ἔχουσα· **εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων, κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει**· ἐνθάδε καταπαύσας τὴν τούτου τοῦ τόπου διαστολήν, ἀπ᾽ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς οὕτως ἀναγνώσεται τὸ **γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ**, ὥστε τὸ **ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει** μὴ ἐφαρμόζειν τῷ **γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ** ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνωτέρω· **ἐχαρίτωσε** γὰρ **ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ἐν πάσῃ** τῇ ἑαυτοῦ **σοφίᾳ καὶ** τῇ αὐτοῦ **φρονήσει** ὁ Θεός· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ἔχοντες **τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ**
118 **αἵματος** τοῦ Χριστοῦ, **ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει** τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλάβομεν ταῦτα· καὶ **ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ** αὐτοῦ **καὶ φρονήσει** τετυχήκαμεν τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν **παραπτωμάτων**, περισσεύοντος αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς **τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος** αὐτοῦ **ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει**· ἅπερ πάντα πεποίηκε, **γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ.**

ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ καὶ ἡ προτέρα ἀνάγνωσις, τοιοῦτος ἀποδοθήσεται λόγος, μὴ ἐπαιρόμενος τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ ἐκ μέρογc γινώcκειν καὶ τοῦ δ⟨ιώ⟩κοντ⟨α⟩c καταλαμβάνειν **ἐν πάσῃ** τῇ ἑαυτοῦ **σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει** ὁ Θεὸς ἡμᾶς ᾠκονόμησε, **γνωρίσας τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ.** ἵνα γὰρ δυνηθῶμεν γνωρίσαι **τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ** καὶ τοῦτο χωρῆσαι ἐξισχύσωμεν, cῶμα ταπεινώσεως περικείμενοι, **πάσης σοφίας** Θεοῦ οἰκονομούσης ἡμᾶς χρῄζομεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ τῶν μυστηρίων ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἀπορρήτων καὶ μὴ ἐπιτηδείων φθάνειν εἰς πολλοὺς παραλαμβάνεται, δηλονότι καὶ περὶ τῶν σωθησομένων **θελήματι** τοῦ Θεοῦ **μυστηρίου** ἔχεται· τὸ γὰρ πολὺ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ κέκρυπται τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ Δαβίδ, ὡς πολὺ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητός coγ, Κύριε, ἧς ἔκργψας τοῖς φοβογμένοις cε.

ἐπίστησον δὲ εἰ διαφέρει 'προορισμὸς' καὶ 'πρόθεσις,' ὡς μετὰ τὸν προορισμὸν τὴν πρόθεσιν γινέσθαι· ὥστε οἷον κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἐννοήματα τοῦ

11, 15, 33. 1 Cor. xiii 9 34. Phil. iii 12, Ecclus. xxvii 8 36. Phil. iii 21
41. Ps. xxx 20 (xxxi 19)

9–35: 555 C–E 43–48: 556 A B

33. *τοῦ διώκοντας καταλαμβάνειν* from Phil. iii 12 *διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω*, cf. Ecclus. xxvii 8 (Turner, Swete): *τοῦ δοκούντως καταλαμβάνειν* Robinson: *τοῦ δοκοῦντος καταλαμβάνειν* MS

Θεοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν προορισμόν, κατὰ δὲ ταὐτὰ ἤδη τὴν περὶ ὧν προώρισε πρόθεσιν οὐσιωμένων πως ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἐρχομένων τοῦ προορισμοῦ· ὅθεν καὶ πρότερον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ **ἐν ἀγάπῃ προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἱοθεσίαν**, δεύτερον δὲ **κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ ἣν προέθετο ἐν αὐτῷ**.

ἐξεταστέον δέ τί ἐστι τὸ **πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν**· τούτῳ δὲ παράκειται τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ λεγόμενον Παύλῳ, ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. ὥσπερ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ παραλαβεῖν τὴν πατρῴαν κτῆσιν τὸν κληρονόμον γενόμενον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἀνδρὸς πλήρωμα ἄν πως ὀνομάζοιτο τοῦ χρόνου αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ καιροῦ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως **ἐν πληρώματι τῶν καιρῶν** γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ διὰ τῶν φερουσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα ὁδῶν καὶ προκοπῶν καταντήσας ἐπὶ τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ προωρισμένα καὶ προτεθειμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἁγίοις λαβεῖν.

§ VI.

Eph. i 10 **ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν Χριστῷ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν αὐτῷ.**

[Ὠριγένης φησί] 114

τὸ ὄνομα τῆς 'ἀνακεφαλαιώσεως' εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζ⟨ι⟩τικῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων συμψηφιζομένων λόγων καὶ εἰς ἓν κεφάλαιον συναγομένων δόσεων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων ἢ λήψεων, ὅθεν οἴομαι καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐνταῦθα κεχρῆσθαι τῇ λέξει. πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων λόγων τῆς οἰκονομίας τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ διοικήσεως τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, πάντων, ἅτε ἑνὸς τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου μερῶν τυγχανόντων, συμπνεόντων καὶ συννευόντων εἰς ἓν ἀποτέλεσμα, 'ἀνακεφαλαίωσίς' ἐστιν **ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ**. οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ κατακερματισμοὶ τῶν οἰκονομουμένων καὶ οἱ καθ' ἕνα λόγοι τῶν διοικουμένων εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγῳ καὶ τῇ Σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀνακεφαλαίωσις καὶ (ὡσὰν εἴποι τις) συγκεφαλαίωσις πάντων.

'κεφάλαιον' λέγεται πολλάκις καὶ τὸ περιληπτικὸν νόημα· κεφάλαιον γοῦν, φησίν, ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ κεφαλαίωσον ἐν ὀλίγοις πολλά. κεφάλαιον δὲ λέγεται, ὡς οἶμαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡμῶν ἅπαντα ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ ὅλα ἡμῶν τῆς ζωῆς αἰσθητήρια ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ.

§ VII.

Eph. i 11 [**τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ.**]

[Ὠριγένης φησίν] 116

ὅσα ἐνεργεῖ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πράττει καὶ ἐπιτελεῖ, ταῦτα πάντα **κατὰ τὴν** ἰδίαν **βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ** ἐνεργεῖ· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὃ δύναται αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι 117
πρᾶξαί τι παρὰ **τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ**· πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖ καὶ

50. Gal. iv 4 VI 12. Heb. viii 1 13. Ecclus. xxxv (xxxii) 8

VI 2–11: 557 BC

45. κατὰ δὲ ταὐτά: κατὰ δὲ ταῦτα MS: perhaps μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (compare l. 43), Turner 46. πως: πῶς MS VI 2. τραπεζιτικῶν: τραπεζητικῶν MS

ἄρχει τῶν ὅλων. ἵνα δὲ τὸ περιεσκεμμένον ὁ Παῦλος παραστήσῃ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ **κατὰ** τὸ θέλημα **αὐτοῦ** γινομένων, προέταξε τοῦ θελήματος **τὴν βουλήν**. πάντων γὰρ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ βουλῆς πάντα ποιεῖ. διόπερ **πάντα ἐνεργεῖ κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ.**

§ VIII.

Eph. i 13 **ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες** [**τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ.**]

119 [Ὠριγένης φησίν]

ἐν ᾧ (δηλονότι Χριστῷ) πρὸς ἑτέροις ἀκούσασι **καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον**, ὅσπερ ἀληθείας λόγος τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν ἐστι τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν, ⟨ἐν ᾧ⟩ **καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ.** δόξει δέ, ὡς πρὸς τὴν φράσιν, τὸ δεύτερον **ἐν ᾧ** παρέλκειν, ὅπερ καὶ αἴτιον γεγένηται τοῦ δοκεῖν ὅτι, κρεμαμένου τοῦ διανοήματος, ἡ ὑποτακτικὴ φράσις οὐκ ἐπενήνεκται. οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ἔχει· ἔλεγε δή τις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀγάπης τὸν Παῦλον συνεχέστατα αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ὡσπερεὶ παρελκόντως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ **ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες** ἔστιν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τὸ **ἐν ᾧ**.

πάνυ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐστί, κεκοινωνηκότας ἀπορρήτων λόγων ὑφηγουμένου τοῦ Παύλου, τὸ ἀκούειν **ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας**. οὐκ οἶμαι γὰρ τοὺς τοῦ κηρύγματος μόνου ἀκηκοότας, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ παρειληφότας ἐν διηγήσει καὶ τραν⟨εῖ⟩ ἀναπτύξει, **ἀκούειν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας**. διαφέρει γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ Παῦλος διδάσκει λέγων, καὶ ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως· κἀκεῖ γὰρ παρατηρητέον ὅτι ἕτερον λέγει εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἑαυτοῦ. ἐξεταστέον δὲ καὶ⟨εἰ⟩ ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐπιστολῇ κ⟨εῖ⟩τα⟨ι⟩ τὸ ἀκηκοέναι τινὰς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, ἵνα τὸ παρατήρημα ἀκριβέστερον κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Παύλου φανῇ.

120 ἀλλὰ ⟨π⟩οῦ τὸ μὲν 'εὐαγγέλιον' ὀνομάζεται παρατηρητέον, ⟨παρατηρητέον⟩ δὲ καὶ τὰς προστιθεμένας αὐτῷ λέξεις, οἷον κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, ἢ ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον, ἢ **εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας**

VIII 16. 1 Cor. ii 4 19. Col. i 5 23. Rom. ii 16, xvi 25, 2 Tim. ii 8; Marc. i 1 24. Apoc. xiv 6

VIII 2–10: 559 C D 11–29: 559 E–560 B

VIII 4. *ἐν ᾧ*: om MS 14. *τρανεῖ*: *τρανῇ* MS 19. *ἐξεταστέον δὲ καὶ εἰ ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐπιστολῇ κεῖται τό* (from Jerome 559 E 560 A 'quaeramus diligentius ubi alibi scriptum sit quod') Turner: *ἐξεταστέον δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐπιστολῇ κατὰ τό* MS 22. *ἀλλὰ ποῦ τὸ μὲν εὐαγγέλιον ὀνομάζεται παρατηρητέον, παρατηρητέον δὲ καὶ τάς* (Jerome 560 A 'ubi quoque euangelium nominatum sit') Turner: *ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εὐαγγέλιον ὀνομάζεται παρατηρητέον δὲ καὶ τάς* MS

τῶν Ἐφεσίων· ἢ ἁπλῶς ‘εὐαγγέλιον,’ ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ περὶ τοῦ Λουκᾶ ὁ Παῦλος, οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν.

σφραγίζεται δὲ **τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ** ἁγίῳ πᾶς ὁ **ἀκούσας τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον**, ὄντα **εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας** τοῦ ἀκούοντος καὶ **πιστεύοντος**· ὡς εἰ ἀκούσαι μέν, μὴ πιστεύσαι δέ, οὐκ ἂν σφραγισθείη. ἄλλος δέ τις ἐρεῖ ὅτι εἰ καὶ **πιστεύσαι** μέν, μὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ προκόπτοι ὡς **ἀκούειν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας**, οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἂν χωρῆσαι τὴν **τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ ἁγίου** σφραγῖδα, ⟨ἥ⟩τις ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ἐκτύπωσις καὶ τράνωσις τούτων ἃ πρέπει ἐκτυποῦσθαι καὶ τρανοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ **τῆς ἐπαγγελίας** ἁγίου πνεύματος.

ζητητέον δὲ καὶ εἴ που εἴρηται **πνεῦμα ἐπαγγελίας ἅγιον**, καὶ τί ἐκδεκτέον εἰς τὸ **πνεῦμα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἅγιον**. οἶμαι τοίνυν ὅτι ὥσπερ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, γενόμενον ἐπί τινι, ἅγιον ποιεῖ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς σοφίας σοφόν, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς συνέσεως συνετόν, οὕτω καὶ **τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας** εἶναί πως ἤδη ἐν τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ.

[i 14] **ὅ ἐστιν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως, εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.**

ζητήσεις εἰ πᾶς ὁ μετέχων ἁγίου πνεύματος μετέχει **τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας**, ἢ μόνος ὁ **ἀκούσας λόγου ἀληθείας**, ὄντος **εὐαγγελίου σωτηρίας**, καὶ **πιστεύσας**, οὗτος λαμβάνει **τὸ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας πνεῦμα ἅγιον**· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιστήσωμεν, εἰ πᾶς ὁ μετέχων ὁπώσποτε πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔχει τὸν **ἀρραβῶνα τῆς κληρονομίας**. βέλτιον δὲ νοεῖν ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν συνωνουμένων τι καὶ διδόντων ἀρραβῶνα κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς ποσότητος τοῦ ὅλου ἀργυρίου δίδοται ἀρραβών, οὕτως κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῶν ἑκάστου προεγνωσμένων ἁγίου μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν δίδοται **ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας**, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος τὸν δυνάμενον κατανοεῖν διαφορὰς τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος καὶ ἀρραβῶνος ἤδ⟨η⟩ ἂν ἀποφήνασθαι περὶ πλείονος καὶ ἐλάττονος 121 κληρονομίας τῆς ἀποκειμένης τοῖς Χριστοῦ συγκληρονόμοις.

ὥσπερ δὲ ὁ **ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας** οὐχὶ ἔξω τι ἡμῶν ἐστιν (ἐν γὰρ ἑκάστῳ **τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας** ἐστὶ **τὸ ἅγιον**, ὁ **ἀρραβὼν** τῆς ἐπαγγελίας), οὕτως ἡ κληρονομία οὐκ ἔξωθέν ἐστι τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ νῷ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἔξωθεν συγκρίνεσθαι δύναται τελειότητι νοῦ θεωροῦντος κάλλη Σοφίας καὶ Λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ Ἀληθείας.

τοῦτο μέντοιγε τὸ **πνεῦμα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ** ἅγιον, ὅπερ **ἐστὶν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν**, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δίδοται τοῖς ἁγίοις, ἵνα **ἀπολυτρωθῶσι**

26. 2 Cor. viii 18 37, 38. Is. xi 2 52. Col. i 5

35–39 : 560 CD 46–52 : 561 BC 53–62 : 561 C–E

29. ἀκούσαι . . . πιστεύσαι Gregg : ἀκούσας . . . πιστεύσας Cramer : ἀκοῦσαι . . . πιστεῦσαι MS 32. σφραγῖδα : σφραγίδα MS ἥτις Turner : εἴτις MS 51. ἤδη : ἔδει Cramer : ἤδει MS

καὶ περιποιηθῶσι τῷ Θεῷ, καταρτιζόμενοι εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης τα Θεοῦ.

τὸ δὲ εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἀποδεδομένῳ δύναται κα τοιοῦτο δηλοῦν, ‘ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπαινεῖν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕκαστος, νῦν μὲν τ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας λαμβάνων ἀρραβῶνα τῆς κληρονομίας, ὕστερον δ αὐτὴν τὴν κληρονομίαν’ οὐ μέντοι (ὡς ἄν τις ὑπονοήσαι σημαίνεσθαι ἐκ τῆ λέξεως) ὡς χρῄζοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ἐπαινούντων τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν περιγινομένων τοῖς τεθεωρηκόσι τὸ ἐπαινετὸν τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μὴ δυναμέν⟨οις⟩ σιωπᾶν αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πρὸς τ⟨ῷ⟩ εὐφραίνεσθα ἐν τῷ ὑμνεῖν αὐτὸ γινομένοις.

J. A. F. GREGG.

66–70: 561 E

66. ὑπονοήσαι : ὑπονοῆσαι MS 69. δυναμένοις : δυναμένων MS τῷ : τό MS

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND STUDIES

ON SOME MSS OF THE WRITINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS: PART II.

IV. We come now to a MS the genealogical relations of which it is difficult to determine.

B: saec. xiv: Basel, University Library, A III 4 (Graece 32) 'Athanasii, Cyrilli, Joh. damasceni, Theodoreti opuscula': described by Omont (*Cat. des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse*, Leipzig, 1886) as 'xive siècle: bombycin. vi—607 feuillets: 340 sur 252 millim. [I measured $13\frac{1}{4} \times 10$ inches]: D. rel. peau de truie gaufrée.' The number of the folios is incorrectly given: the last is indeed numbered 607, but that following 169 is wrongly numbered 190, and the mistake is continued. The folios are arranged in quaternions.

On the first of six leaves (numbered A . . . F) which precede the first treatise is written 'Ex libris Bibliothecae Academiae Basiliensis,' and (lower down) 'Hic thesaurus incomparabilis beati Athanasii est fratrum praedicatorum domus Basiliensis, tandem redditus a Kapnione an. MDXXII.' Below this again are the figures 15·59. Omont (Catalogue above quoted) writes 'La meilleure partie de ces mss. [he is referring to the Basel collection] provient d'une collection fameuse, celle du cardinal Jean de Raguse († 1443), formée dès le xve siècle et léguée par ce prélat aux dominicains de Bâle.'

Two scribes certainly (perhaps three: I was unable to decide) have been at work on this MS. The first wrote (possibly the πίναξ: probably not the iambics following) to the end of treatise 6, the last words of which occur at the top of fol. 133 *b*. The rest of the leaf has been left blank. The second begins at the top of 134 *a*, and finishes at the end of fol. 165 *b*, shortly after the beginning of the tenth treatise; he writes also foll. 196[1] *a*–212 *a*, l. 5, and 230 *a*–250 *a* (treatises 20–26 inclusive: the twenty-sixth ends near the bottom of 250 *a*: the last four lines are left blank). All the rest is written, I think, by the first scribe except foll. 193 *a*–195 *b*, which may be the work of a third. The changes after foll. 133 *b*, 165 *b*, 195 *b*, and 229 *b* occur at the end of quaternions:

[1] Should have been numbered 176; see above.

that on 212 *a* just after a new quaternion has begun, that on 250 *a* just before the last leaf of an old. Two or three correctors have been at work.

The quaternions are signed on the first page. The first signature is missing: the edge of leaf C, which was probably the first leaf of the first gathering, has been cut away. Fol. 5 *a* is marked β̄, fol. 13 *a* γ̄, and so on. After quaternion 14 (foll. 101–108) nine leaves follow: I could not find a ragged edge among them, and no matter has been omitted: so the 15th gathering ends with fol. 117, and the 16th begins with fol. 118. The 22nd gathering has ten leaves (foll. 166–195 [should be 175]); so also the 26th (foll. 220–229): in the 28th there are only six; there is a note there (see below, p. 249) that two are missing[1].

To return to the leaves at the beginning, A*b* and B are blank. C *a* and *b* contain iambic verses in two columns. These are headed *ὁ δοξαπατρῆ*. They will be found in Migne, *P.G.* vol. xxv col. cclxxvii. Montfaucon has inferred from their presence here that Doxapater was the sole transcriber of this MS. DEF *a* give a list of contents, stopping at the end of 88 (*πη'. τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰοβιανὸν ἐπιστολή*): this is headed *πίναξ σὺν θεῷ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένων*. F*b* contains Photius' 'iudicium de Athanasii dictione' (see Migne, *ib.*). The *c. Gentes* begins on fol. 1 *a*: the heading is *τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας λόγος, κατὰ ἑλλήνων.*

The following is a list of the treatises, with the numbers attached in the MS. I have given the number of the first leaf in each case.

fol.		fol.	
2 *a*	(1) Oratio contra Gentes.	161 *a*	(9) Epistola encyclica.
23 *a*	(2) Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi.	164 *a*	(10) Epistola I ad Serapionem.
47 *b*	(3) Disputatio contra Arium.	197 *b*	(11) Epistola II ad Serapionem.
62 *a*	(4) Epistola ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae.	199 *b*	(12) Epistola Catholica (*Migne*, xxviii 81).
72 *a*	(5) Oratio I contra Arianos.	200 *a*	(13) Refutatio hypocrisis Meletii.
98 *a*	(6) Oratio II contra Arianos.	200 *b*	(14) Epistola ad Epictetum.
134 *a*	(7) Oratio III contra Arianos.	203 *b*	(15) Contra Apollinarium liber II.
155 *a*	(8) De Incarnatione et contra Arianos.		

[1] There is a phenomenon in connexion with the numbering of the quaternions which I cannot interpret. At the bottom of 117 *b* the signature, which appears here for the first time at the end, as well as at the beginning, of the quaternion, has been erased. I have traced a tampering with the signatures of the quaternions to the end of fol. 412 *b* inclusive. The corrector has desired to move the quaternions five places back. Thus on fol. 165 *b*, *ις* has been written over *κα*, and on fol. 211 *b*, *ιθ* over *κδ*.

fol.

209 *a* (16) Contra Apollinarium liber I.

215 *a* (17) εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τό Ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ λόγον, κ.τ.λ. (*Migne*, xxvi 649).

220 *a* (18) De Passione (*Migne*, xxviii 204–8 *only*).

221 *a* (19) Epistola ad Marcellinum.

230 *a* (20) De Virginitate.

235 *b* (21) De Communi Essentia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

244 *a* (22) De Incarnatione Dei Verbi (*Migne*, xxviii 89).

244 *b* (23) [Pontif. Rom. et Athanasii Epp.] Liberii Epistola.

245 *a* (24) Athanasii rescriptum ad Liberium.

245 *b* (25) Epistola ad Adelphium episcopum.

247 *b* (26) In illud, Profecti in Pagum.

250 *b* (27) Sermo in Annuntiationem Deiparae.

256 *b* (28) De Passione et Cruce Domini.

271 *b* (29) Adv. Arianos sermo brevis [1].

273 *a* (30) Epistola III ad Serapionem.

275 *b* (31) Epistola IV ad Serapionem.

278 *a* (32) Oratio IV contra Arianos.

289 *a* (33) In illud, Omnia mihi tradita sunt, &c.

291 *b* (34) De Doctrina.

292 *a* (35) De Sabbatis et Circumcisione.

fol.

295 *a* (36) Marci Diadochi contra Arianos.

299 *b* Epistola ad Epictetum (title and opening words).

299 *b* (37) Expositio Fidei.

301 *a* (38) Tomus ad Antiochenos.

304 *a* (39) Contra Sabellianos.

310 *a* (40) Quod unus sit Christus.

312 *a* (41) Epistola ad Maximum philosophum.

313 *b* (42) Refutatio hypocrisis Meletii.

314 *a* (43) Epistola Catholica.

314 *b* (44) Sermo contra omnes haereses.

319 *b* (45) De decretis Nicaenae synodi.

334 *a* (46) Eusebii Caesariensis epistola.

334 *b* (47) [Eusebii] symbolum.

335 *b* (48) De sententia Dionysii.

344 *b* (49) Depositio Arii et sociorum.

344 *b* (50) Encyclica Alexandri epistola.

346 *b* (51) Concilii Nicaeni epistola adversus Arium.

347 *b* (52) Constantini epistola ad catholicam Alexandriae ecclesiam.

348 *a* (53) Constantini epistola ad episcopos et laicos.

348 *b* (54) Constantinus Ario et sociis.

351 *b* (55) Constantinus adv. Eusebium et Theognin.

352 *a* (56) Constantinus Theodoto.

352 *b*–469 *a* (57–86) = R 38–81 (*see* J.T.S. *October*, 1901, *p.* 99).

[1] I cannot remember in what edition I have found this treatise. It begins ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης φησίν and ends οὐκ ἔστι θεός.

fol.
471 *b* (87) De Incarnatione Dei Verbi (*Migne*, xxviii 25).
472 *a* (88) Epistola ad Iovianum (*Migne*, xxviii 531).
472 *b* Letter of Julian to Basil (τὸ ἔμφυτόν μοι ἐκ παιδιόθεν, κ.τ.λ.), and Basil's reply (μικρά σου τὰ τῆς παρούσης τύχης): a fragment περὶ πελαγίων (διαδέχεται τὸ αἰγαῖον πέλαγος).
473 *b* Athanasii Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem (*to end of respons.* 44).
Cyrill. Alex.: Glaphyra in Exodum (*imperfect at the beginning*), Leviticum, Deuteronomium.
Iohannes Damasc. Adv. Nestorianorum haeresim dissertatio.
Theodoret. Ep. 151 (*Migne*, P.G. lxxxiii) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐφρατησίᾳ καὶ Ὀσροηνῇ καὶ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Κιλικίᾳ μονάζοντας.
id. Ep. 150 κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας.
Cyrill. Alex. Ep. ad Euoptium (*Mansi*, v 81).
Cyrill. Alex. Anathematismi.
Cyrill. Alex. Explicatio xii capitum.
Cyrill. Alex. Interpretatio hebraicarum literarum.
Cyrill. Alex. adv. Anthropomorphitas (*Migne*, lxxvi), *ending at the words* (*at the end of* § 17) ἰδόντες οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων (*the rest of the leaf is left blank*).

Two correctors at least have been at work, one a little later than the scribe, for his corrections have been adopted at the beginning of the fifteenth century by the Codex Oxoniensis (which, as we shall see, was copied from B), e.g. opposite νοήσαντες (*c. Gentes* Migne, xxv c. 96 l. 32) is written γρ. γνόντες. Another, more recent, has corrected from some other MS many of the omissions arising from homoeoteleuton, e.g. in No. 5 (Migne, xxvi c. 48 l. 19) the scribe has written ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων συνίσταται τριὰς ποτὲ δὲ πλήρης ἐλλιπὴς μέν, κ.τ.λ. After τριάς the corrector adds καὶ ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν τριὰς ἀλλὰ μονάς· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐλλιπὴς τριάς: the Oxford codex has given the words as they are written in the original B.

It is plain that we have in B a transcription from more than one original. The *Epistola ad Epictetum* is No. 14, yet its title and opening words, followed by ἐγράφη ὄπισθεν, recur after No. 36. Again, Nos. 12, 13 are reproduced as Nos. 43, 42. Further, No. 28 includes No. 18. [The whole treatise is given in Migne, xxviii 185–249: the portion common to Nos. 28 and 18, τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων to πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται, on cc. 204–208.]

1. The first original, in which no repetitions occur, appears to end with treatise 21. The end of treatise 21 is missing from B. Fol. 243 *b* ends

ὅτε φησὶν ὁ θ̅ς̅ ἁγιάσει ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς καὶ ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ π̅ν̅α̅ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κ̅υ̅ ἡμῶν. The MSS (except those copied from B) give about 140 additional words only. In the margin are written, by different hands,

desunt 2 folia
in Latina versione sequuntur xii circiter lineae
sequitur fol. 244 sign. *κβ*

Two ragged edges follow fol. 243 *b* (which is the sixth of a quaternion): and fol. 244 *a* begins with the treatise numbered 22. Neither the MS nor the pinax give any hint that another treatise came between 21 and 22. It is probable, therefore, that the first twelve lines only of the first of the two missing folios contained any writing, and that the rest of this folio, and the whole of the other, were left blank, to mark the conclusion of the first collection of treatises.

This collection of twenty-one treatises is identical with that contained in L (see *J.T.S.*, October, 1901, pp. 105, 106), the readings of which, as well as the order of the treatises it contains, show that it is closely allied to B: where they differ, the variation appears to be due to careless transcription on the part of the transcriber of one or other. As L is the earlier MS of the two, L cannot of course have been copied from B; but the omissions of L (e. g. that of *τῷ σημείῳ . . . προσκυνούμενοι θεοί* [Migne, xxv c. 189, ll. 46–49], which is caused by homoeoteleuton) prove also that B has not been copied from L; they are therefore both copies of a lost MS. Where either MS has the support of the Paris MS against the other, the reading so supported is I think always correct: where B and L combine against the Paris MS, their reading will generally need careful consideration.

2. The original for a large part of B, from 45 to 86 inclusive, is, I believe, R 27–81.

With one significant exception the order of treatises is the same. The *de sententia Dionysii*, which is No. 37 in R, following Constantine's letter to Theodotus, is in B moved up, so as to come next to the *de Decretis* and the Epistle and Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea (see Nos. 45–48). This change accords with the marginal direction (quoted above, *J.T.S.*, October, 1901, p. 99) in R—*ζήτει τὸν κ́ζ κ́η λόγον ὄπισθεν καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως τοῦτον τὸν προκείμενον κατ' ἀκολουθίαν.*

Again, it has been shown (*ibid.*, pp. 99, 100) that in R's original the *de Synodis* preceded the *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*; and that R inverted the order. B follows R, showing that its scribe had access to R, or a copy of R, and not to R's original.

It is true that no change in the arrangement of B has resulted from the note in the margin of R 29. But what is meant by that note? It surely cannot have been intended to move the *Depositio* to a position

before the *de Decretis*. I think that αὐτοῦ = Ἀλεξάνδρου, and that the note contains a criticism upon R's *original*, where the *Depositio* followed Alexander's Encyclical: it ought then to have been written (ὤφειλε γραφῆναι) before, not after.

Treatises B 57–61 = R 38–42. R's 43 is stated in that MS to be a reproduction of 42[1], except that a part of 42 is not repeated (*ibid.*, p. 99). B gives the substance of the note—ἡ αὐτὴ οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ἀπαραλλάκτως κατὰ πάντα ἐγράφη πρὸς τοὺς κατ' αἴγυπτον καὶ λιβύην ἐπισκόπους, and does not transcribe the document a second time, or give it a second number. He does not note that part of the letter to the clergy (his 61) is not repeated to the bishops, so in his desire for brevity he has somewhat misrepresented the facts. B 62–69 = R 44–51. B does not number part of a letter from Constantine included in B 69 (Migne, xxv 357): neither does R: but R numbers the next letter as 53. B 70–74 = R 53–57: several letters follow, numbered in R (58–65), but not in B: B 75 = R 66: R 67–69 are not numbered in B: they are followed in R by the *Epistola Encyclica* (70): B gives the title and the first thirteen words, and adds a note—ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐγράφη ὄπισθεν εἰς ἔνvατον κεφάλαιον (B 9): B 76–86 = R 71–81 (the references in R's 72 to the *Apologia c. Arianos* [see above] being altered to correspond to B's numbering): B does not repeat R's 82, which he has already transcribed (B 28).

I have compared a few readings in these treatises. But their similarity does not seem to add force to the arguments drawn from the order of the treatises. If the conclusion is correct, B's readings in treatises 45–86 have no independent value. It should be noted that B 87 (*de Incarnatione Dei Verbi*), 88 (the Letter to Jovian, Migne, xxviii 532), and the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, are not found in the Paris MS.

3. There remain the treatises 22–44. Of these 27, 29, and 36 (Marcus Diadochus) are found in no MS of Athanasius that I have seen: 42, 43 (which had been already transcribed as 13, 12) are not in R or S.

No. 35 ends on fol. 294 *a*—three-quarters of the way down—with the words φθορᾶς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐν σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ. The rest of the recto and the whole of the verso are left blank.

No. 32 begins on the fourth line of fol. 278 *a*. Opposite is written in red ink by an early hand, possibly that of the writer, βιβλίον δεύτερον. As the leaf is the third of a quaternion, the words cannot mean that a new volume of B begins at this point. If they are, as I think, written

[1] R 42 (= B 61) is a letter from the Council of Sardica to presbyters, deacons, and the whole Church in Alexandria. R 43 is a letter from the same Council to bishops in Egypt and Libya.

by the original scribe, they probably indicate that at this stage a fresh MS was used by him. If that MS is R, he will then have copied from it, not (21) or 23–26, for these he has transcribed already, but 22, and the three treatises which follow. Finding the note at the end of 26, τέλος τοῦ κατὰ ἀρειανῶν, κ.τ.λ. (*J.T.S.*, Oct. 1901, p. 99), he will have laid R down, taken some other MS which began with the work of Marcus Diadochus, and afterwards returned to R, certainly at the *de Decretis* (B 45), perhaps earlier. To determine this question a careful collation of those treatises in this section which are common to B and R or S is necessary.

Montfaucon states (Migne, xxviii 501), quoting from Felckmann, that there is a note in B's pinax referring to No. 44, ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου ἐστὶν ἐπιγραφὴ ἄνωθεν τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, ἔχουσα οὕτως· ὁ παρὼν λόγος οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ μεγάλου ἀθανασίου· ἀλλὰ ξένος καὶ χυδαῖος. ἡμεῖς δὲ πρόσταγμα πληροῦντες μετεγράψαμεν καὶ τοῦτον. This note, if it be correctly quoted (I have not verified it myself), should throw light on the original of this part of B. In S we have merely ξένος καὶ χυδαῖος. But the original of S, i. e. the first part of that MS of which R is the second, may have had the note as it stands here; or B may have taken it from S and expanded it: this is less probable.

The title of 32 runs τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ ἀρειανῶν λόγος πέμπτος. Over πέμπτος has been written ἕκτος: Nos. 8 and 29 have, I suppose, been reckoned the fourth and fifth, though these numbers do not occur in the titles. There is a note in 28 that part of the treatise has been written already as 18: in the margin of 34 there are two notes, the former (the ink has nearly faded) οὗτος προεγράφη: the latter οὐ προεγράφη ἀλλ' ἕπεται λόγῳ με' ὅπου ἐν κρασπέδῳ τινα ῥωμαικὰ ὁρᾶται. The reference here is to the *de Decretis* (Migne, xxv 429, l. 37) ἔστι γάρ, ὡς οἱ πατέρες παραδεδώκασιν, ὄντως διδασκαλία: the Latin words referred to are 'Qui veri magistri existimandi. Hinc indicandi impii Lutherani.'

B has three descendants:—

(i) V, codex Vindobonensis: saec. xiv–xv: Vienna, Hofbibliothek, cod. MS. Theol. Graec. N. II ol. 57 (i.e. numbered 2 in de Nessel's Catalogue of 1690: 57 in Lambec's): paper, 424 foll., measuring 16½ by 11½ inches, arranged in quaternions: the work of two scribes, of whom one wrote foll. 1–251 *a*, 361 *b*–371 *b*; the other 251 *b*–361 *a*, 372 *a* to end. The quaternions are signed at the beginning, and when the former scribe is writing also at the end[1].

[1] Fol. 1 is preceded by a leaf which does not appear to belong to the MS, though the writing resembles that of the first scribe. It begins οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὓς θέλει ζωοποιεῖ καὶ τοῦτο δᾱδ λέγει, and ends ἑτέραν εἶναι τοῦ πρ̄ς τὴν δεσποτείαν εἰ ἑτέρως. At the bottom of the verso is written 'Marci diadochi contra haereses.' The words

The MS was bought at Constantinople by de Busbecke: see note in his own writing on fol. 1 above the title of the *contra Gentes*, 'Augerius de Busbecke comparauit Constantinopoli.' He presented it to the Emperor Maximilian II for the Imperial Library in the middle of the sixteenth century on his return from the East (see de Nessel's Catalogue MSS Bibl. Aug. 1690, p. 170).

This MS contains the same treatises as B (omitting B 44)[1] in the same order, including the Glaphyra of Cyril on the Pentateuch, the dissertation of John of Damascus, and Ep. 151 of Theodoret, to the end of that Epistle in the middle of fol. 424 *b*, where the MS ends. It is plainly a copy from B, though, when the copy was made, B contained the beginning of Cyril's Glaphyra on Exodus, which is now missing from B, though contained by V. The conclusion of treatise 21 had, however, disappeared, for V ends that treatise exactly as B, four lines from the top of the page. Treatise 22 follows immediately. Again B 44 is omitted by V: this accords with a direction opposite that treatise in B, *ἄφεσ μὴ γράψῃς*. Consequently B 45 and the treatises which follow are in V numbered 44 and so on. This difference in the numbering gives a further proof that V has been copied from B. For V 76 (= B 77) is the *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, which contains, among other letters, one from Constantine to the lay members of the Church of Alexandria (Migne, xxv 704). Both MSS give a few lines of this letter, and add a note *ἐγράφη ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ οε′ λόγον ἀπαραλλάκτως*. This is true as far as B is concerned, for the letter is contained in B 75, under which number are ranged the *Epistola Catholici*, Constantine's letter to the bishops at Tyre, and the letter referred to above (Migne, xxv 401–405). But V 75 (= B 76) is the letter to Serapion *de morte Arii*, in which Constantine's letter does not occur. The writer of the Vienna MS has copied the note in the Basel MS, forgetting the change which he has made in the numbering.

(ii) O, codex Oxoniensis: 1410 A.D.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roe 29: paper, 363 folios (the last is numbered 362, but two folios bear the number 192) arranged in quaternions, the work of one scribe, with the exception of two notes on fol. 2.

Foll. 1 and 2 *a* contain a pinax, and (below, on fol. 2 *a*) Photius' 'Iudicium de Athanasii dictione.' This is followed by a note, not written by the same hand as the MS, + *βιβλίον ἐμπεριέχον πάντα σχεδὸν τὰ τῶ μεγάλω ἀθανασίω πονηθέντα συγγράμματα κυρίου νεοφύτου, τοῦ τῶν ἐφεσίων προέδρου, ἀφιερωθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῶ πατριαρχείω τη σεβασμία μονῆ τῆς παμμακαρίστου μηνὶ ἰουνίω ἔτους ϛ^γ χ^γ π^γ θ*. (= 1481 A. D.).

really come from the *De Communi Essentia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* (= B 21); see Migne, xxviii c. 57, l. 48–c. 64, l. 4.

[1] *βιβλίον δεύτερον* at the beginning of 32 reappears in V.

On fol. 2 *b* a late hand has written 'Thomas Roe Eques aurat[s] et ser[mi] magnae Britanniae &c. Regis apud Turcarum Imperatorem orator in gratitudinis suæ erga matrem Academiam perpetuum testimonium hunc librum quem ex Oriente secum aduexit publicæ Bibliothecae d.d. Anno. dm̄. 1628.'

The last treatise ends on fol. 362 *b*. Then δόξα θῷ, which is followed by ἐτελειώθη κατὰ μῆνα μαρ̄ τῆς τρίτης ἰνδικτίωνος τοῦ ϛ̄ʹλ̄ʹιη̄ʹ ἔτους (= 1410 A.D.).

O contains 32 treatises: 1–31 are the same as B 1–31 : B 32, 33 are omitted: O 32 = B 34: after the concluding words τοῦ παρὰ θῦ πλασθέντος is added αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

O is plainly a copy either of B or of its faithful reproduction by the Codex Vindobonensis, which has just been described. But, as between the two, O reproduces, as V does not, Photius' 'iudicium de Athanasii dictione' which is given in B. Further, the omission in V, but not in B or O, of the words θάνατον (Migne, xxv c. 137, l. 31) and καί (ib. c. 172, l. 23), and the readings in V ἡμῶν for ἡμῖν (c. 173, l. 14) and φανερός for φοβερός (c. 145, l. 24, with B**al.*, against B[corr]O*al.*) show that B and not the Vienna MS is the original of O.

The leaves which contained the conclusion of B 21 had disappeared before O was written, for that MS ends like B in the middle of the quotation from 1 Thess. v 23 at ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν: O adds Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, but no more.

Other proofs of the derivation of O from B abound; e.g. in the *De Incarnatione* the omission of ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (Migne, xxv c. 100, l. 36), περὶ πατρός (c. 121, ll. 1, 2), and the eleven words τοιοῦτος ἦν to οὐ γάρ (c. 125, ll. 32, 33); also the readings περιποιησώμεθα (for διηγησώμεθα, c. 97, l. 9), προηγοῦνται (for διηγοῦνται, c. 100, l. 12), κόσμον (for νόμον, c. 109, l. 18), τοῦτο (for τότε, c. 164, l. 10), and εὐθεῖαν (for θείαν, c. 168, l. 26).

The transcriber of O is not, however, a mere copyist, like the writers of the Vienna MS. He frequently alters the order of words for the sake of apparently greater simplicity, writing, e. g., μὴ γὰρ ἂν (for ἂν γὰρ) δύνασθαί τι, ἢ καὶ τοῦ (for τοῦ καί) . . . πεποιηκότος, οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον (for ἧττον δέ), and especially when he can thereby bring the substantive nearer to the article, writing κατενόησαν διὰ τῆς κτίσεως τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα (for κ. τὴν διὰ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ θεότητα), πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν λογισμοὺς ἑαυτοῖς (for ἑαυτοῖς λογισμούς) ἐπισωρεύοντας. When it is said that our Lord took a human Body ἐξ ἀχράντου καὶ ἀμιάντου ἀνδρὸς ἀπείρου παρθένου (Migne, xxv c. 109, l. 34), he substitutes reverentially, knowing perhaps that his work was destined for the μονὴ τῆς παμμακαρίστου, μητρός for the last three words of the text. Again he reads (c. 153, l. 49) πάντες γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα ἐλογίσθημεν (for ἐπλανήθημεν), and (c. 177, l. 9) εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων βεβάπτισται (for βεβύθισται) φύσιν.

(iii) C, codex Cantabrigiensis (cited by Montfaucon as Anglicanus):

saec. xvi: Trinity College, Cambridge, B 9. 7: paper, 874 folios arranged in quinions, measuring 13½ by 9½ inches, written by the same hand.

[Bound together with this MS is another by a different and I think a later hand. It contains the *adversus Arianos sermo brevis* (= B 29), *Epistola III ad Serapionem* (B 30) and the greater part of *Oratio IV c. Arianos* (B 32), ending with πρὸς ἀθηναίους, ἐν ἀνδρί, the last few leaves (from Migne, xxvi c. 516, l. 20 to c. 521, l. 16) by a fresh hand. Montf. quotes this for *Oratio IV c. Arianos* also as Codex Anglicanus. The MS contained more, but the remainder has disappeared.]

On the fly-leaf is written 'Est D Joannis Christofersoni Angli, Frobenio et Episcopio ab ipso rediti.' John Christopherson was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1553, and Bishop of Chichester in 1557. He was a Romaniser, lived abroad during the reign of Edward VI, and returned to England on Mary's accession. Frobenius and Episcopius are Jerome Froben and Nicolas Biscop, son and son-in-law of the famous John Froben, whom they succeeded. Peter Wannius, in his preface to a translation of Athanasius printed at Basel by Nicolas and Eusebius Biscop, 1563, says that the three MSS he had used, of which this was one, had been in his keeping *ad multos annos*. This preface was written in September, 1555. Felckmann, who also used this MS, says that Christopherson bought it in Italy, 'in Italia magno pretio olim coemerat.'

At the bottom of fol. 874 is written τέλος ἀμήν τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐγράφη ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἐμμανουὴλ τοῦ μβαιβενὴ τοῦ ἐκ μονεμβασίας. This scribe is the writer of several MSS—among them the Munich MS of Athanasius (M) described above, *J.T.S.*, Oct. 1901, p. 108—in which he describes himself as ὁ ἐκ μονεμβασίας (once μονεμπασίας). Monemvasia or Malvasia (hence 'Malmsey' wine), is a town on the east coast of the Morea, near the site of the ancient Epidaurus Limera. Embenes spells his name in various ways —ὁ ἐμβαιβένης, ὀμβεβένις, βεμβαινῆς, μβεβένης, εὐβενεῖς, &c. The dates 1548, 1550, 1556 are given by him in one or other of his MSS.

The treatises, preceded as usual by a pinax, number 32. Of these 28 are the same as 1–28 of BO, but C's order is different.

C 1, 2 = BO 1, 2
C 6–10 = BO 22–26
C 12–20 = BO 8–16
C 21–25 = BO 3–7
C 26–30 = BO 17–21
C 31, 32 = BO 27, 28.

Four other treatises are added, numbered respectively 3, 4, 5, 11. These are (i) *Epistola ad Dracontium* (= B 82 = R 77), (ii) *Epistola ad Afros episcopos* (= B 83 = R 78), (iii) *Apologia de fuga sua*

(= B 57 = R 38), (iv) *Homilia de Semente*, which, as far as I know, is not contained in any other MS. The total number of treatises is the same as that of O, whence this MS appears to have been derived. I have not made a careful examination of C's text, except in the *De Incarnatione* (No. 2). There we have the omission not only of the words τοιοῦτος ἦν . . . οὐ γάρ (Migne, xxv c. 125, ll. 32, 33), which are also omitted by B, but also of the clause omitted only by O ἵνα μὴ . . . παράσχῃ (c. 137, l. 26), and of the words ἄτοπον εἶναι (c. 169, l. 17): the reverential change of ἀνδρὸς ἀπείρου παρθένου to μητρός (c. 109, l. 34, v. supra), and the readings θεότητι for ἀγαθότητι (c. 97, l. 19), ἐμεμενήκεισαν for εἰ μεμενήκεισαν (c. 105, l. 3), ἄλογον (for εὔλογον, c. 108, l. 30), ὅμως for ὅλως (c. 176, l. 24). On the other hand the omission in O of τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι . . . ἐργάσασθαί τι (c. 100, ll. 21, 22), and some of O's changes of the order of words do not reappear. The conclusion of B 21 (= C 30), which had disappeared when O's copy was made, is given in C. My impression is that C's original was copied from O, that four fresh treatises (C 3–5, and 11) were subsequently added, or substituted for the last four treatises of O, and the text of the other 28 corrected partially from the Codex Goblerianus[1], with which C has several readings in common: partly also from a MS of the group descended from L. The latter supposition is strengthened by our knowledge that Embenes was himself the writer of one of the MSS of that class.

The immediate original of C must have contained a marginal note, which is not to be found in any MS I have seen, ἐπανάληψις τοῦ δόγματος, ἣν ὁ φιλομαθής, ὡς πάνυ γε χρησίμην μὴ κατοκνήσῃς σημειῶσαι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, for these words are inserted, as though they belonged to the text, between μάλιστα and ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως (c. 129, l. 34).

I conclude therefore that of the MSS which I have examined, those which are of any value for determining the text are R, S and B (except for the treatises which R also contains), L, and possibly C where its text differs from that of B.

FREDERIC WALLIS.

ADDITIONAL NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

I venture to carry the investigation into the sources of B (see above, pp. 248–251) one step further, and I think to simplify it. I take as my starting-point the two results securely established by Bishop Wallis, namely (i) that the first 21 treatises, down to the break after fol. 243 *b*,

[1] If this be true, the scribe must at the end of treatise 12 (= BO 8 = S 4) have repeated the error of the Codex Goblerianus (see above, *J.T.S.*, Oct. 1901, p. 104), for the two conclusions are the same. But it is impossible to determine this question without a fuller examination of C than I have yet made.

were from a separate exemplar which we will call α, from which was also copied the British Museum MS L containing the same treatises in the same order; (ii) that the 42 treatises, Nos. 45–86, were taken from the extant Paris MS R. Now as to the intervening treatises, Nos. 22–44, it will have been noticed from Bishop Wallis' account that the MS contains a second break after the end of No. 35 on fol. 294. Nos. 22–35 were, I think, taken from a second exemplar, which we will call β; β contained no doubt all the Letters to Serapion and all the Orations against the Arians, but as our scribe had already copied from α the first three Orations and the first two Letters, he only copied out from β the third and fourth Letters and the fourth Oration.

There remain Nos. 36 to 44: and these were taken, I believe, from the lost companion MS to R, whose contents Dr. Wallis has restored from S (*J.T.S.*, Oct. 1901, p. 101). If the list of S, Nos. 1–20, be consulted, and if it be remembered that the scribe of B would not wish to repeat anything contained in his previous numbers 1–35, the results will work out as follows: 1, 2 S = 1, 2 B; 3 S = 22 B; 4 S = 8 B; 5, 6 S = 15, 16 B; 10, 11 S = 23, 24 B; 15 S = 25 B; 17 S = 26 B; 18 S = 4 B; 19, 20 S = 5, 6 B: that is, 13 out of the 20 treatises which the lost half of R contained are simply dropped by B as having been already copied. Of the other seven, six appear in B in a continuous series, Nos. 36*b*–41, in the same order in which they appear in S: B 36 *b* = S 8 is not copied beyond its title and not numbered, because it has already occurred in B 14: B 37 = S 9, B 38 = S 12, B 39 = S 13, B 40 = S 14, B 41 = S 16. There remain over for explanation, out of B 36–44, four numbers, of which three, Nos. 36, 42 and 43, are not in S, and were therefore not in the lost half of R when S was copied from it, while the fourth, No. 44, is in S but not in the same position as in B. With regard to the first three treatises I conjecture that they had been added to R, the first at the beginning, the other two at the end of the MS, between the time when S was copied from it in the twelfth century and when B was copied in the fourteenth: all are short treatises—the former occupying only four leaves, the two latter only one altogether, in B—such as might easily have been transcribed on guard leaves or inserted leaves. With regard to the remaining treatise, No. 44, its position at the end of the series copied from the lost half of R is explained by the fact that in S, and therefore no doubt in the lost R, the treatise is marked as spurious: the scribe of B copied it, but threw it to the very end of the series 36–44 taken from the lost MS. In view of Dr. Robertson's implied suggestion (*J.T.S.*, Oct. 1901, p. 109) that the Codex Goblerianus was copied rather from R than from S, it is worth noting that while S brands the spurious treatise with the three words ξένος καὶ χυδαῖος only, both Goblerianus and B prefix to these words

a fuller statement to the effect that ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ μεγάλου ἀθανασίου. It looks very much as though their common source was the lost part of R.

This hypothesis I think has the advantage of simplicity: the scribe of B had before him only three collections—one reaching to the break at fol. 243, and including Nos. 1–21: another reaching to the break at fol. 294, and including (besides pieces common to the first MS, and therefore not repeated) Nos. 22–35: the third, extending practically to the end of the Athanasian matter, and containing (besides pieces contained in one of the two previous MSS and therefore not repeated) Nos. 36–86, is the collection in two parts of which the second is extant in R, Paris gr. 474, while of the first the contents at least can be restored from another descendant of R, Paris Coislin 45.

The only objection I see to this view is the position of βιβλίον δεύτερον opposite No. 32 on B fol. 278 *a*. With Bishop Wallis, I believe the reference to be to our R, as the second of a pair of MSS, No. 32 (the *Oratio IV contra Arianos*) being actually the first numbered treatise in R. But on my view the parts actually copied from the extant R do not begin till No. 45, and even those copied from its lost sister MS not till No. 36. I think that the scribe who attached the marginal note to No. 32 had forgotten what had actually been copied from R.

If we further ask where B may have been written, two points have to be borne in mind. In the first place, no less than three large separate collections of the works of St. Athanasius lay before the scribe; and in view of the relative rarity of Athanasian MSS the only places which seem likely *prima facie* to have answered to this condition in the fourteenth century would be Constantinople and Mount Athos. In the second place, the note about the spuriousness of No. 44, already referred to, is distinctly stated by the scribe of B to have been copied from 'the book of the monastery of St. Athanasius.' I have little hesitation in identifying this with the great monastery of St. Athanasius (the Athonite) on Mount Athos—more generally known as the Laura—founded in the tenth century. If No. 44 then was copied, as I have argued, from the lost sister MS of R, this lost MS, in the fourteenth century, when B was written, was in the Laura: and as that monastery contains a large library (the catalogue of which is still unprinted), I have great hopes that R's twin may be found there still. R itself, as Bp. Wallis notes (*J.T.S.*, Oct. 1901, p. 98), belonged at one time to the monastery of Dionysius on Mount Athos: but as that monastery was not founded till 1385 while the MS itself is of the eleventh century, there is no reason why it should not have been, in the fourteenth century, still in the Laura with its twin. At another monastery on Mount Athos, that of Vatopedi, Mr. Lake tells me that he saw two manuscripts of works of

St. Athanasius—one which he roughly dated as of the twelfth century, and another, a splendid MS called a κτῆμα βασιλικόν, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier. It appears not impossible that these two MSS may have been the two exemplars which must be postulated for the earlier part of B. At any rate a further examination of these two libraries is much to be desired.

C. H. T.

THE BOHAIRIC VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

The importance of the Egyptian Versions as witnesses to the text of the Septuagint is generally recognised. And though the Sahidic fragments offer in many ways the more interesting text, the Bohairic must form the basis of any study of the text of these Versions in the Pentateuch. It is the only Version which is extant throughout, and of which the text is attested by several MSS. The following article is an attempt to determine the mutual relations of the extant MSS and their relative importance, as well as their relation to the printed editions.

The most complete account of the MSS and published editions of the Bohairic Pentateuch is to be found in two articles contributed by M. Hyvernat to the *Revue Biblique Internationale*, October 1896 and January 1897, of which the first gives a list of all that has been preserved of the Old and New Testaments in Bohairic, Sahidic, and the dialects of Middle Egypt, with some account of the MSS and various collections of fragments, while the second contains a description of the printed editions. M. Hyvernat mentions six MSS of the Pentateuch. As this list may be to some extent supplemented, I subjoin a list of all the MSS of whose existence I know, adding some account of those which I have myself seen.

(1) Vatican. Copt. 1. An account of this MS is given in Assemani's Catalogue of the Coptic MSS of the Vatican, published in Mai's *Nova Collectio*, vol. v. It was brought from Egypt in 1717. It consists of 279 foll., containing the whole Pentateuch in Bohairic, with an Arabic translation. The MS is to be assigned to the ninth or tenth century, and is by far the oldest which has been preserved. It contains three pictures: fol. 66, the Virgin and Infant Christ; fol. 97, Moses at the burning bush; fol. 121, the Cross. On fol. 276 is an Arabic note stating that the MS was written 'a quodam Salomone Babylon[1].' These

[1] i.e. Solomon, from Babylon, Old Cairo, as Mr. Crum tells me. The colophon can be seen in Hyvernat's Album, pl. xviii.

details are given by Assemani, who also notes that there are two systems of section division, one for the whole Pentateuch, which is divided into 142 (? 143) sections, and another for the books Exodus to Deuteronomy, which are divided into 186 'dicta.' The books are divided as follows :

	Sections.	Dicta.
Genesis	47	
Exodus	27	78
Leviticus	16	37
Numbers	35	66
Deuteronomy	18	5

The MS. has apparently never been collated, and has not been used for either of the editions. (V.)

(2) Vatican. Copt. 2–4. This MS is also fully described by Assemani, from whom most of the following details are taken. It contains the Pentateuch, the first volume containing Genesis and Exodus in 159 foll., the second Leviticus and Numbers, 123 foll., and the third Deuteronomy. At the beginning of the MS there is a note in which Matthew of Alexandria, the Patriarch of the Copts, draws attention to the mistakes which are to be found in the translation. The note is dated 1115 of the Martyrs, i. e. A. D. 1399. Matthew is known to have been eighty-seventh Patriarch, and to have died in A. D. 1405. Thus the MS is not later than A. D. 1399. At the end of the first volume is a leaf containing part of the last chapter of the First Book of Chronicles in Arabic. The MS was brought from Egypt in 1594, 'Hieronymi Vecchietti opera,' and was bequeathed to the Vatican Library by John Baptist Raymund in 1614. Another note at the end of vol. i shews that the MS belonged to the Church of the Virgin 'in uico Zoailae urbis Cahirae' in the year 1586. The name of the scribe was 'Gabriel, filius Phanus' (cf. also Wilkins, *Introduction*).

The section numbers begin with Exodus iii 4, and are continuous throughout the rest of the Pentateuch, the last number occurring at Deut. xxxiv 4 (ρπς). The system is thus identical with the second set of numbers found in V. The two MSS have also the same stichometry, which is subjoined.

Genesis δφ (δχ X)	4500
Exodus γχ	3600
Leviticus βψ	2700
Numbers γωλε	3835
Deuteronomy not given.	

The text of this MS is almost identical with that of V. (X.)

(3) Paris. *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Copt. 1. A vellum MS consisting of 308 foll., and containing the Pentateuch, with an Arabic translation, written by Michael the Monk in A. D. 1367. Next to the Vatican MS

V, this is certainly the most important MS of the Pentateuch. It has never been collated. The margin contains a considerable number of variants. (A.)

(4) Paris. *Bibl. Nat.*, Copt. 56. A paper MS of 106 foll. containing the Pentateuch. It has been assigned, I think by M. Amélineau, to the eighteenth century. Its text is closely allied to that of the preceding MS. (C.)

(5) Paris. *Bibl. Nat.*, Copt. 57. This MS contains Genesis and Exodus, with an Arabic translation. It is assigned to the seventeenth century. There is a note at the end of Genesis, giving as the number of στίχοι in that book δφ (4500): cf. V and X. Its text is similar to that of V and X. (B.)

The last two MSS. are not mentioned by M. Hyvernat, who, however, refers in his list to *Bibl. Nat.*, Copt. 100 as a Copto-Arabic MS of the Pentateuch, dated 1806. Whether this is really the same as C I am unable to say.

(6) Oxford. Bodleian, Huntington 33. A MS of 495 foll., containing he Pentateuch, with an Arabic translation, written in the year 1674. It is very carelessly written and spelt. *Homoeoteleuton* omissions are very frequent. Its text must be classed with that of the Paris MSS A and C, and the London MS L. The connexion of this MS with Wilkins' edition will be discussed later on. (O.)

(7) London. British Museum, Oriental 422. One of Archdeacon Tattam's MSS, written in 1393, containing the Pentateuch with some lacunae. It was used by Lagarde for his edition, and he has recorded in his introduction all its variants from his printed text. It is thus the only MS of which a collation has been published. Its text agrees with the group ACO. (L.)

(8) London. British Museum, Curzon MSS 113–117. Part of the Zouche Collection which is at present deposited in the British Museum. These volumes contain each one book of the Pentateuch. The first three books are in one hand, which Mr. Crum would assign to the early part of the eighteenth century. Numbers and Deuteronomy are in a different hand, of which the date is given at the end of Deuteronomy, A. D. 1796. All five are paper MSS. The text of Genesis and Exodus agrees with VX. That of Numbers and Deuteronomy approximates closely to that of ACLO, especially O. (M.)

(*a*) The first printed edition of the Pentateuch was published by Wilkins in 1731 (London). He describes it as based on three MSS, Vatican, Paris, and Oxford. This description is challenged by Lagarde, who says that it is 'professedly based on the Vatican, Paris, and Bodleian MSS, really perhaps (*in Wahrheit wohl nur*) only on the Codex

Huntingtonianus 33 (Bodleian) written in 1674, as Woide in Holmes' Edition of the LXX has already remarked.' The passage in Holmes' *Introduction* runs as follows: 'ex collatione facta per Cl. Woidium capitum Geneseos aliquorum in textu Coptico Wilkinsii cum codice Bodleiano, Huntington 33, credibile videtur, Wilkinsium textum codicis, unius scilicet e tribus iis ab ipso nominatis, plerumque in typis expressisse.' Holmes' statement, which is based on evidence from Genesis only, is certainly nearer the truth than Lagarde's deduction from it, but the appended collations will shew that there was no reason to doubt the truth of Wilkins' account of his own edition. M. Hyvernat states, on Lagarde's authority, that Wilkins used the Oxford MS alone. The point is not of much real importance, but has some interest as bearing on the formation of tradition. And it is perhaps worth noticing, since it is desirable to know how far the Vatican group of MSS is represented in either of the printed editions.

(*b*) In 1854 the first twenty-seven chapters of Genesis were published at Paris, by Fallet, with critical notes giving the variants of Wilkins and three MSS. This fragment was published without either introduction or title-page, and no explanation was given of the symbols used for the MSS quoted. It has, however, considerable value, as it calls attention to the importance of the Paris MSS. I have identified the three MSS, and used in this article the same symbols which were employed by M. Fallet. A = Paris. Copt. 1; B = Paris. Copt. 57; C = Paris. Copt. 56.

(*c*) Lagarde's edition of the Pentateuch was published at Leipzig in 1867. The only sources accessible to him were the edition of Wilkins and the MS belonging to Archdeacon Tattam, which has been already described. As a scholarly edition it leaves of course nothing to be desired, but as a source of information about the Bohairic text it does not supersede Wilkins, and it takes no account of the best MSS. It is clearly therefore desirable to determine how far the MSS which were not used for these editions throw further light on the text, and whether the new information which they contain, so far as can be conjectured from an examination of specimens of their text, is sufficient to repay the labour and delay involved in obtaining collations. The question is of special importance just now in view of what is required for the larger edition of the Cambridge Septuagint. This fact may perhaps serve as my excuse for dealing at some length with questions of detail, which are likely to interest only a few specialists.

I have collated all the MSS for parts of the following chapters: Gen. xxv; Exod. v, vi; Lev. xvi; Num. xxviii; Deut. ix, x. The results of these collations are given below. In the case of the Oxford

MS the collation was made from photographs which the Rev. K. Lake kindly took for me. The collations were made with Lagarde's text. They were in some instances hurriedly made, but are sufficiently accurate for purposes of comparison. Wilkins' readings, where they differ from those adopted by Lagarde, are quoted under the symbol W. I have not thought it necessary to record every variation of spelling, especially in the case of the Oxford MS which is very carelessly written, nor all minor variants, as e. g. ⲛ, ⲛⲓ : ⲉ, ⲙ, ⲛ before a noun: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, ⲉϫⲉⲛ : ⲉ(ⲛ)ϩ(ϧ)ⲣⲏⲓ. The original hand is denoted by an asterisk (*), corrections made by the original or a contemporary hand by ([a]), later corrections by ([b]).

It may however be well, before giving the collations, to state shortly the results to which an examination of them has led me, in order to make the problem clear.

Wilkins' edition is based on the MSS O, X, and probably one of the Paris MSS (A, B, or C). Lagarde's is based on Wilkins' edition and the MS L. The eight extant MSS fall into two groups (1) VX (M for the earlier books) B. (2) ACOL (M for the later books). V and A are the oldest and best representatives of their respective groups. Thus the best MSS of each group have probably[1] not been used for either edition. The oldest MS, V, has certainly not been used at all. And the first group is only represented by part of an eclectic text. It is also very probable that Wilkins did not hesitate in places to retranslate from the Greek into Coptic, when his Coptic MSS were defective or, in his opinion, unsatisfactory.

GENESIS XXV. (L is defective for Gen. XXV 1–25.)

1. ⲁϥϭⲓ] ⲁⲥϭⲓ M* | ⲭⲉⲧⲧⲟⲣⲁ CO.

2. om. ⲇⲉ ACOX* (ins. int. lin. X[b]) | ⲛⲁϥ] ⲛⲁ V* (ⲛⲁϥ V[a]) | ⲛⲍⲉⲙⲃⲣⲁⲙ AC: ⲛⲍⲉⲙⲃⲣⲏ M: ⲛⲍⲉⲙⲃⲣⲉⲙ O | ⲓⲉⲝⲁⲛ ACMOVXW: ⲛⲓⲉⲝⲁⲛ B | ⲁⲇⲁⲛ] ⲙⲁⲇⲁⲛ ACO | ⲓⲉⲥⲃⲱⲕ BM: ⲓⲉⲃⲟⲕ O | ⲍⲱⲩⲉ ACO.

3. ⲓⲉⲝⲁⲛ ABCMVXW | ⲛⲇⲉⲇⲁⲛ] ⲛⲧⲉⲇⲁⲛ AC: ⲛⲧⲉⲇⲁⲙ O | ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲏⲗ ACO | ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲏⲗ AC: ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲁⲗ O | ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙ BMVX: ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙ C: ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙ O | ⲗⲁⲇⲟⲩⲥⲓⲙ ACO: ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲙ M | ⲁⲑⲟⲩⲓⲙ] ⲁⲑⲟⲩⲓⲛ BM: ⲗⲟⲟⲙⲓⲛ ACO.

4. ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ABCMOV | ⲁⲃⲓⲇⲁ ABCMV: ⲉⲃⲓⲇⲁ O | om. ⲛⲉ BMO | ⲛⲧⲉ] ⲛ ACO | ⲭⲉⲧⲧⲟⲣⲁ O.

5. om. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ABCMO | ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ] + ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲉϥⲟⲛϧ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛϣⲁⲓ (postea ras.) C.

[1] Wilkins may have used A to some extent, but I have found no clear trace in his edition of his having done so.

6. πιχροϯ BM | αϥϯ] αγϯ ACO | εβολϩα] ϩα BM | πειεβτ] πεснт O.

7. om. ϫε A* | θнεταϥωπϧ BM.

8. εταϥμοпк B | om. επαπες εογϧελλο C: om. πες εογϧελλο O | om. πε BM | om. ογοϩ 2° ACO | αϥϫнк M | ϩαпεϩοογ] + ογοϩ αγχαϥ ϧατεπ πεϥλαος AC(O) (ϧεп εϥλαος O).

9. ιсмαнλ] сαмαнλ M | пτε] пτεп ACO: ετε M | псααр] псαрра O | ммαмрн AC: ммαмрι O.

10. φнεтα] φнεт O | ϣопϥ] ϫφοϥ ACO | ппεпχροϯ B: πεпχροϯ M.

11. om. ογοϩ ACO.

12. om. ϫε ACO | πιϫιпϫφο] πιϫφο BM | παβρααм 2°] псα αβρααм O.

13. ογοϩ] pr. κατα (postea ras.) X | πεпϧροϯ] πεпχροϯ BM: πεпϣнрι ACO | пιраπ 2°] поγраπ ACO | παβεωθ] pr. пε ABCMOVX (corr. ex πο p. m. X): παβαωθ O: απαβεωθ W.

14. масснн] + пεм χολλαλ пεм θнмαп ACO | ιεττογр] τετор O.

15. παφες AO: παφας C | κεϫμα AC: καϫμα O | om. пεм χολλατ ACO.

17. om. ογοϩ 1° ACO | om. ογοϩ 2° AC | om. ογοϩ 3° O.

18. αсϣωπι O | ϫε] om. X*: ins. X^b: + пϫε пεϥмαпϣωπι A^a?

19. παι] + ϫε ABCM^bOVX | πιϫιпϫφο] πιϫφο BMO: om. V* | αβρααм] + ϫε ACO.

20. om. ιсααк O | πιερεβακκα CO | τϣερι] πϣнрι мβακκα πϣнрι O | om. εβολϧεп—πιсγрοс 2° BMVX | om. пτε ψсγрια ACO | αϥϭιтс ABCM: αϥϭιтογ O.

21. om. ϫε O | om. пε ACO | ϫε 2°] om. A* (ins. A^a) | om. ογοϩ ACO | om. τεϥсϩιмι ACO.

22. πнι] пн O | εсιпι BM | εβολϩιτεп πос] + εβολϩιτεп πос C* (postea ras.).

23. β 2°] пιβεп C.

24. ογοϩ 1° —εθрεсмιсι] bis scr. (εγмοϩ 1°) O.

25. om. ογοϩ 1° AC | ογοϩ мεпεпсα] пεм пεпсφοτογ O | om. ογοϩ 2° ACO | пαсαмοпι] αмοпι ACO.

27. пε 2°] post εϥϫнп BMXW | αϥϫнп C.

28. пε τεϥϫорϫс] пετεϥϫογϫс O: пτεϥϫорϫс B: om. пε M. | τε] ϫε CO | om. ϫε CXW.

30. αϫωм O.

31. om. ϫε BMXW | πεκμετϣαмιсι] пεпмετϣαмιсι O | πнι] + пε BM.

32. пεϫε] pr. ογοϩ BMXW | παмετϣαмιсι BMVX.

33. ⲡⲉϫⲉ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ BMVXW | ⲱⲣⲕ] ⲱⲣϫⲕ O | ⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧϣⲟⲣⲡ BM: ⲡⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲧϣⲟⲣⲡ W.

34. ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲛ W | ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ BVXW | ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ BMVXW | ⲡⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲧϣⲟⲣⲡ W.

Exodus v, vi.

CH. V. 1. ⲙⲡⲁⲙⲏϣ BMVXW | ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ] ⲛⲧⲟⲩϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛϩⲣⲏⲓ BM(VXW) (ⲛϧⲣⲏⲓ VXW).

2. om. ⲫⲁⲓ BMVXW | ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ BMVXW.

3. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛϩⲣⲏⲓ BMVX: ⲛϧⲣⲏⲓ W.

4. ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲙⲏϣ BMVXW.

5. ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ] + ⲙⲡⲉϥⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ BMVXW | ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ BMVXW: ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] + ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϫⲉ BMVXW | ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉⲛϯ(ⲉ) ⲙⲧⲟⲛ BMVXW (ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ M^b mg.): ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲟⲩϯⲙⲧⲟⲛ C | om. ⲟⲩⲛ BMVXW.

6. ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲣⲅⲟⲇⲓⲱⲕⲧⲏⲥ] ⲛⲛⲉⲉⲣⲅⲟⲇⲓⲱⲕⲧⲏⲥ A*: ⲛⲛⲓⲉⲣⲅⲟⲇⲓⲱⲕⲧⲏⲥ BMVXW | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥϧⲟⲩⲓ] post ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ BMVXW.

7. ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁϩⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ BM: ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ W | ⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃⲓ] ⲉϥϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲃⲓ C* | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲥⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩⲉⲧ] ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩⲉⲧ BMVXW (ⲉ 2° in corr.) | ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] + ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ BMVXW.

8. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° et 3° BMVXW | om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ BMVXW | ⲛⲧⲉϣⲟⲩϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ C | ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] ⲙⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ BMVXW.

9. ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩϥⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ] ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩϩⲣⲟϣ ⲁⲛ . . . ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ (ⲁⲛ . . . ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ras.) C | ⲙⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ V* | ϧⲁ 2°] ϧⲉⲛ BM | ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ] ϩⲁⲛϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ A txt.

10. ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲩⲓⲏⲥ BMVXW | ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ] ⲛⲓⲥϧⲟⲩⲓ A txt. BMVXW | ⲛⲁⲩⲱϣ—ⲉⲩϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ] ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ BM: ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ VXW | ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲱⲙⲙⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ M | ⲥⲉⲛⲁϯ] ϯⲛⲁϯ BMVXW.

11. ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃⲓ] ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲃⲓ A*: ⲛⲛⲓⲧⲱⲃⲓ BM: ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲓⲧⲱⲃⲓ XW.

12. ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] + ⲧⲏⲣϥ A*.

13. ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ] + ⲡⲉ BMVXW | ⲡⲏ ⲉϣⲁⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲡⲏⲉϣⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ BMVXW.

14. ⲛⲛⲓⲥϧⲟⲩⲓ] ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ A mg. | ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ BMXW.

15. ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ] ⲛⲓⲥϧⲟⲩⲓ A txt. BMVXW | ⲁⲩⲱϣ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ A mg. | ⲁⲕⲓⲣⲓ] pr. ϫⲉ C: ⲕⲓⲣⲓ BMVXW.

16. ⲁⲛ] + ϫⲉ BMVXW | ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲏϣ BMVXW.

17. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ] ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ BMVXW | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ (2°)—ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲱϥⲧ C | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ (2°) BMVXW | ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] pr. ⲅⲁⲣ BMVXW.

18. ⲟⲩⲛ] ϫⲉ V: + ϫⲉ BMXW | om. ⲁⲛ C.

19. ⲛⲓⲥϧⲟⲩⲓ] ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ A^B mg. | ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲃⲓ] ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃⲓ BMVXW.

20. ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ] + ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ BMVXW | om. ⲛϩⲟ BMVXW.

21. пеϫωоⲩ] + пωоⲩϫе BM: + пωоⲩ VXW | еϥеϯϩап] pr. оⲩоϩ BMVXW: + еρωтеп BMVXW | аретепер] аретеп A*CL | еϯ] аретепϯ BMVXW.

22. ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲙⲏϣ BMVXW | om. ⲟⲩ 2° C.

23. ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲙⲏϣ BMVXW | ⲙⲡⲉϥⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ BM | ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲏϣ BMVXW.

CH. VI. 1. ⲉϯⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ BM.

2. ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲙ L*.

3. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° BMVXW | ⲉⲓⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲧ C | om. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ A txt. BMVXW.

4. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] + ⲁⲛ C | ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲛⲁⲛⲉⲟⲥ] om. ⲛⲓ X*.

7. ⲉⲕⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ B | ϯⲙⲉⲧⲃⲱⲕ] ϯⲙⲉⲧϫⲱⲣⲓ BMVXW.

8. ⲉⲓⲉϭⲓⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] ⲉⲓⲉⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ BMVXW | ⲉⲧⲏⲓϥ—ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ] om. A txt.: ins. A[a] mg. | ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲏⲓϥ] ⲉⲧⲏⲓϥ A*[a] | ⲁⲛⲟⲕ | + ⲡⲉ int. lin. M[b].

10. om. ⲇⲉ C.

11. om. ϩⲓⲛⲁ—ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ 2° O | ⲛⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ XW | ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ VXW | ⲛⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ] ⲡⲉϥⲕⲁϩⲓ BMVXW.

12. ⲛϫⲉ] om. M*[a] | ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲗ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ (ⲟⲩ corr. in ⲓⲥⲗ) C | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ—ⲛⲥⲱⲓ 2° BMVX: ins. ⲟⲛⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ B mg. | ⲅⲁⲣ] ⲇⲉ BVXW: ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ M.

13. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ BMVXW | ⲉϣⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉϣⲉⲓ A[b] int. lin.

14. ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ] ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ VXW: ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲱⲥ B: ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲱⲥ (ⲛⲓ int. lin. M[b]) M | ⲉⲥⲣⲱⲙ] pr. ⲛⲉⲙ int. lin. M[b]: ⲁⲥⲣⲱⲙ VXW.

15. ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ] ⲥⲁⲁⲣ M*?[a] | ϯⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲕⲏ] pr. ϯⲣⲉⲙ BVXW: + ⲫⲏⲉⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ϯⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲕⲏ M mg. | ⲛⲙⲉⲧⲓⲱⲧ VX | om. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ—(16) ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° O.

16. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° BMVXW | ⲅⲉⲇⲉⲱⲛ A[b] mg.] ⲅⲉⲇⲥⲱⲛ A* (uid.): ⲅⲉⲣⲥⲱⲛ A[a] | ⲕⲁⲁⲑ] ⲅⲁⲁⲇ A* (uid.) BMVXW | ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ] ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ C | om. ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ BMVXW.

17. om. ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ BMVXW | ⲛⲅⲉⲣⲥⲱⲛ A[a]] ⲛⲅⲉⲇⲥⲱⲛ A* (uid): ⲅⲉⲇⲉⲱⲛ A[b] mg.: ⲛⲧⲉ ⲅⲉⲇⲉⲱⲛ BMVXW | om. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ BMVW.

18. ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ] om. A mg. BMVXW: pr. ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ A txt. | ⲛⲕⲁⲁⲑ (bis)] ⲛⲅⲁⲁⲇ (bis) A*BM (2° solum, ⲛⲅⲁⲁⲧ M 1°) VXW | ⲁⲙⲃⲣⲁⲙ BMVXW | ⲭⲉⲃⲣⲱⲛ BMVXW: ⲭⲉⲃⲣⲉⲑ O | ⲣ̅ⲗ̅ⲅ̅] ⲣⲗ A txt. | om. ⲛⲉ M.

19. om. ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ BMVXW | ⲟⲙⲟⲩⲥⲓ] ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥⲓ A txt.: ⲟⲙⲟⲥⲓ M: ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲥⲓ O | ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲓⲁ] ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ A txt. BMVXW: ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲓⲁ C.

20. ⲁⲙⲃⲣⲁⲙ BMVXW | ⲛⲓⲱⲭⲁⲃⲉⲑ BMVXW | ⲛⲁⲙⲃⲣⲁⲙ BMVXW | om. ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ BMVXW.

21. ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲁⲣ] ⲛⲍⲁⲁⲣ A txt.: ⲛⲥⲁⲁⲣ BMVXW: ⲛⲏⲥⲁⲏⲣ O | ⲍⲉⲭⲣⲓ] ⲍⲉ ras. (1 litt.) ⲭⲣⲓ A.

22. ⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲫ BMVXW : ⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲫⲉⲛ O | ⲥⲉⲧⲣⲓ] ras. (2) ⲥⲉⲧⲣⲓ A : ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣ BMVXW.

23. ⲛⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲃⲉⲧ] ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲁⲃⲉⲧ C | ⲛⲁⲙⲓⲛⲁⲇⲁⲧ VX* | ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ] ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ M* | ⲛⲛⲁⲇⲁⲃ] ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲃ ACLOVXW | ⲛⲉⲙ 2°] ⲛ O | ⲓⲉⲑⲁⲙⲁⲣ BMVXW.

24. ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ BMVX | ⲛⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ B : ⲛϫⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ V*M*.

25. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3° BMVXW | ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ] ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ BMVXW.

26. om. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ BMVX | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ] om. A txt. BMVX : om. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ W.

27. ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ—ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ] ⲙⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲡϭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ BMVX | om. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ—ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ W | ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ W | ⲟⲩⲃⲉ] ⲛⲉⲙ W | ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲛ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲛ W | ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ] + ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ W | ⲭⲏⲙⲓ] + ⲫⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲡϭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ W.

29. ⲟⲩⲃⲉ] ⲛⲉⲙ A*BMVXW : ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ CLO.

LEVITICUS XVI. The readings of O are not recorded from 5 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ—16 ⲟⲩϭⲓⲛϫⲟⲛⲥ.

2. ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ V*] ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ A*CLM*OW (ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟ M^b mg.) | ϯⲕⲩⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ] + ⲛⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ W.

3. ⲉⲛⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ACLMOVX | ⲉⲩϣⲗⲓⲗ C.

4. ⲟⲩϩⲃⲟⲥ 1°] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ] ⲉⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ A*VX : ⲉⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ M | ⲡⲉϥⲕⲁⲗ] ⲡⲉϥϣⲁⲗ M : ⲡⲉϥⲕⲁⲗ X | ⲉϥⲉⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ C.

5. ⲉϥⲉϭⲓ] ⲉⲩϭⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ M^b mg. | om. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ VX.

7. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° V.

8. om. ⲉⲣⲉ C | ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] + ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ C*.

9. om. ⲓ CMW | ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 2°] + ⲉϫⲱϥ C.

10. ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ W | ⲉϥⲉⲧⲁϩⲟ C | ⲉϫⲁϥ] ⲉⲩⲉϫⲁϥ W.

11. ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ] pr. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ M^b mg.

12. ⲛϯϣⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ ⲉⲥⲙⲉϩ W : ⲛϯϣⲟⲣⲏⲥ ras. (1) ⲙⲉϩ M | ⲛϫⲉⲃⲥ] + ⲁ C.

13. ⲉϥⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲉϫⲉⲛ] ⲛϫⲉ C.

15. ⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩϫϧ C.

16. ⲉϥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ C | ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ OW | ⲛϯⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ] pr. ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ M^b mg. VX : ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏⲓⲯ ⲙ] ⲛⲉⲙ ACLMOVX | ⲙⲡⲟⲩϭⲱϧⲉⲙ] ⲛⲓϭⲱϧⲉⲙ M* : ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϭⲱϧⲉⲙ M mg.

17. ⲉⲧⲱⲃϩ] ⲉϥⲉⲧⲱⲃϩ O | ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ—ⲉϥⲉⲧⲱⲃϩ] bis scr. O (ⲁϥⲉⲧⲱⲃϩ 1°) | ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] pr. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ M* (postea canc.).

18. ⲉϫⲱϥ] + ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ C.

19. ⲉϥⲉⲛⲟⲩϫϧ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲁ] ⲟⲩⲟϩⲁ M* O : ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ W.

20. ⲉϥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ] ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ACLMOVXW | ⲉϥⲉⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲓⲛⲓ M.

21. om. ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ (1°) VX | ⲟⲩⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ M*.

22. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲙⲓⲛⲓ M | ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲙⲓⲛⲓ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉⲛϣⲁϥⲉ O | ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ—ⲉϫⲱϥ 2°] om. A*: ins. A[a] mg. | ⲉϫⲱϥ 2°] + ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ C.

23. ⲛϫⲉ ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ] post ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ VX.

24. ⲧⲏⲣϥ 1°] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ C | om. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ACLMOVX.

25. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] ⲛⲉⲙ (uid.) A*.

26. ⲫⲏⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ VX | ⲫⲏⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ] ⲫⲏⲉⲑⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ MO: ⲫⲏⲉⲑⲛⲁⲫⲟⲣϫϥ W | ⲉϫⲱⲕⲉⲙ M | ⲉϥⲉϣⲉⲛⲁϥ] ⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲁϥ C: + ⲉϧⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲉϣⲉⲛⲁϥ O.

27. om. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲙⲓⲛⲓ—ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ 2° C | ⲛⲉⲙ 1°] ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲉⲩⲉⲱⲗⲟⲩ W: ⲉⲉⲟⲗⲟⲩ (uid.) M: ⲉⲟⲗⲟⲩ O | ⲉⲣⲟⲕϩⲟⲩ M.

29. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ W | ⲫⲁⲓ] ϥⲁⲓ CM* | ⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ W.

30. ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ACMO.

31. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ 2°] + ⲟⲩⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ W | ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲑⲉⲃⲓⲟ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ MO.

32. om. ⲡⲓⲁⲩ ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ACLMOVX.

33. ⲉϥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ O | ⲉϥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ C | om. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ M* (ins. M[b]).

34. ⲫⲁⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ] pr. ⲟ M*: pr. ⲟⲩ M[b].

NUMBERS XXVIII, XXIX. (C is not quoted in Numbers. In all important variations it agrees with A.)

CH. XXVIII. 18. ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲁⲙⲓⲱⲟⲩ VX | ⲛϧⲏⲧϥ] + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲓ AL(M)OVX (ⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ M).

19. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲓⲣⲓ ALMOVX | ⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⲃ̅] ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲓ ALMOVX: ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⲃ̅ W | ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲗⲓ] + ⲛⲉⲙ VX | ⲛϩⲓⲉⲃⲓ] + ⲛⲁⲧⲁϭⲛⲓ ALMOVX | om. ⲛⲁⲧⲁϭⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ALMOVX.

20. ⲛⲟⲩϣⲟⲩϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ] pr. ⲛⲉⲙ W | ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲉⲙ W.

21. ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲓϥ] om. ALMOVX: ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲓ W.

Om. ver. 23 ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ—xxix. 5 ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ACLMOVX.

23. om. ⲡⲉ W.

28. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲉⲙ W.

CH. XXIX. 6. ⲛϭⲗⲓⲗ AMV | ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲓ] ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲓ MOW | om. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϭⲗⲓⲗ—ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2° MO | ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲟⲩ AVX | om. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲟⲩϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ 2° ALVX | ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ 2°] ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ AL: ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ VX.

7. om. ⲙⲙⲁϩⲍ̅ W | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ—ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ALMOVX.

8. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ X | ⲙⲡⲟⲥ] + ⲛⲛⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙⲡⲟⲥ W | ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟϩⲙⲁⲥⲓ O | ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲧⲁϭⲛⲓ W.

9. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° VX | ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ] ⲙⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ X.

10. ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲏⲧ 2°] ⲛⲣⲉⲙⲏⲧ W: om. ALMOVX.

11. ⲉⲧⲱⲃϩ] pr. 2 litt. ras. V | ⲛⲓϭⲗⲓⲗ] ⲡⲓⲱⲓⲗⲓ ALMOVX | om. ⲛⲧⲉ 2° W | ⲡⲉϥϣⲟⲩϣⲱϭⲩϣⲓ M | ⲉⲩϭⲗⲓⲗ] ⲟⲩϭⲗⲓⲗ W.

13. om. ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲁ W | ⲉⲩϭⲗⲓⲗ] ⲛϭⲗⲓⲗ VX: ⲛϩⲁⲛϭⲗⲓⲗ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲟ W | ⲙⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] om. OVX: ⲙⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ W | ⲛϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ] ⲙⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ OVX | ⲓ̅ⲉ̅] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ALMOV: ⲉ̅ V | ⲃ̅] ⲓ̅ LMOVX.

Deuteronomy IX, X.

CH. IX. 1. ϫⲛⲁⲉⲣϫⲓⲛⲓⲟⲣ VX: ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲉⲣϫⲓⲛⲓⲟⲣ MOW.

2. ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ M | ⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ OW | ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲟϩⲓ A: ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣϯⲟϩⲓ CLM: ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣϯⲟϩⲓ OW.

3. ⲉⲕⲉⲉⲙⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ C | ⲉϥⲉϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ 1°] ⲁϥϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ C | ⲉϥⲉϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ 2°] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W.

4. ⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ CO | ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲑⲟⲛ] ⲛⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ W | om. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ—ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ W | ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲁⲧϩⲏ] ⲁϥϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ M | om. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ O.

5. om. ⲁⲛ 2° VX | ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ VX | ⲛⲑⲟⲕ] ⲛⲑⲟϥ W | ⲕⲛⲁϣⲉⲛⲁⲕ] ϫⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ VX | ⲉⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ VX | ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ACLMO | ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] + ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ VX(W) [ⲯ̅ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ· ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅· ⲉϥⲉϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ· ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ ⲟⲩⲟϩ W] | ⲑⲏⲉⲧⲁϥⲱⲣⲕ] ⲑⲏⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲱⲣⲕ VX | ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲓⲟϯ] ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ V: ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ X.

6. ⲉⲕⲉⲉⲙⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ VX | ⲡϭⲟ̅ⲓ̅ⲥ̅] + ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ VXW | ⲛⲁϯ] + ⲛⲁⲕ VX: ⲉϥϯ W | om. ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ACLO | om. ⲛⲁⲕ VX | om. ⲡⲉ ACLOVX | om. totum comma M.

7. ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ] + ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣⲡⲱⲃϣ VX | om. ⲙⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ ACLMO | ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ MOW.

8. ϫⲱⲣⲉⲃ MXW: ϫⲱⲣⲓⲃ O | om. ⲟⲛ MW | ⲁϥⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] post ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ VX | ⲉϥⲉⲧⲉⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] ⲁϥⲉⲧⲉⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲉⲧⲉⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ O.

9. ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ VX | ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ] + ⲛⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲡⲗⲁⲝ VX | ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲏ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW: + ⲡⲉ VX | ⲛϩⲙⲉ] ⲛϩⲙ̅ ALM: ⲛⲙ COVXW | ⲙ̅] ϩⲙ A | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ult. V.

10. om. ⲃ̅ϯ MO | ⲛⲧⲉ 1°] ⲙ VX | ⲛⲁⲩⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | ⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ 2°] ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ VX | ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ M.

11. ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ VX | ϩⲙⲉ] ϩⲙ A: ⲙ̅ CMOVXW | ⲙ̅] ϩⲙ AL | ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲝ MOW | ⲃ̅ϯ] + ⲛⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲡⲗⲁⲝ VX: ϯⲃ ⲛⲱⲛⲓ W.

12. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲉⲛⲓⲛ] ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ VX | ⲁⲩⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ] ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲱⲧϩ VX: ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ LOW.

13. ⲡⲉϫⲉ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | ϫⲉ 2°] + ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ VX | ϩⲁⲛⲛⲁϣⲧ ⲛⲁϩⲃⲓ ⲡⲉ] ⲛⲛⲁϣⲧ ⲛⲁϩⲃⲓ ⲡⲉ VXW: pr. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ VX.

14. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲧⲁϫⲉⲣ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ACLMO | ⲛⲧⲁϫⲉⲣ] ⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲧ VX | ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ VX | ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲓⲕ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VX: + ⲡⲓⲱⲧ VX | ⲉϥϫⲟⲣ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VX | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲛⲁϣⲱϥ W.

15. ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲕⲟⲧⲧ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° VX | ⲡⲭⲣⲱⲙ] + ϣⲁ ⲧⲫⲉ W | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° ACLMO | ⲃ̅ϯ ⲡⲱⲛⲓ] ⲃⲡⲱⲛⲓ O: ⲃ̅ ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ W | ⲡⲁⲩⲭⲏ ϧⲉⲛ] ⲡⲁⲩϩⲓ VX | ⲃϯ] ϯⲃ W.

16. ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW: + ⲇⲉ C | ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ X | ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] om. ACLMO: ⲫϯ VX | ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ] + ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲫⲏⲉⲧⲁ VX | ϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ MW: ϩⲉⲛϩⲱⲛϥ VX | ⲉⲣⲟϥ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ VX.

17. ⲁⲓϭⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ W: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓ VX: ⲁⲓⲃⲟⲣⲃⲉⲣ ACLMO | ⲃϯ] + ⲡⲱⲛⲓ VX | om. ⲁⲓⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲣⲟⲩ ACLMO | ⲡⲁϫⲓϫ] ⲧⲁϫⲓϫ ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ VX | ⲁⲓϧⲉⲙϧⲱⲙⲟⲩ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW | om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ VX.

18. ⲁⲓϯϩⲟ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW: + ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲑⲟ VX | ⲛϩⲙⲉ] ⲡⲙⲁ(?)CMOVXW (L male laes.) | ⲝ̅] ϩⲙ A | ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ CVXW | ⲙⲡⲟⲥ] + ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ VX.

19. om. ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙⲡⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ ACLMO | ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙⲡⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ] ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ VX | ⲡⲓⲙⲃⲟⲛ V: ⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ W | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° ACLMOVX.

20. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° ACLMO | ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ 1°] post. ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ VX | ⲉϥϥⲟⲧϥ M | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° A[a]CLMO | ⲉⲓⲧⲱⲃϩ M: ⲓⲉⲧⲱⲃϩ O.

21. ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ A[b]: ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ VX | ⲉⲧⲁ ‸ ⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓϥ] ins. ⲁⲣⲱⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ O (post. ras.) | ⲡⲭⲣⲱⲙ V: ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ X | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° CLMO | ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲕϥ] ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕϥ CM: + ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ VXW: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲧϥ VX | ⲁϥϣⲟⲙ MOW | ⲁϥⲉⲣ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VX | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3° CLMO | ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ O | om. ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲏⲧ 1° VX | ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲟⲩ A: ⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ M: ⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ O: ⲉϥⲓ W.

22. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° ACLMO | ⲡⲓⲣⲟⲕϩ C: ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲕϩ MOW | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° ACLMO | ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ MOW: ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ X | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3° ACMOVXW | ⲡⲓⲙϩⲁⲩ LOVW | ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϯϫⲱⲛⲧ VX | om. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ W.

23. ϩⲟⲧⲉ] ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ACLO: pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VXW: ⲉϣⲱⲛ W | ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ CO | ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ VX | ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ C | om. ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ MX | om. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ACLMO | ⲡⲥⲁ] ⲉ MOW.

24. om. ⲅⲁⲣ V.

25. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° ACLMO | ⲡⲙⲁ] ⲛϩⲙ A | ⲝ̅] ϩⲙ A | ⲉⲧⲁⲓϯϩⲟ] ⲉⲛⲉ ALMO: ⲉⲛ C: ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲡⲉ VX (a. ⲧⲱⲃϩ): ⲉⲛⲉⲁⲓϯϩⲟ W.

26. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ACLMOX | ⲉⲓϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϫⲟⲥ VX | ⲡⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡⲛⲟⲩϯ W | ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ CVX | om. ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛϫⲟⲙ W | ⲛⲓϣϯ L* | ϧⲉⲛ 2°] + ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϫⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ VX(W) [ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕϫⲓϫ · ⲉⲥϫⲟⲣ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ W].

27. ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ] ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ CO | ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲉⲕⲱⲣⲕ OW | ⲉϩⲣⲁⲕ] ⲛϩⲓ OW: ⲛϩⲱⲧⲕ M | ⲙⲡⲉⲣϫⲟⲩϣⲧ] ⲙⲡⲉⲣϫⲱⲛⲧ ACLO: ⲙⲡⲉⲣϫⲱϣⲧ M | ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] + ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ VX: + ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ W.

28. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] ⲡⲓⲙ W | ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ VX | ⲛϧⲏⲧϥ] + ⲉⲩϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ VX | ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ MOW | ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 2°] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VX | ϥⲙⲟⲥϯ] ⲁϥⲙⲟⲥϯ W | ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓ ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ VX | ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ] ⲉⲩ ACLO | om. ϩⲓⲡϣⲁϥⲉ MW.

29. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] om. ACLMO: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ VX | ⲡⲭⲏⲙⲓ] + ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕϫⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ (ⲉⲥϫⲟⲣ W) ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲫⲟⲓ ⲉⲧϭⲟⲥⲓ VX(W).

CH. X. (O is not quoted after the middle of ver. 5, and X is not quoted at all in this chapter.)

1. ϧⲉⲛ 1°] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | ⲛⲕⲉⲡⲗⲁⲝ B] ⲙⲡⲗⲁⲝ ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ V | om. ⲃ̄ ⲛⲱⲛⲓ M | ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉ V | ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | om. ⲇⲉ V.

2. ⲛⲧⲁⲥϧⲁⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V: ⲛⲧⲉⲥϧⲁⲓ O: ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲥϧⲁⲓ W | om. ϩⲓ M | ⲛⲏⲉⲛⲁⲩ] ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁⲩ M | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ACL (uid.) MOV | ⲉⲁⲕϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ V.

3. ⲛϯⲕⲩⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ACLM | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° ACLMO | ⲃ̄ϯ 1°] om. C: ϯⲃ̄ W | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3° ACLMO | ⲃϯ] ϯⲃ W | om. ⲛⲱⲛⲓ 2° V | ⲛⲁϫⲓϫ] ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲓ O.

4. ⲛⲓ] ⲛⲓⲙⲏⲧ A: ⲙⲛⲓ V | ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ C | ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ MOW | ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VW | om. ⲛⲏⲓ M.

5. ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲕⲟⲧⲧ ⲁⲓ V: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ W | ⲇⲉ] ⲧⲉ O | ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓ VM | ⲁⲓϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V.

6. ⲃⲏⲣⲱⲑ V | ⲛⲁⲕⲓⲙ] ⲓⲁⲕⲓⲙ W | ⲙⲓⲥⲁⲇⲁⲓⲙ] ⲙⲓⲥⲁⲓ V: pr. ϧⲉⲛ W | ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥϥ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VW | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° V | ⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲏⲃ C | ⲉⲗⲉⲉⲍⲁⲣ M.

7. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | ⲉⲓⲉⲑⲉⲃⲉⲑⲁ] ⲉⲧⲉⲑⲉⲃⲁⲑⲁ ACMW (L uncertain): ⲉⲧⲉⲃⲁⲑⲁ V | ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ V.

8. ⲉϥⲁⲓ] ⲉⲱⲗⲓ ACMV | ⲛⲥⲉⲟϩⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲟϩⲓ V | ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ V.

9. ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ V | ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ C.

10. om. ⲇⲉ V | om. ⲉⲣⲁⲧ W | ⲛϩⲙⲉ] ⲛⲙ A*CMVW: ⲛϩⲙ A^{b}L | ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ A* | ⲙ̄] ϩⲙ A^{b} | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° ACLM | ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ—ⲉϥⲉⲧⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] ⲙⲡⲉϥϥⲉⲧⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ACLM | ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] + ⲛϫⲉⲡϭⲥ V.

11. om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ACLM | ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ] ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ V.

12. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | ⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲥⲱϥ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ V | ϧⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲏ] ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙⲡϭⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ V: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ W | ⲛⲉϥⲙⲱⲓⲧ] + ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ V: + ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ W | om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ML | ⲙⲙⲟϥ 2°] ⲡϭⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ VW | ϧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ V | ⲧⲉⲕⲯⲩⲭⲏ] pr. ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ V: pr. ϧⲉⲛ W.

13. ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲁⲣⲉϩ—ⲙⲫⲟⲟⲩ] om. A* | ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ V | ⲛⲉϥⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ V: ⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ M | ⲛⲉϥϩⲁⲡ] ⲡⲉϥϩⲁⲡ W | ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲕ V: om. ⲛϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ W | ⲛⲁⲕ] ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ACLMW.

14. om. ⲅⲁⲣ V.

15. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ W | ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. ACLM: ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ W | ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲟϫⲡ W |

ⲛⲉ] ⲡⲉ M | om. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ—end of 16 ACLM | ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ W | om. ⲫⲁⲓ V.

16. (om. ACLM) ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°—ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩⲃⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲧ. ⲛⲁϣⲧ ϩⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩⲃⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉⲥⲛϣⲟⲧ V | ⲛϣⲟⲧ W | ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲁϣⲧ W.

17. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ V | ⲛⲑⲟϥ] ⲫⲁⲓ V | ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ] ⲛⲓϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ A* | ⲉⲧϫⲟⲣ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣ ACL : ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ MW | ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥϭⲓ ACLMW.

18. ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ W | ϥⲙⲉⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ VW.

19. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ V | om. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ M | ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ] om. A*: ϩⲟⲧⲉⲛ CL: ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ M.

20. om. ⲡⲉ V | ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣϩⲟϯ M | ⲉⲕⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V | ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲟⲙⲕ] pr. ⲟⲩⲟϩ V.

21. ⲛⲑⲟϥ] ⲡⲉ V | ⲫⲁⲓ 2°] + ⲅⲁⲣ MW | ⲉⲧⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ M | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲫⲉⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ] om. ACLM : om. ⲛⲏⲉⲧ W : ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ V | ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲉⲧⲉ M : ⲉⲧⲁⲩ W.

22. ⲟⲩⲟ̅ⲉ̅] ⲟⲉ AV | ⲁⲩⲓ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ A* (postea ras.) | ⲛⲟⲩϣⲁⲓ W.

The grouping of the MSS is, on the whole, clearly maintained throughout. A few notes on readings of special interest are appended.

GENESIS XXV.

v. 3. ⲗⲟⲟⲙⲓⲛ (ACO) must represent the true LXX reading, of which ⲁⲑⲟⲩⲓⲙ or ⲁⲑⲟⲩⲓⲛ is a corruption. Similar corruptions occur in the Greek minuscules 75 (*αθωμιν*), and 121 (*αθωμειμ*). It is possible, therefore, that the corrupted form is original in Coptic, the reading of ACO being due to revision and correction from the Greek.

v. 5. The omission of ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ('all') is probably a slip, which might easily occur independently in two MSS. The word is not absent from the earliest form of the text found in the first group.

v. 8. No importance can be attached in Bohairic to the insertion or omission of the copula before a verb. The probable explanation of the textual phenomena is that in the majority of instances it was originally absent, and has been added to bring the text into closer conformity with the Greek [1].

The addition at the end of this verse of the words corresponding to *και προσετεθη προσ τον λαον αυτου*, which is found in ACO (the London MS L is defective here), almost certainly represents the original form

[1] Mr. Forbes Robinson has pointed out to me that in the Bohairic Version of N. T. the copula is more frequent than in the Sahidic. 'Of course,' he says, 'here also it may be due to revision. On the other hand it is always possible that the copula was in the Version originally, but in later copies the genius of the language asserted itself and caused the omission.'

of the Coptic. Their omission is no doubt due to the fact that the beginning of the clause is similar to that of ver. 9 (ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϫⲁϥ : ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲑⲟⲙⲥϥ). The similarity is not so pronounced in Greek, so that transcriptional probability clearly supports the reading of ACO.

v. 10. It is impossible to say which of the two renderings of εκτησατο, ϣⲱⲡ or ϫⲫⲟ, has the greater claim to be regarded as original.

vv. 14, 15. Here ACO represent the ordinary Greek text, which is found in all Greek MSS. The reading of the other Coptic MSS and the editions is probably due to the accidental omission of two names, and the reintroduction of one of them at the wrong place from the margin.

v. 20. The *homoeoteleuton* omission (BMVX) occurs in two Greek minuscules, and may have happened equally well in Coptic and in Greek. ACO unquestionably give the true reading. In omitting της συριας they agree with several Greek MSS, including the (?) Hesychian group.

v. 26. ⲛⲁⲣⲉ . . ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ suggests an original reading ⲛⲁⲣⲉ . . ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, altered to ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, the reading of the editions and the V group being a conflate, or an alteration imperfectly carried out. If so ACO are again right.

The superiority of ACO is on the whole well marked in this chapter: although the Vatican MS seems once (*v.* 5) to have preserved the true text, a tendency on its part to conform to the Greek by inserting ⲟⲩⲟϩ ('and') and ⲇⲉ is clearly traceable. If this chapter is a fair specimen of the rest of the book our knowledge of the Bohairic text in Genesis would be substantially increased by making full use of the MSS A and V. Wherever L is defective the evidence of A is necessary, as in these passages Lagarde was wholly dependent on Wilkins.

EXODUS V, VI.

ch. v, *v.* 1. With the reading of the V group cf. Theodoret and the 'Lucianic' MSS, Athens *Bibl. Nat.* 44, and H. and P. 118, λατρευσουσιν. Cyr. Alex. reads δουλευσουσιν. The reading has serious claims to consideration as it is not in agreement with the Hebrew.

v. 2. The omission of ⲫⲁⲓ ('this') is probably due to assimilation to the Greek, instances of which we noticed in the V group in Genesis.

v. 5. The addition of the V group ('seruis suis') is supported by no Greek authority, but is probably original in Coptic. Such explanatory additions are fairly common in the early stages of any Version, and the tendency to cut them out in order to secure closer conformity with the original is to be seen in Greek as well as in Coptic. They are probably relics of the days of oral translation, when the lesson was first read in the original and then translated into the vernacular during service.

v. 6. The V group has του λαου in the right place. Whether this reading is original in Coptic or is due to later restoration cannot be determined.

v. 8. κυριω is found in the Greek minuscules 19, 108, and 55. It is also in Arab. 3. Another instance of agreement with the Lucianic MSS in a reading not supported by the Hebrew.

v. 10. The reading ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ, which is not supported by the best representatives of either group, is a good example of the tendency to substitute Greek words when the common vernacular word, which was at first felt to be satisfactory, came to be regarded as not sufficiently accurate a rendering of the Greek. Cf. *vv.* 15, 16.

v. 17. The addition of φαραω is supported by the Greek minuscules 19, 108. It is not in the Hebrew. Cf. *v.* 8.

v. 19. The reading of the V group (= +υμων) is found in H. and P. 58, 72, and in the Hebrew.

v. 20. As there is no authority independent of the Coptic for the omission of the words ἐρχομένοις εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς, the words contained in the V group are probably original, and were accidentally omitted in the other MSS.

v. 21. The addition of ⲛⲱⲟⲩ = 'to them' (V, etc.) is probably right. Its omission seems to be due to *homoeoteleuton.*

Though the A group has occasionally preserved the true reading in this chapter, there are many more instances where V and its followers are clearly right. But as Wilkins has here followed this group closely, little new information would be gained by quoting the MSS here.

ch. vi, *v.* 3. There is no Greek authority for the insertion ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ('this is my name'). The attestation shews that it is a corruption introduced into the later representatives of only one of the groups. In this case therefore the quotation of A and V would throw light on the Coptic text.

v. 7. With the reading of ACLO (ϯⲙⲉⲧⲃⲱⲕ) compare that of the Greek minuscule 58 (δουλειασ).

v. 11. The reading of the A group (ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛϫⲏⲙⲓ = 'land of Egypt') is probably true Septuagint, though it is found in Greek only in F and 59: cf. 75. The reading of the other group is due to the Hebrew.

v. 12. The omission apparently occurred in Coptic and not in Greek, as in the former language it can be explained as due to *homoeoteleuton.* The reading of ACL is certainly right and is adopted by Wilkins.

v. 16. ⲅⲉⲇⲥⲱⲛ is probably true LXX, corrupted into ⲅⲉⲇⲉⲱⲛ and corrected into ⲅⲉⲣⲥⲱⲛ to suit the Hebrew. But there is nothing to determine which is the earliest form in Coptic.

v. 17. The omission of ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ('the names') is *probably* due to a desire to equate the Coptic with the Greek.

A has again in this verse preserved the earliest form of the name ⲅⲉⲇⲥⲱⲛ, whatever the true history of its transmission in Coptic may be.

v. 18. τρια was probably absent from the earliest LXX text. If so, this is another instance of the importance of the first hand of A.

v. 19. Again a Greek word has displaced the vernacular in the later forms of the A text, though the first hand of A has the original reading.

vv. 26, 27. The original text may have been that which is printed in Wilkins, perhaps with the addition of ⲧⲏⲣⲥ. The words ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ ('and their host') . . . ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ('land of Egypt,' *v.* 27) may have been omitted in the ancestor of *all* the extant MSS. In the ancestor of ACLO words must have been added in the margin arranged somewhat as follows:—

ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ (ⲧⲏⲣⲥ)	'And (all) their force
ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ	they who spake to Pharaoh,
ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲛ	king of Egypt, to bring
ⲛⲉⲛ ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗ	the children of Israel
ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ	out of Egypt';

or in shorter lines. The first line of this was then restored to its proper place, but the rest was apparently treated as an alternative to ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ . . . ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ (*v.* 28), which it subsequently displaced. At least this would seem to be the most natural explanation of the textual phenomena of the passage, and would account for the position of ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̀ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁ̀ in the A group. Wilkins, by the aid of the Greek, has picked out the true reading from his various authorities. But the text of Lagarde (=ACLO) is unintelligible without the evidence afforded by the reading of BVMX. The variants in Greek MSS will not account for it.

Thus this chapter shews the importance of representing both groups as accurately as possible. For a critical reconstruction of the Coptic text the evidence of AV is indispensable. Whether they are equally necessary in order to supplement the information found in Wilkins and Lagarde in a critical edition of the Septuagint is a more open question. The readings of the first hand of A certainly deserve serious consideration.

Leviticus xvi.

v. 2. Lagarde's conjecture is confirmed by the first hand of V. Wilkins has apparently added ⲛⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ from the Greek. Only one minuscule (64) and Arab. 3 omit του μαρτυριου.

v. 20. Lagarde has rightly restored the singular (=καθαριεῖ), which is found in no Coptic MS.

v. 24. The omission is due to Hexaplaric influence (cf. 15, 58, Arab. 3, Heb.).

v. 31. Wilkins seems to have supplied an equivalent for αναπαυσισ[1]: cf. ver. 2. The omission is supported by 53, 56, 85 txt, 129, and the Hebrew.

v. 32. The omission is due to *homoeoteleuton*, and it occurs in all the MSS. The same omission is found in the Greek MSS 53, 54, and Arab. 3.

In this chapter M has left the V group and approaches more closely to the text of ACO. Very little light is thrown on the text of the Coptic by an examination of the MSS in this chapter. The chief point of interest raised by it is the evidence which it affords that Wilkins probably retranslated from the Greek in some places.

NUMBERS XXVIII, XXIX.

ch. xxviii, *v.* 18. The addition in the MSS is interesting. If compared with the rendering found in Arab. 3 ('exprimit ημερα σημασιασ' H. and P.) it would appear to be an original Coptic paraphrase, for which a more literal rendering of the Greek was afterwards substituted.

v. 19. The reading of the Greek minuscule 55 (αμωμουσ) is perhaps a trace of that found in the Coptic MSS.

v. 23. The long omission in all the Coptic MSS is obviously due to *homoeoteleuton*. Wilkins must have retranslated from the Greek, unless indeed he had access to any liturgies containing the passage. Tuki's publications (1736–1764) are later than the date of Wilkins' edition. There are several other smaller additions made by Wilkins in these chapters, which are probably to be accounted for in the same way: cf. xxix 8.

ch. xxix, *v.* 10. The omission of δεκατον 2° is supported by the Greek MSS 44, 53, 59, 82, and by the Arabic.

v. 11. The reading of the MSS ⲡⲓⲱⲓⲗⲓ must be a corruption of ⲡⲓϭⲗⲓⲗ (ὁλοκαύτωμα), which has been restored by the editors. If proof were needed that Holmes' Arab. 3 is derived from the Coptic, this verse would supply it ('exprimit ο κριοσ Arab. 3'): cf. *v.* 13.

v. 13. The reading of OVX is due to the accidental omission of the letters ϩⲟⲟⲩⲛ after ⲙⲛⲓⲉ. This shews that the reading of Wilkins, ⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, is not the original form of the Coptic, but it does not prove that ⲛⲟⲥ was not part of the original text in Coptic.

The reading 'decem' is a Coptic corruption. It is only found in the Coptic MSS and in Arab. 3.

On the whole the MSS do not here add much to the knowledge of the Coptic Version which can be derived from the editions. At

[1] It must be noticed, however, that Wilkins' 'additions' are found in the Sahidic.

the same time their evidence in xxviii 18 and xxix 13 is of some importance.

DEUTERONOMY IX, X.

ch. ix, *v.* 4. The words omitted by Wilkins are not in the oldest form of the Greek text, but have been added later from the Hexapla: another instance where Wilkins seems to have corrected the Coptic by the Greek.

v. 5. There is no Greek authority for the omission found in ACLMO and Lagarde. Wilkins appears to have slightly altered what he found in X.

ⲑⲏⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲥ ⲱⲣⲕ ('which the Lord sware') VX. *κυριοσ* is omitted in B and 44, but not in the Hebrew. Probably therefore V has been assimilated to a later Greek text.

ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲓⲟϯ ('to thy fathers'). *σου* is found in the Greek MS 44 and in the Hebrew. V is probably right in reading the plural.

v. 6. VXW are right: there is no Greek authority for the omission of *ο θεοσ σου*.

v. 7. VX have rightly preserved the equivalent of *μη επιλαθησ*, which is found in all Greek texts. There are some traces in Arabic that [illegible] any rate was regarded as a Hexaplaric addition: again therefore VX are probably right in retaining ⲙⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ ('the Lord, thy God').

v. 9. The words ⲛⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲡⲗⲁⲝ ('of stone, tables') are no doubt part of the original Coptic text preserved only in VX.

v. 10. There is no authority for *θεοσ*; VX are right in reading the equivalent of *κυριοσ*.

v. 11. Cf. *v.* 9.

v. 13. Whether the words ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ('behold, a people') were omitted because of *homoeoteleuton* or not, there is no doubt that VX have alone preserved the true reading.

v. 14. There is no authority for the omission of *και εξαλειψω το ονομα αυτων*: if the ⲉⲃⲟⲗ of VX is original, the omission is easily explained as due to *homoeoteleuton*. Again VX alone have preserved the true reading.

v. 15. The omission of *εωσ του ουρανου* by all Coptic MSS is supported by Greek authority. There is nothing corresponding to the words in the Hebrew. Wilkins probably added the Coptic equivalent because he found the words in the Roman edition of the Greek. His reading ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ (*των μαρτυριων*) is probably to be explained in the same way.

v. 17. There is no Greek authority for omitting *επιλαβομενοσ* (ACLO). It is, however, possible that the word was originally left untranslated in Coptic.

v. 19. Is the omission due to the similarity of ⲡⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ ('the anger') and ⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ('he was wroth')? At any rate it is wrong, the true text being again found in VX.

v. 21. ⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩϥ (VX) = *κατηλεσα*. For ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲕϥ cf. the Greek MSS 44, 106 *κατηναλωσα*. The reading of VX represents the true Greek reading, whether it is original or a correction in Coptic.

v. 22. Wilkins omits the equivalent of *του θεου υμων*, as does the Greek Codex Vaticanus, which here shews signs of Hexaplarisation. The words are obelised in the Codex Sarravianus.

v. 25. The reading of VX is interesting and may well be an original Coptic paraphrase.

v. 26. ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩϯ ('the gods'): Wilkins has again, it would seem, altered the Coptic to suit the ordinary Greek text. *των εθνων* (= ⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ) is found in H. and P. 71, 74, 76, 85 mg., 130*, Arab. 3, and once in Philo.

The words ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲓϣϯ etc. found in VX are part of the original text of the LXX. Their omission in the other Coptic MSS is due either to *homoeoteleuton* or to the use of a Greek MS from which an obelised passage had been removed.

v. 27. The reading of ACLO (ⲙⲡⲉⲣϫⲱⲛⲧ 'be not angry') is a Coptic corruption for ⲙⲡⲉⲣϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ('look not').

The words ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ ('and their sins,' VX) correspond with words which are obelised in Codex Sarravianus. They may therefore be a later addition in Coptic, corresponding to a later form of the Greek text. It is, however, equally possible that they are original in Coptic, and have been dropped because they begin with the same letters as the preceding words.

v. 28. ⲉⲩϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ (VX). *λεγοντεσ* is obelised in Codex Sarravianus. VX therefore seem to have preserved the true text.

v. 29. The addition in VXW is no doubt part of the original text.

This chapter undoubtedly proves the importance of V in Deuteronomy. Its readings are clearly needed in any critical edition of the LXX, especially if I am right in concluding that Wilkins did not hesitate to adapt his Coptic to the Greek text of the LXX which he knew best.

ch. x, *v.* 2. The second person (= *γραψεισ*) is probably another of Wilkins' alterations to suit the Greek.

v. 5. V is undoubtedly right, the letters ⲕⲟⲧⲧⲁⲓ have dropped out of the text contained in the other group because of the similarity of ending.

v. 12. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ (V). *αιτει* is read by F, 19, 29, 44, 53, 59, 72, 118, Orig. Athan. Cyr.-Al. Chrys. Thdt., cf. Damasc. But *ζητει* is probably the original LXX reading. Other readings of V in this verse also shew signs of adaptation to a Hebraised text.

v. 15. ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ('to love them') is apparently due to Wilkins. V preserves the true Coptic.

This chapter does not add much to the evidence obtainable from the last. So far as it goes its evidence supports the conclusions already drawn.

We may now summarise as shortly as possible the results obtained from the examination of specimen passages in all the MSS. The grouping of the MSS is quite clear. A common lacuna shews that all are derived from one, probably near, ancestor, but they form two distinctly marked groups, neither of which has a monopoly of the true text. A critical edition of the Pentateuch is needed, based on the agreement of A and V, and recording at least all the variants of these two MSS. There are a few readings of interest in M, but on the whole it contributes little to our knowledge of the text. The necessity for collating and using A and V, in addition to the printed editions, for a critical edition of the Greek Septuagint has not been so clearly demonstrated. It has been shewn that such a course would be desirable if it did not involve too much delay. A strong case has however been made out, as it seems to me, for quoting the readings of A in Genesis and wherever L is defective, and of V in Deuteronomy. The great probability that Wilkins has in certain cases mended his text by retranslating from the Greek makes it all the more desirable to control his edition throughout by the collation of a MS of the first group.

A. E. BROOKE.

ON THE ORDINATION OF THE EARLY BISHOPS OF ALEXANDRIA.

I SHOULD like to be allowed to say a word with reference to Mr. Brooks' interesting note on this subject, contained in the JOURNAL of July, 1901, pp. 612 f.

Hitherto substantially our only real reason for supposing that the Alexandrian 'succession' was exceptional in its method, has been a famous statement of Jerome's, that 'from the days of St. Mark the Evangelist down to the episcopates of Heraclas and Dionysius (A. D. 233–265) the presbyters at Alexandria used always to give the name of bishop (*nominabant*) to one whom they chose out of their own number and placed upon the higher grade, just as if an army were making a general, or deacons were choosing one of themselves whose activity they knew, and calling him archdeacon. For what, except ordination, does a bishop do which a presbyter does not?'

This statement is possibly somewhat ambiguous, but seems to mean, what it was certainly taken to mean by ninth-century Latin writers[1], who repeated it without hesitation or unwillingness, that the bishops at Alexandria received no new consecration on acceding to the episcopate, but simply election by their fellows; and this was taken by these Western writers to be a survival of a substantial identity between the 'presbyterate' and the 'episcopate,' which existed originally, and was indicated by the interchangeableness of the names.

A certain Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, of the tenth century—an Arab, Sa'id Ibn Batrik, who took the Greek name of Eutychius, though he does not appear to have known Greek—has been hitherto the only presumably independent supporter of Jerome's statement. But his date, his amazing ignorance, his divergence on many points from Jerome, and the fact that an almost contemporary writer, Severus[2], who is not quite so ignorant, differs from him wholly in his account of the origin of the Alexandrian church, deprive his support of any assignable value.

But now Mr. Brooks produces a new and important piece of evidence from a letter of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, written in Egypt, during his banishment A. D. 518–538. Severus says that the bishop of Alexandria 'used in former days to be appointed by presbyters,' which is simply Jerome's statement without his details. Jerome's statement was commonly repeated in the West; but, unless there is evidence, which I do not know of, that Severus knew Latin writers and Jerome in particular, his statement must be taken to be independent of Jerome's, and derived, like Jerome's, from a tradition at Alexandria itself.

Of course if the story about Poemen the hermit, adduced by Dom Butler and now again by the editor of *J. T. S.* (see as above, p. 613), can be taken as additional proof that this tradition existed in Egypt towards the end of the fourth century, the supposed fact would rest upon a still surer basis. 'Some heretics' are said to have visited the celebrated hermit and 'spoken against the archbishop of Alexandria as having received his ordination from presbyters.' We are only told this because the hermit exhibited such meekness under this imputation (unfortunately for us) as to make no rejoinder. What then was the meaning of their remark?

Poemen's date appears to be wrongly given in the *Dict. of Ch. Biog.*

[1] Amalarius *de eccl. offic.* ii 13, *P. L.* cv 1090; Pseud. Alcuin *de divin. offic.* 37, *P. L.* ci 1237.

[2] The Patriarchal Chronicle of this Severus, bishop of Eshmunain, is about to be published, with translation and commentary, by Mr. Evetts: see *Egypt Exploration Fund*, archaeological report, 1900–1901, p. 79.

as 390–460. For Rufinus visited Poemen, among other famous anchorites, and received his benediction, about A. D. 375 (*Hist. Eccl.* ii [xi] 8). The archbishop, then, whom the heretics referred to on the occasion of their undated visit may very probably have been Athanasius (died A. D. 373). Now that Athanasius was not ordained as suggested we know [1]. The custom as Jerome reports it had been extinct for a century. But we also know that innumerable slanders were current among the Arians about his ordination; and the repetition of one of these was more likely than anything else to stir the indignation of an orthodox monk, which was presumably the intention of his heretical visitors. Probably then the statement about the Alexandrian archbishop is simply a personal slander, and has nothing to do with the history of the Alexandrian succession.

But, apart from this story, the plain statements of Jerome and Severus are very hard to resist. They indicate a distinct historical tradition, going back to the fourth century. Most historians, German and English, appear to think Jerome's evidence by itself enough. But I think they greatly underrate the contrary evidence of Origen. Origen lived and taught at Alexandria till A. D. 231, when he was forty-five. All this time the Alexandrian bishop differed (if Jerome's account be true) from the presbyters in honour and office, not in essential order. Shortly after this Origen suffered treatment at the hands of the bishops of Alexandria and the neighbourhood which would dispose him to scrutinise their jurisdiction somewhat jealously; for while a mixed synod of Egyptian bishops and presbyters had banished him from Alexandria, but not deposed him from his presbyterate, for a breach of canonical discipline, a synod of bishops alone, at the instance of Demetrius of Alexandria, had deposed him, as he and his friends thought, unjustly. In 231 he left Alexandria. Two years afterwards Heraclas (his old pupil and friend) became bishop in succession to Demetrius, and (according to Jerome) the separate ordination of the Alexandrian bishop and his consequent differentiation from the presbyters began—i. e., presumably, was provided for, and carried into effect at the ordination of his successor Dionysius (A. D. 249). Origen therefore, on this hypothesis, had intimate experience of a gradual change resulting in the clear differentiation at Alexandria of the episcopate from the presbyterate, and every reason for scanning with some jealousy the

[1] We have the letter of the Alexandrian synod of Egyptian bishops, A.D. 339, to 'the bishops of the Catholic Church.' 'To the fact that the majority of us ordained (ἐχειροτόνησαν) him, under the eyes and amidst the acclamations of all, we again are better witnesses than those who were absent and who speak falsely—we who ordained him.' Moreover the case of Colluthus (as I have shown in *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 126) shows that at Alexandria in 324 there was no tendency at all to confuse the status of bishop and presbyter.

exaltation of the bishop. And he shows nowhere any disposition to spare bishops castigation which he thinks well merited. Moreover such a change in ecclesiastical status could occur nowhere without some jealousy or friction. Yet writing against Celsus[1] in the year of Heraclas death and Dionysius' succession he compares 'ecclesiae of God' with the civil 'ecclesiae' at Athens, Corinth, and Alexandria; he compares in each case the archon (bishop), the councillors (presbyters), and the people; he finds the Christian churches characterised by 'mildness and stability': if fault is to be found with some of the Christian 'councillors or archons,' it is because they are found to live indolent lives compared with some of their more energetic fellows. Neither here nor elsewhere —and Origen often alludes to bishops and presbyters—does he give any hint that bishops were exalting their order at the expense of presbyters. Indeed he assumes for the episcopate a completely stable and traditional position clearly distinct from the presbyterate. Moreover in his homilies on Numbers (after A. D. 244), when he is desiring a more religious method of appointing bishops than was customary, he speaks of bishops nominating their successors (giving preference to their relations), of popular nomination, and of nomination by 'one of the priests'[2]: but he does not contemplate election by the body of presbyters, and he does imply that the bishop was, after designation, ordained by laying on of hands. He is not talking, in this passage, specially about Alexandria, and he had long ceased to live there; but Caesarea was not very far off, so that he could hardly have ignored any markedly different conditions in the great neighbouring church of Alexandria. And Alexandrian tradition itself in the fourth century certainly assigned the power in episcopal election to the people, not to the presbyters.

I think Origen's language as a whole is not generally taken into account, and it renders very difficult the acceptance of any tradition which would either (1) represent his long life as synchronising with a gradual exaltation of the episcopate, which would certainly have involved some jealousy and friction, or (2) represent the Alexandrian church of his experience as differing from other churches. I have cited the passage in Origen more at length in *The Church and the Ministry*, pp. 127 f[3]. But I refer to the matter here in connexion with the fresh evidence, because it is customary to treat any one who hesitates to accept it as simply blinded by ecclesiastical prejudice. Now I see no ecclesiastical reason which should hinder us, any more than the

[1] *Ad Cels.* iii 30.

[2] *In Num. hom.* xxii 4.

[3] Where I have stated Origen's age at Heraclas' accession as 'thirty-eight,' by mistake for forty-eight.

Western theologians alluded to above, from accepting the evidence: Severus of Antioch in recording the tradition[1] shows that in his mind it carried with it no consequences such as modern controversy has sometimes attached to it. But I do see in Origen's language a commonly ignored reason why we should still regard the matter as involved in doubt.

CHARLES GORE.

THE ORIGINAL ORDER AND CONTENTS OF OUR OLDEST MS OF ST. CYPRIAN.

THE problem of the order and arrangement of the earliest collections of St. Cyprian's works has attracted of late years a good deal of attention—see Sanday *The Cheltenham list . . . of the writings of Cyprian* in *Studia Biblica* iii 274–303 [1891], Götz *Geschichte der cyprianischen Litteratur bis zu der Zeit der ersten erhaltenen Handschriften* [1891], Turner *Two early lists of S. Cyprian's works* [Classical Review, May, 1892], and Harnack *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur* i 688 ff [1893]. It seemed therefore worth while to establish once for all the original order of the treatises in the oldest of all our Cyprianic MSS, Paris. lat. 10592, known since Hartel's edition as S (it came from the collection of Seguier); and with that view I made an examination of the MS, not so detailed as I could have wished, but I think sufficient for the purpose, in September, 1901. Such an examination was doubly necessary: in the first place, because Dr. Sanday—whom Harnack follows—has in his list of the contents of S (*Studia Biblica* iii 283; Harnack *Gesch. der altchr. Litt.* i 697) omitted two treatises of which S gives portions, though not the commencement or title; in the second place, because even Hartel, whose preface (pp. iii–v) does indicate all the fragments still contained in S, did not make any investigation of the extent of the lacunae with a view to fixing the pristine contents of the MS.

The original hand wrote foll. 4–98, 101–155: foll. 1–3, 99–100, are quite late insertions, intended merely to complete treatises imperfect in the then state of the MS, and may be entirely neglected. One quaternion of the work of the original scribe has been misplaced, and now stands as foll. 53–60, whereas it ought to come immediately after fol. 11. There are lacunae between foll. 34, 36 (fol. 35 is a mere fragment, not continuous with either fol. 34 or fol. 36), between foll. 82–83, between foll. 90–91, between foll. 98–101 (foll. 99, 100 are insertions), and between foll. 147–148. The margins seem to have

[1] See *J. T. S.*, July, 1901, p. 612.

been cut down considerably, but the following signatures to the gatherings are still visible: fol. 26 *b* D, fol. 34 *b* E, fol. 68 *b* K, fol. 76 *b* L, fol. 82 *b* M, fol. 90 *b* O (apparently), fol. 98 *b* R, fol. 124 *b* X, fol. 140 *b* Z. Most of the gatherings must have been quaternions: such are foll. 4–11, 53–60, 27–34 (E), 61–68 (K), 69–76 (L), 83–90 (O), 91–98 (R), 148–155, while foll. 101–124 will probably have formed three complete quaternions (T U X), and 125–140 two complete quaternions (Y Z). Of the remaining sheets foll. 12–26 presumably formed one complete and one incomplete quaternion (C D), foll. 141–147 another incomplete quaternion. Foll. 77–82 (M), on the other hand, was either a doubly incomplete quaternion or else a ternion.

The matter contained in a quaternion amounted roughly to about 300 lines of Hartel's edition: thus for instance foll. 53–60 extend from 191·4 to 202·16 of Hartel ('sic et mulier—saeculi cogitatio') or 305 lines; foll. 83–90 from 352·17 to 363·8 ('qui ad malum—ut memorias ta-') or 293 lines; foll. 91–98 from 401·6 to 412·4 ('-pleuit et factis—in uiduis laboriosam') or 295 lines. Where one treatise ends, and another begins, in the middle of a gathering, then, since the 'explicit' and 'incipit' always, I think, occupy at least a whole column (the MS is written with two columns to the page), a rather smaller number of Hartel's lines will of course be represented on that gathering: thus foll. 4–11 only cover 9·22–16·14 ('numquam temporibus' to the end of the *ad Donatum*) and 187·1–191·4 (the *de habitu uirginum* as far as 'placeat uxori'), or 177 + 99 = 276 lines.

The first gathering is lost: the missing portion of the *ad Donatum* (Hartel 3·1–9·22) probably occupied four folios: the remaining leaves are easily accounted for by guard-leaves, title, and index of contents. This gathering was apparently not reckoned in the series of signatures A–Z, as I shall show in a moment.

The second gathering, foll. 4–11, completes the *ad Donatum* (Hartel's I) and commences the *de habitu uirginum* (IV).

The third gathering, foll. 53–60, continues the same treatise.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth gatherings, foll. 12–34, conclude the *de habitu*, contain the whole of the *de lapsis* (VI), and commence the *de catholicae ecclesiae unitate* (V). The fifth gathering is that signed D, the sixth that signed E. Consequently not the first but the second gathering must have been signed A[1].

Between fol. 34 *b*, of which the last words are 'separatur ramos'

[1] Similarly in the sixth-century Bodleian MS of the *Chronicle* of Jerome, the first extant gathering is signed D, but there appear to be not less than 32 folios, or four gatherings, lost, so that not the first but the second gathering would have been signed A.

headline 'de zelo et liuore' could have been incorrectly carried on to the succeeding treatise[1].

Another lacuna after fol. 98, the end of R, must have consisted of one gathering only, S, since fol. 124 *b*, three gatherings further on, is signed X. The missing (nineteenth) gathering completed the *de bon. pat.*, 97 lines, and gave the commencement of the *ad Fortunatum* (IX) as far as 'liberabunt filios ne-' (325·4), or 229 lines. The total of 326 lines would seem over large for a quaternion, if we did not remember that, what with short lines and spacing, the *ad Fortunatum* (like the *Testimonia*) is spread over more ground than the other treatises in Hartel's edition.

Six continuous gatherings follow, foll. 101–147; the twenty-second is signed X on fol. 124, and the twenty-fourth Z on fol. 140: so far we have five regular quaternions, but the twenty-fifth gathering has now only seven leaves—a leaf having been lost, after writing, between foll. 142, 143—and ends with fol. 147. These six gatherings contained the rest of the *ad Fortunatum*, the whole of the *ad Caecilium* (Ep. 63), of the 'de his qui in lecto consequuntur' (i. e. the first part of Ep. 69, *ad Magnum*, 749·4–760·13), of the *Sententiae Episcoporum* (XIV)—save that the lost leaf between foll. 142, 143 has caused a lacuna from 454·10 to 456·19—and of the *ad Rogatianum* (Ep. 13).

One more lacuna follows after fol. 147, but as the final quaternion, foll. 148–155, is not signed, it is impossible to say with absolute certainty how many gatherings are lost or what matter they contained. But as the last gathering covers exactly the second half of the *de laude martyrii*, the last but one may well have contained just the other half and no more: and I conclude therefore that as the twenty-fifth gathering ended with the last words of the *ad Rogatianum*, so the twenty-sixth probably commenced with the first words of the *de laude martyrii*.

The original contents of S were therefore as follows: I IV VI V VII VIII XI X XIII XII IX Epp. 63, 69 *a*, *Sent. Epp.*, Ep. 13, *de laude martyrii*.

C. H. TURNER.

[1] This explanation did not occur to me while I was examining the MS, or I should have noted whether the erroneous headline was continued through the whole of the *de bon. pat.*

REVIEWS

THE ETHIOPIC ROMANCES CONCERNING THE APOSTLES.

The Contendings of the Apostles, being the Histories of the Lives and Martyrdoms and Deaths of the Twelve Apostles and Evangelists; the Ethiopic texts now first edited from MSS in the British Museum, with an English translation. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. Vol. II: the English Translation.

A FEW preliminary notes on the newly published English translation of the *Contendings of the Apostles*, by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge (Henry Frowde, 1901), may be of interest to readers of this JOURNAL. The collection of documents is a most interesting and important one, and we must all be grateful to Dr. Budge for having put it within the reach of those who are not Ethiopic scholars—a not inconsiderable fraction of the community. Much of it appears in English for the second time, a translation by Mr. S. C. Malan having appeared as far back as 1871; but, as will appear from my notes, a great deal is new. The method of procedure that commends itself to me is to go rapidly through the volume and call attention to the salient points. But all will have to be said in the briefest manner, and no attempt will be made to criticize the text.

1. History of St. Peter, pp. 7–31. New. It is a form of the story of the Clementine *Recognitions*, containing the history of Clement's parents (Kewestôs = Faustus, and 'Akrôsyâ), into which is intercalated a tale about a precious stone. This tale occurs in Cedrenus (Migne, *P.G.* cxxi col. 225) and nowhere else that I know. Clement and his brothers are accidentally poisoned, and resuscitated by Peter.

2. Martyrdom of Peter = Malan.

3. Martyrdom of Paul = Malan.

4. Genealogies of the Apostles. A similar document in Fabricius.

5. Epistle of Dionysius to Timothy = Malan, &c.

6, 7. Preaching and Martyrdom of Simon, son of Cleopas = Malan and Mrs. Gibson's *Apocrypha Sinaitica* I p. 62.

8, 9. Preaching and Martyrdom of James the Just = Malan.
10. Preaching of Bartholomew in the Oasis } = Malan.
11. Martyrdom of Bartholomew in Naidas }
12, 13. Preaching and Martyrdom of Matthew in Kahenat = Malan.
14. Martyrdom of Luke = Malan.
15. Preaching of Philip and Peter } = Malan.
16. Martyrdom of Philip }
17. Preaching of Andrew and Philemon = Malan, p. 99.
18. Acts of Andrew and Bartholomew = Malan, p. 76.
19. Martyrdom of Andrew = Malan, p. 112.
20, 21. Preaching and Death of John = Malan, p. 117, and Prochorus, ed. Zahn.
22. Martyrdom of James, the son of Alphaeus = Malan, p. 145, and *Apocr. Sinait.* I p. 60.
23, 24. Preaching and Martyrdom of Matthias = Malan, p. 147.
25, 26. Preaching and Martyrdom of James, the son of Zebedee = Malan, p. 172.
27. Martyrdom of Mark = Malan, p. 181.
28. Preaching of Thomas in India = Malan, p. 187, and *Apocrypha Anecdota* (James: 2nd series).
29. Martyrdom of Thomas = Malan, p. 214.
30. Preaching of Judas Thaddeus = Malan, p. 221.

With this the ordinary collection of Acts, as we may call it, ends.

31. Preaching of St. Matthias. This is a fairly close version of the Greek Acts of Andrew and Matthew (Matthias).
32–37. Acts of Thomas. A version of the Greek (or Syriac) Acts in the following order:—
    32. The Sale of Thomas. The Bridal.
    33. The Building of the Palace.
    34. The Snake = Malan, p. 206.
    35. The Ass = Malan, p. 212.
    36. The Woman possessed by a Devil = Malan, p. 167.
    37. The Murdered Woman.

38. The Acts of St. Peter. This is quite new. It consists of eight chapters. There are frequent references to the eight books of revelations delivered by Peter to Clement, which exist in Arabic and Ethiopic, but have not as yet been fully published.

Ch. i, ii relate the Ascension, a vision of angels, a vision of the Virgin, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the delivery of the eight books to Peter, the vision of Peter in Acts x.

Ch. iii. The conversion of Clement, the conversion of Paul.

Clement's recovery of his parents and brothers, differing from the story in no. 1.

Ch. iv. Peter and John preach at Antioch and are imprisoned. Paul arrives: he poses as an unbeliever, and induces them to work miracles before the heathen. John stays a flood at Laodicea.

Ch. v. Peter is sent to Rome, heals a leprous maiden, and ordains bishops. Part of this is identical with part of the Preaching of Peter in *Apocrypha Sinaitica* I p. 52.

Ch. vi. Peter goes to Carthage. Satan threatens him, and is defied. This section, I can hardly doubt, is ultimately connected with a Greek fragment in a MS of cent. xi, xii in the Angelican Library at Rome. Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgeschichten* (II i 233), gives an abstract of it, but the text has never been printed. The Greek places the scene of the encounter with the devil near Azotus. In our text it is Carthage. These two names are sometimes treated as synonymous. The Ethiopic text is a very debased and short form of the episode.

Ch. vii. Return to Rome. Simon Magus. The miracle of the ox. Death of Simon Magus (who pretends to ascend to heaven). Clement writes the mysteries. The curse against those who reveal them. The hiding of the sacred books and relics of the Passion.

Ch. viii. The remainder of the mysteries revealed to Clement.

The part played by Paul in ch. iv is the most interesting feature in this composition, which as a whole must be looked upon as late; later than the Books of Clement, it seems, which are themselves by no means early.

39. The Life of St. Paul. Also quite new. I looked for the appearance of this with special interest, believing that it might be found to contain portions of the old *Acta Pauli*. If it does, however, these portions must be gravely corrupted.

The proem and the first two chapters may be described as an encomium of St. Paul. A description of his personal appearance is given, which does not tally with that in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, for its general purport is that he was a tall and handsome man. At the end of ch. ii St. Luke is quoted as saying that 'even up to the time of his martyrdom his disposition was one which was tardy and delaying, and this statement is also found written in a certain book by Eusânas.' Something is left untranslated after this word, and the chapter ends at the point.

Ch. iii, iv give the narrative of the Canonical Acts from the conversion of Paul to his release at Philippi, without any legendary additions.

Ch. v begins with the visit to Thessalonica and Beroea, which is

apparently confused with the Syrian Beroea (Aleppo), and is therefore called Ḥalb.

At this point we diverge into romance. Paul goes to Ḥalb and finds outside the city one Kĕwârestes, who helps him to enter the city. They are arrested by the captain of the guard, who is usually styled 'Arestôs. These two men I do not hesitate to identify with 'Erastus the chamberlain of the city, and Quartus a brother.' Timothy (of Thessalonica) also appears as an officer. There are wild doings in the city. The mother of Timothy, called Badrônâ (Matrona, Patrona?), is raised from the dead. The god of the city—a golden hawk—is thrown into a fire and made to come out in the form of a live lion, who is dismissed to the desert until required by Paul. This reminds us of the 'baptized lion' in the old Acts.

In ch. vi Paul journeying to Accho is met by our Lord, who promises him support, and grants blessings to those who shall honour the apostle's name. A chapter of late complexion.

Ch. vii. Paul at Accho. He and his convert Sakentes (Secundus) are persecuted and tormented by Pilate and Hêrmôgânes, the governors. They are at last put into two brazen bulls. The lion of ch. v. appears in order to deliver them, and addresses the mob. There is a general conversion.

Ch. viii gives the canonical narrative from the visit to Athens up to the residence at Ephesus.

Ch. ix. At Ephesus. Paul is living with Trophimus (as yet unconverted). He feigns sickness, and is taken to the temple of Artemis to lie there along with the other patients. He induces them to invoke Christ, and they are healed.

Demetrius the silversmith has Paul thrown to the beasts. A lioness and a savage lion both lick his feet. All are baptized.

There is a justificatory reference to the passage 1 Cor. xv 32. This tale has a little, but very little, in common with the fragment of the old Acts in Nicephorus, which relates the fight with beasts at Ephesus.

Then follows the canonical narrative, abridged, from the departure for Macedonia until the two years' residence in Rome; and immediately upon this the first part of the *Martyrium Pauli* (from the old Acts), beginning with the conversion of Batrik (Patroclus), and ending with the burning alive of the converts. Paul's martyrdom is not mentioned. This episode corresponds with the Greek text in Lipsius-Bonnet, pp. 104–112 l. 2.

The next seven chapters are pure romance.

In ch. x we have the proceedings of Paul and Philip at Lystra. Philip is sent from Caesarea.

In ch. xi the two apostles visit Iconium. The principal personages

are the governor, Thêwôdâs (? Theudas), his wife Euphemia, their son Theodore, and the devil, who appears disguised as an Eastern monarch. Alexander, governor of Caesarea, also figures.

Ch. xii is another address of Christ to Paul, resembling that in ch. vi.

Ch. xiii. Paul goes to the city of Gâhlĕyâ, or Folly. He meets Peter and Andrew, disguises himself as a priest of Artemis, and has the two apostles brought into court, where they work miracles. The situation resembles that in the History of Peter, ch. iv.

Ch. xiv. Paul goes to a strange island called Manâfeket, where (much as in ch. ix) he pretends to be a sick man. At the end is a reference to 1 Cor. ix 19–22, where the apostle says that he became all things to all men. This passage has no doubt been the motive for the various tales of the disguisings of Paul which occur in this Life.

Ch. xv. Paul goes to the city of Wârîkôn (Ignorance). This chapter is in a different setting. Peter introduces it, speaking in the first person. 'After these things Paul departed into the city of Carthage and found me, Peter, dwelling therein.' The rest of the chapter is Paul's narrative, told to Peter. The city of Wârîkôn is surrounded by water and defended by a magical image. Paul, aided by the Virgin, parts this lake in sunder, and enters and converts the city.

Ch. xvi. Peter is again the narrator. Raphael and Uriel take him to Wârîkôn, and he confirms Paul's converts.

Ch. xvii is the remainder of the Martyrdom of Paul, identical with no. 3 in this volume, and corresponding with the Greek text, l. c. pp. 112–117.

This Life of Paul is a puzzling production. It has not been before us long enough to make anything like detailed criticism advisable, or even possible. But there are points that strike one at once as militating against any theory of a close connexion between it and the *Acta Pauli* with the single exception of the section relating to the Martyrdom. In the first place, there is no trace of the Thecla-episode. The fight with beasts at Ephesus, again, is, if not a totally independent composition, at least a very thorough transformation of the story quoted by Nicephorus. Hermocrates and Hermippus, heroes of an episode in the Coptic fragments, and mentioned in the *Coena Cypriani*, are not to be found, nor (though this is not very surprising) is the Third Epistle to the Corinthians. On the other hand, we do find close analogies with others of the Ethiopic Acts in this collection, and especially with those that do not go back to primitive Greek originals. Peter, for instance, appears in the later chapters, and it is a stock feature in this Coptic-Ethiopic cycle that he should have a share in the exploits of each apostle. The curious coupling of Paul with Philip reminds us that we have a fragmentary

Coptic romance of the Acts of Andrew and Paul. We find, too, the heathen speaking of the apostles as twelve enchanters who are going about and perverting the world: and this is a link which connects together a large number of the Ethiopic conflicts. The terms in which the foundation of churches in the various cities are described are further links of the same kind.

There is but one feature that I can find to counterbalance these evidences of late date and what I may call local manufacture. This is the series of adventures in which Paul disguises himself as a sick man, a heathen, a priest of Artemis, or the like. It happens that I can point to a legend of obscure antecedents, but apparently quite guiltless of borrowing from the Ethiopic cycle, which is of just the same complexion. It occurs in the *Legenda Aurea* (c. xliv ed. Graesse, De Cathedra S. Petri). Peter is imprisoned at Antioch by Theophilus, and nearly starved. Paul visits him, and then assumes the character of a skilled carver and embroiderer, goes to Theophilus, and undertakes that Peter shall raise from the dead the son of Theophilus, who has been dead for fourteen years. The conversion of Theophilus and the enthronement of Peter at Antioch are of course the result. Hereupon the author, Jacobus de Voragine, remarks, with an admirable *naïvetè*, 'It does not seem altogether probable either that Paul should feign with ordinary human cunning that he knew how to make works of art of the kind described, or that the sentence (of God) on the (dead) youth should have been suspended for fourteen years.' Probable or improbable, however, the story does closely resemble several of those in the Ethiopic Life, and also a chapter (iv) in the History of Peter.

For the present, therefore, I am forced to the conclusion that this Ethiopic Life is at most only coloured by reminiscences of the old *Acta Pauli*. The publication of the Coptic fragments of these may be expected to throw light on the matter. It remains only to repeat our thanks to Dr. Budge, and to express a wish that his translation had not been printed on quite such heavy paper.

M. R. James.

HOMOOUSIOS AND SUBSTANTIA.

The meaning of Homoousios in the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed. Texts and Studies, Vol. vii. No. 1. By J. F. Bethune-Baker, B.D., Cambridge.

This interesting and elaborate work seems to aim at establishing two points. In the first place, the author has 'come to realise much more clearly that ὁμοούσιος in the Creed is not as [he], in common with

many others, had supposed, a product of Greek philosophical thought, but rather of Latin theology.' Secondly, he is anxious to contest and to overthrow the position in which Harnack and Zahn agree, that the word ὁμοούσιος was accepted by later theologians in the sense of ὁμοιούσιος. I am not now concerned with the second of these two points. So far as I can judge, Mr. Bethune-Baker is successful in his argumentation: but I am disposed to think that he is in error in regard to the first point, together with the very distinguished scholars whom he follows.

The historic doctrine set forth by Mr. Bethune-Baker rests upon two main props: (1) that the word ὁμοούσιος had been condemned at Antioch, and therefore could not have been suggested to the Council of Nicaea except by a Western[1]; (2) that the usage of Tertullian really determined the meaning of the word in its first use at the Council[2]. I venture to think that these points are not proved.

The evidence for the condemnation of the word ὁμοούσιον at Antioch is extremely indirect. It was clearly asserted by the Arian controversialists that it had been so condemned; and the allegation is referred to by Athanasius[3] and Hilary[4]. But Athanasius does not commit himself to an acceptance of the statement: it is ὡς αὐτοί φασι, τὴν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἔσχον ἐγώ. The statement has been made, Athanasius has not the means of verifying it, but he assumes its truth for purposes of argument and shows that it does not touch his position. In like manner Hilary refers to the statement as coming on the authority of Ursacius and Valens: 'id addidistis, quod patres nostri, cum Paulus Samosateus hereticus pronuntiatus est, etiam homousion repudiauerint.' These passages cannot be construed into direct evidence of the fact, and the absence of any such condemnation in the extant documents of the Council should make us hesitate before resting any great weight of argument upon it.

A more serious and difficult question is raised when we come to the second point, viz. that Tertullian and not the philosophers determined the use of the word at the Council. In order to the solution of this, it will be necessary to inquire what is the usage in Tertullian of the word *substantia*? Is it consistent with itself? Does it imply any or no relation with philosophical Greek? It seems that it is possible to over-estimate the precision with which Tertullian uses the word *substantia*. Mr. Bethune-Baker cites a passage from *De Anima*, c. 32, in which *substantia* is sharply distinguished from *natura*[5]. In this

[1] See p. 12, n. 1. [2] p. 24.
[3] *De Syn.* 43. [4] *De Syn.* 81.
[5] *De Anima*, 32 'aliud est autem substantia, aliud natura substantiae; si quidem substantia propria est rei cuiusque, natura uero potest esse communis. suscipe

passage *natura* stands practically for the attributes or character of a substance. Hence as attributes may be shared by very different things or substances, an attribute may be said to unite substances which are disparate: this is the meaning of the phrase 'duritia communicat, substantia discordat.' But Mr. Bethune-Baker has omitted to notice another passage in the same work, in which *natura* is used precisely in the sense of the *substantia* of ch. 32. In this other passage (ch. 9) Tertullian is arguing that similarity of attributes does not prove identity of *substance*; and he quotes the case of jewels, which are not to be supposed to have a fiery or watery substance, because they present some of the phenomena (e.g. colour) of fire or water. And then he goes on 'quanta enim et alia color [i.e. an attribute] sociat, natura dissociat.' This remark contains exactly the same assertion as the other, but the use of *natura* is different: here it takes the place which *substantia* holds in ch. 32.

Nor again is *substantia* as clearly distinguished from *persona* as could be wished. It is true that Tertullian declares (*adv. Praxean*, c. 2) that the Persons of the Godhead are three, 'non substantia sed forma': but again other passages should be taken into account in quoting this. Later on in the same treatise, in discussing the use of the word *sermo* for the Second Person, he goes far towards confusing *substantia* and *persona*. First of all he argues (c. 7, towards the end) that 'quod de tanta substantia processit et tantas substantias fecit' cannot 'carere substantia.' Again, a few lines lower down, having spoken of bodies visible and invisible, and maintained that God being spirit is also necessarily *corpus*, he proceeds: If those invisible things . . . have before God their own body and their own form, by which they are visible to God alone, how much more will that which has been emitted from the substance of (God) Himself not be without substance ('sine substantia non erit')? 'Quaecumque ergo substantia sermonis fuit, illam dico personam, et illi nomen filii uindico . . .' This is consistent with his doctrine 'distinguunt substantias opera' (*de Anima*, c. 10): but it may be doubted whether the theological question is clearly defined by it.

If the whole series of passages be considered in which the word *substantia* occurs, it would appear that Tertullian uses it, on the whole, in a philosophical sense; and that his philosophy was most nearly akin to Stoicism. If one had to find the nearest Greek equivalent, it would probably be ὑποκείμενον—the material substratum which is capable of assuming various forms; and the idea of δραστήριον αἴτιον—also Stoic—

exemplum. substantia est lapis, ferrum: duritia lapidis et ferri natura substantiae est. duritia communicat, substantia discordat . . . et tunc naturae similitudo notatur cum substantiae dissimilitudo conspicitur.'

would not lie far away. In other words, the use of *substantia* is very far from supplying a precise theology of the Trinity. Questions such as those which afterwards perplexed the Greek Church were close at hand, if any one had cared to raise them. And if it be true, which cannot be certainly affirmed, that the suggestion of the word ὁμοούσιον came from Hosius as representing Western thought, it is a fact which makes very little difference. The real difficulty before the Church was not that of adapting thought to phraseology, but that of adapting phraseology to thought. And this difficulty was before West and East alike, as soon as they began to distinguish, under the pressure of heretical developments, what is and what is not according to the faith once delivered. If the Latins had been as critical, and as familiar with the philosophical associations of the words, as were the Greeks, the language of *adv. Praxean* would have given rise to the same discussions as that of the Nicene Creed: it could not have been because it was free from ambiguity, that it was left undiscussed.

In regard to the use of the word ὑπόστασις, I must call attention to a somewhat serious inaccuracy in the note on pp. 75, 76. Mr. Bethune-Baker cites the phrase καθ' ὑπόστασιν from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: the reference is really to *de Mundo*, the writing which of all those printed among Aristotle's works has least claim to go under his name. A Latin version—which some have supposed to be the original work as opposed to the Greek—is printed among the works of Apuleius: this does not contain the passage in question. It is possible, also, as I have endeavoured to point out in an article in the last number of this JOURNAL, to exaggerate the degree in which οὐσία and ὑπόστασις could be treated as synonyms. From some points of view they were so treated: but the associations of the latter word were such as to have made quite impossible an interchange of their history: οὐσία could never have developed into the meaning of person while ὑπόστασις existed.

T. B. STRONG.

CHRONICLE

NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

1. *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* . . . by Caspar René Gregory. Vol. i.

This is the first part of what will be (when it is completed) one of the most important books on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, and I hope it is true that there is to be an English edition. The first volume, of which this is the first part, is to deal with the documents, i. e. the evidence of Greek MSS and lectionaries, Versions and Fathers. The second will be devoted to the history and discussion of critical principles. The present volume is the most complete general account of the Greek MSS and lectionaries which is at present available. Especially valuable to those engaged in the study of minuscules is the menology which is published. The only criticism which one feels at all inclined to make after using it, is that it might have been well to make a little plainer exactly what MSS are quoted for the day assigned to any given saint. But this is only a small point, and perhaps greater clearness could not have been obtained without the sacrifice of too much space. In his accounts of the Greek MSS Dr. Gregory has been for the most part contented with reproducing the accounts which he wrote for the Prolegomena to the eighth edition of Tischendorf's *editio maior critica*, but he has brought these up to date by adding new facts and giving references to new publications. For instance in the case of cod. evan. 565 the reference to Belsheim's edition is supplemented by a very necessary allusion to the corrections published by Mr. Cronin in an appendix to his edition of cod. N in *Texts and Studies*. On the other hand, he has escaped diffuseness by excluding any discussion of theories. No doubt he deals with these in his second volume. Dr. Gregory shows what an alarming growth there has been in the number of minuscules. In the Prolegomena to Tischendorf he enumerated 1259 minuscule MSS. In this volume he reaches 1420, and there is reason to believe that his supplement will bring the numbers up to over 1500. Most of these MSS have never been collated, and many have hardly been more than glanced at. It is improbable that there are

many treasures hidden in this mass of late MSS, but some at least must deserve further examination. Dr. Gregory's numeration of these MSS will, I hope, be universally adopted to the exclusion of all others, but I should like to suggest a further problem to critics, and especially to himself—Can no one suggest a satisfactory method of quoting groups? It is ridiculous to have to quote a well-recognised group such as the Ferrar group by the cumbrous device of writing 13—69—124—346—543—788—826—828, but I do not know any quite satisfactory method of evading the difficulty.

2. *Textual criticism of the Greek Testament.* E. Nestle.

This is an enlarged translation of Dr. Nestle's well-known *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament.* In one respect, and in one alone, it is inferior to the German. Dr. Nestle has abandoned the notation of Gregory for that of Miller-Scrivener. This is a great mistake. It is most undesirable that there should be one system of numeration in England and another on the Continent, and few scholars in England use any notation other than that of Dr. Gregory. The use of Scrivener's notation has not even the justification of being found in a really great book, which may be taken as a representative monument of English critical scholarship. I hope that when next Dr. Nestle publishes an English translation he will use Gregory's notation, which he no doubt uses himself, and which is certainly used by a majority of English students. Putting this technical question on one side, Dr. Nestle's book is a valuable addition to our handbooks. The description of the manuscripts might have been fuller, but the discussion of the present position of textual criticism is most valuable, probably the best thing of the kind available. It could have been written only by a master of criticism. It is possible that it may be considered by some as rather too apt to give the impression that the critic 'may read exactly as he pleases,' but personally I confess that I do not think that English students often suffer from this fault, and it is rather their characteristic to think that the true text of the Greek Testament can be recovered from a mechanical observation of the grouping of manuscripts. The grouping of manuscripts will generally tell us the history of a variant, but it does not always tell us what is the true text. Dr. Nestle's book will serve to remind its readers of this truth.

3. *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.* F. G. Kenyon.

No Chronicle of Textual Criticism would be complete without at least a preliminary notice of Dr. Kenyon's book. It will at once take its place as the best of its kind by an Englishman. It is beautifully written and eminently fair, though it is obvious that the writer belongs to the strictest sect of the disciples of Dr. Hort. The most valuable part of

the book is Dr. Kenyon's description of the Papyrus fragments. Dr. Kenyon has here been met by the ever-present and increasing difficulty of notation; he suggests that the Papyri should be called Pap[1], Pap[2], &c. Probably this is the best suggestion possible. The only objection that I can see is the objection that some printers do not like the constant use of 'superior' signs. In his notation of the minuscules Dr. Kenyon has followed Scrivener, not Gregory. This I much regret for the reasons just mentioned in connection with Dr. Nestle's book. There are naturally a few small points in connection with the minuscules which one may question. For instance, Dr. Kenyon dates cod. 1 in the eleventh century. M. Omont has put it in the twelfth. One would be glad to know whether this represents the result of Dr. Kenyon's personal examination of the MS as various writers have put it in the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Again, in mentioning cod. 157 Dr. Kenyon says that it belongs to the same group as Λ; would it not have been better to use the same phrase as he uses of cod. 473 (565), 'has the same subscriptions as Λ'? It is only in the subscriptions that there is any special connection between Λ and 157. I would also suggest that the description of Plate ix might be emended. The Lord's Prayer in cod. 604 (700) does not appear in the abbreviated form in the strictest sense of the phrase, as it contains the words 'Thy will be done,' &c.; and it is far more remarkable for its preservation of the reading *ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς* (instead of 'Thy Kingdom come'), a reading which seems to have been that of Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus of Turin, Marcion, and perhaps others. Dr. Kenyon is inclined to adopt Mr. Burkitt's view that the Itala mentioned by Augustine is the Vulgate, but on this and on most disputed points he states the facts with clearness and impartiality. In the second part which deals with the Textual Problem, Dr. Kenyon is very conservative, and it would perhaps be well for students to supplement his remarks by reference to those of Dr. Nestle. Like every one else he feels the absurdity of the phrase 'Western Text,' on the ground that it is not geographically Western, and he classifies the types of text by letters. The system has good points; but there is this gain to be found in still talking of the *Western* Text, that since we all recognise that it is not 'Western,' the artificiality of the phrase serves to remind us that it is also probably not a 'text.' That is to say, there are just as many differences between the Latin and Syriac witnesses which are put down together as the *Western* Text or the δ text, as there are between either of them and the *Neutral* Text. It is only when they are constantly viewed in comparison with the *Neutral* Text and not with one another that they seem to be so closely connected. No doubt there are points of resemblance, but so there are between any two witnesses viewed in

comparison with a third. This was naturally unknown to critics of fifteen or twenty years ago, when the Old Syriac and Old Latin were scarcely known, but it is a fact which can now be recognised, and which is as much obscured by speaking of the δ text as it is by the older phrase Western text.

4. *Textkritik der vier Evangelien* . . . by Bernhard Weiss, gives us the results of Dr. Weiss' long study of the text of the Gospels. In England at all events it is not probable that they will be regarded as entirely satisfactory, since the writer's methods are very subjective and pay comparatively little attention to the history of the text. Dr. Weiss divides the variant readings which he discusses into different classes, not, as we are accustomed to do, according to the authorities in which they are found, but according to the causes which he considers to have produced them: the classes which are thus obtained are (i) Konformationen, (ii) Wortvertauschungen, (iii) Auslassungen und Zusätze, (iv) Umstellungen. It is obvious that even though we may not always agree with the arguments of the writer it is extremely valuable to have this collection of materials. It would however have been even more valuable had there been more extended notice given to the versions; Dr. Weiss has relied almost exclusively on the Greek evidence, and indeed does not appear to have considered it necessary even to mention variants which are only found in versions. For instance, there is no mention of the variants in Matt. i 16, nor is any notice taken of the interesting reading in Matt. xxvii 17 Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν, which is found in Syr^{sin} and supported by codd. 1*—118—209* 22*, although reference is made to the comparatively insignificant (though probably not unconnected) question whether we should read Βαραββᾶν or τὸν Βαραββᾶν. The result of the investigations of Dr. Weiss is to confirm the usually-adopted estimate of the value of B and ℵ, although he by no means thinks that either MS is faultless. Indeed even cod. B has more than 400 erroneous peculiarities. Codex D he does not highly value. It has suffered, he thinks, both from adaptation to parallel passages and also from later correctors and glossators. The text therefore which Dr. Weiss would be inclined to adopt is largely based on B, but not to the same extent as is the text of Westcott and Hort, while he gives no support to that more recent school of criticism whose principles are somewhat obscured by the statement that they favour the *Western* text.

5. *Die vier Evangelien im berichtigten Text* . . . by Bernhard Weiss.

This text represents the results which are reached in the last-named work, and the same remarks therefore apply to it. It would be out of place in this Chronicle to criticise it at length. As was seen above Dr. Weiss follows codd. ℵ B in most passages, but he admits many more readings from the Traditional Text than most editors. For

instance, in Mark ix 49 he prints *πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται*, a passage which it will be remembered is one of the eight on which Westcott and Hort relied to prove the composite character of the *Syrian* or, as we now call it, *Antiochian* Text. Dr. Weiss' only justification in his *Textkritik* for this curious preference for a text which has not got the support of any of the earliest authorities (except perhaps the Bohairic version), is that it is inconceivable that so hard an addition is not genuine. Without denying the weight which certainly attaches to this argument, many critics will probably doubt whether it is in this case quite a sufficient reason for rejecting so great a weight of evidence in support of a shorter text.

6. *A Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels* . . . by the late Edward Miller. George Bell & Sons, 1899.

To have a fuller and more satisfactory account of the quotations of Scripture made by the early Fathers is desired by every one who is interested in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. To supply this want Dean Burgon began to collect evidence, and on his collections Mr. Miller based his book. The quotations still need verifying, partly because they are made from inferior editions, partly because Dean Burgon and his assistant ladies seem to have collected on a mechanical system, which did not examine the context to see if there were signs of the text having been altered. But, worst of all, Mr. Miller made, I feel sure, an error of judgement in omitting to take any notice of variants which had not been adopted by any of the great editors; thus, for instance, passing over Matt. i 16 as though no variation was known to exist in the text. The recent death of Mr. Miller renders it very improbable that his book will be completed. He was a vigorous but courteous controversialist, and had many friends among his opponents, who admired his loyalty to his principles, and the staunchness with which he defended what he believed to be the vital interests of the Christian Church.

7. *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar Group* . . . by J. Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1900).

Dr. Harris's preface contains a charming quotation from Mr. Pepys about a blackbird which never finished its song. He fears lest some people may think his writings are somewhat similar to the blackbird's music. I do not think he need be afraid: we all know that he comes back to his songs after an interval, even though he continue the melody by a 'fugue.' His present book is full of interest, and advances the Ferrar problem by several stages. The Ferrar problem is really triple. We want to know

(i) When the Ferrar MSS were written?
(ii) Where the text they copy came from?

(iii) Where the supplementary matter which they contain comes from, and how it came to be joined on to them?

Dr. Harris deals with i and iii. He confirms the suggestion of the Abbé Martin that they are South Italian or Sicilian, and is perhaps a little inclined to favour Sicily rather than South Italy. He shows by a most interesting investigation of watermarks that cod. 69 is written on Italian paper, and also publishes some beautiful reproductions of the Trinity Psalter, the Durham Plato and the Durham Aristotle which were also written by the *Leicester* hand. But perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the way in which Dr. Harris shows that some of the supplementary matter in codd. 346 543 788 which is ascribed to Nilus Doxapatrius is in part transliterated Arabic, and probably to be attributed to the Arabic learning which flourished at the court of Roger of Sicily. He also brings together an interesting list of MSS which he suggests ought to be examined to see if they do not belong to the group. So far as his suggestion has been followed as yet, it would seem that none of them can be claimed, but this serves to emphasise the fact that all the early MSS which contain the ῥήματα are Calabrian or Sicilian, and that therefore that reckoning may have been brought to the West before the present members of the Ferrar group were made, and may be a gift which the West handed on to Ferrar MSS, not a possession that they or their ancestors brought from the East.

8. *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae; with some notes on Sortes Sanctorum.* J. Rendel Harris.

In this book Dr. Rendel Harris investigates the evidence of the various annotators of the Codex Bezae, with a view to finding out whether they throw any light on the history of the great codex. It is perhaps well to emphasise that it is the *history*, and not the *origin* of the codex, which is the subject of the recent investigations of which this book is the climax. The old view, maintained in the same author's *Study of Codex Bezae*, was that Codex Bezae was written in the Rhone valley, remained in use there, and was found in Lyons by Beza's friends. These three propositions are really quite distinct, and there is no sufficient reason for speaking of Codex Bezae as a South Italian MS merely from the fact that it now appears probable that it was in South Italy from the eighth century onwards, and perhaps was not found in Lyons at all. The origin of the MS remains to be discussed, and I hope that Dr. Rendel Harris will give us a book on this subject to complete the present volume. Dr. Rendel Harris decides in favour of South Italy for the home of most of the annotators. He finds the evidence for this in their spelling and calendar, but I think the point which is really most decisive is the fact that the liturgical annotators are confined to the Greek, begin in the ninth century, and continue for

perhaps two hundred years, which is exactly the period during which the church of South Italy used the Greek rite, and before which it probably did not. Dr. Rendel Harris goes on to investigate the few feasts which are noted in the codex, e.g. the Assumption, St. George and St. Denys; and in proving that these are compatible with a South Italian origin, he gives a long and most interesting disquisition on the way in which heathen festivals were Christianised, showing, for example, how it is possible that the reason why the Christian Roman calendar has St. Hippolytus on August 13 is that, according to the Pagan Roman calendar, there was held on that day the famous festival at Aricia, on the lake of Nemi, commemorating the rescue by Diana of Hippolytus, son of Theseus, who was taken by the goddess after his resuscitation by Aesculapius to the 'dells of Nemi where he reigned a forest king under the name of Virbius.' In the part of his book which deals with the *sortes sanctorum* Dr. Rendel Harris elucidates the system which is found in the Codex Bezae and in the Codex Sangermanensis, and illustrates his remarks by reference to several other similar systems, especially that of Astrampsychus, in which he finds the key to explain how the Bezan and other systems were worked. It is very complicated, and involves much mathematical calculation; but that is a difficulty which naturally does not daunt Dr. Rendel Harris, and, if we like, we can now all put Codex Bezae to its original use and make it tell our fortunes!

9. *Two Lectures on the Gospels* . . . by F. Crawford Burkitt.

In the former of these interesting lectures Mr. Crawford Burkitt deals with the text of the Gospels. He amplifies and emphasises a point of view which he first alluded to in his *Old Latin and the Itala*, viz. that the geographically Western text represents a single interpolated copy of the gospels which was in existence in the second century. Mr. Burkitt's reasoning seems convincing, but cannot the argument be taken a step further? Does it not seem equally true that the Eastern text and the Alexandrian text have peculiar sets of interpolations, which must be traced to single interpolated ancestors? Mr. Burkitt deals at some length with the *pericope adulterae* and also with the conclusion of St. Mark. He is inclined to think that the second gospel is really incomplete, but that some idea of its original ending can be formed from a study of the Gospel of Peter. His explanation of its loss is that the second gospel was less popular than the others in early times. It narrowly missed being lost altogether, and although it escaped that fate still 'it entered into life maimed.'

10. *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels.* Texts and Studies vii, 2. F. Crawford Burkitt.

This is an exceedingly important and valuable essay, which will

necessitate a considerable modification of our ideas as to the date and origin of the Peshitto. It is hoped that this book, together with Mr. Gwilliam's edition of the Peshitto, will be separately reviewed in this JOURNAL; it is therefore only necessary to say now that Mr. Burkitt shows that the passages which have been regarded as proving Ephraim's use of the Peshitto cannot be relied upon. Some of them disappear when the manuscripts are consulted, and others prove to be taken from works which have no further connection with Ephraim than the fact that they happen to be bound up with some of his writings. Mr. Burkitt then proceeds to suggest that the Peshitto is really the text produced by Rabbula, who was appointed Bishop of Edessa in 411 A.D. This suggestion has hitherto been thought impossible because of Ephraim's supposed use of the Peshitto. Now that this objection has been removed, the connection of Rabbula with the Peshitto becomes extremely probable. Otherwise we have to believe that two Syriac versions were made more or less about the same time; one by some unknown person, which immediately became popular and was used by every one, and another by the bishop of the chief see, which was not used, and has not survived. *Multiplicanda non sunt entia*, and most people will probably agree with Mr. Burkitt that the version of Rabbula is no other than the Peshitto.

11. *The Old Latin Versions* . . . by H. A. A. Kennedy in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. iii.

This article is probably the most generally accurate and reliable summary of present opinion on the Old Latin version which at present exists in English. It does not aim at adding to the sum of our knowledge, but it gives the facts and present theories in a convenient summary. Among other things there is a full list of all known Old Latin biblical MSS, which will be very useful. But I would like to ask whether it is really quite settled that the Fleury Palimpsest of the Acts is to be called *h*? Of course that is the letter which Westcott and Hort assigned it, but Blass quotes it as *f*, and if *h* be adopted it leaves *f* unused. On general principles it seems a mistake to make use of *h* before *f* has been assigned anywhere—not to mention the fact that Nature herself seems to have intended a Fleury MS to be known as *f*! Mr. Kennedy discusses with great fairness the problems connected with the Old Latin version; he seems inclined to believe in the theory that the Latin version was first made in the East, and is rather definitely opposed to the view propounded by Mr. Burkitt in his *Old Latin and the Itala* that Augustine's *Itala* is really the Vulgate. He prefers to this the older view that *Itala* means North-Italian. The whole article is full of information, and is as clearly written as the complexity of the subject allows.

12. *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Vol. ii. By Sp. Lambros.

This volume finishes the great catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos so generously undertaken by the Cambridge Press. It may fairly be considered as coming within the limits of this Chronicle, as so many of the manuscripts contained in it are Biblical. It contains the catalogues of the library of Ivéron (which is the second or third best on the mountain), of the Russian monastery of S. Panteleemon, of the Skete of S. Elias and of the Skete of Kausokalyvi. It must not however be thought that it exhausts the libraries of Mount Athos. There still remain to be published the catalogues of Vatopedi and the Laura, two of the finest libraries. The Laura alone must contain about 200 manuscripts of the gospels, and a large number of Patristic manuscripts. It is a great pity that the catalogue of these two libraries, especially that of the Laura, are not going to be published, particularly since there is a good MS catalogue already in existence. Without them the title of Prof. Lambros' catalogue is a little misleading.

13. *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*. Fridericus Blass.

Dr. Blass has brought to his edition of the text of St. Matthew all the ingenuity and nice scholarship which has marked his other work on the text of the New Testament. He has also not abandoned the tendency, which he has always exhibited, to emend the text on little or no authority. Dr. Blass draws attention to the great advantage which we have over older critics in the possession of the Sinaitic Syriac, 'Merito igitur nunc editori vituperio et crimini sit si tale subsidium nactus non amplius aliquid quam priores praestiterit.' This reads somewhat strangely in the preface to a text which is as subjective in its choice of readings and as negligent of MS evidence as any that has yet been published. Yet I do not think that this is necessarily a ground of complaint. The whole trend of modern criticism has been to show that the earliest authorities for the text are often corrupt—as Dr. Blass says 'incorruptum testem nullum habemus'—and we must therefore expect to admit more conjectural emendation, and more following of slender evidence, than used to be thought necessary. Up to a certain point Dr. Blass is justified in his rather heroic treatment of the text. Probably many of the places where he suspects that the text is corrupt in almost all authorities, are corrupt; but whether his suggestions for their emendation are satisfactory is a larger question, which cannot well be discussed in a Chronicle.

14. *A New Uncial of the Gospels*. W. C. Braithwaite (in the *Expository Times*, Dec. 1901).

This is a manuscript procured from Macedonia by Mr. J. Bevan Braithwaite, of London, who proposes to call it Codex Macedoniensis.

It seems from the full account which is given in the *Expository Times* to be a ninth-century MS with a fairly good text, which has many points of connection with κΠ (see Bousset's *Textkritische Studien* in 'Texte und Untersuchungen').

K. LAKE.

DOGMATICA.

(1) *Outlines of Christian Dogma.* E. Darwell Stone (Longmans).

Mr. Stone tells us that his aim in writing this book is to present in uncontroversial form 'a clear and systematic idea of the chief tenets of the Faith.' His purpose is to state rather than to defend: but at the same time he hopes that the statement will 'help some to grasp the inherent reasonableness of the Christian religion.' We note this because it seems to us that the strongest point in the book is just this presentation of Christianity as a system. A harmonious unity in which all the parts are mutually dependent and consistent, while each in its place is necessary for the completeness of the whole: such is the idea derived from the birdseye view of his subject which Mr. Stone gives in his admirable index of contents. The care and breadth and depth of thought which he has expended on the ordering of his arrangement make his book in itself a powerful apology for the Christian religion: the index will be found to repay a careful examination with a view to the study of Christian dogma as an ordered system complete in itself, and covering the whole field of religious truth. The book will naturally be compared with two similar works, Canon Mason's *Faith of the Gospel* and Dean Strong's *Manual of Theology*. The two latter, we venture to think, are happier than Mr. Stone is in the way in which they present the practical side of dogma, the moral or spiritual issues involved in every dogmatic truth. Mr. Stone tends occasionally to handle his subject somewhat formally and academically: e. g. the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is not brought into connection with the teaching 'GOD is love.' On the other hand, the present work has an obvious advantage over the other two in the use which Mr. Stone has made of his really wonderful patristic knowledge. He has found space in nearly all cases to state not only the Biblical evidence, but also the decisions of Councils and the opinions of representative Christian teachers in all ages. Sometimes (e. g. in the doctrines of the Incarnation, of Grace, and of the Intermediate State) he has given us a short history of the doctrine in question. In this way he has been able to make his book an object-lesson in the principle of appeal to Holy Scripture, interpreted by the belief and practice of the Church, as the ground of authority in Christian

doctrine. In this connection, however, we could wish that Mr. Stone had made himself clearer on one point. We could wish that he had applied the Vincentian canon (of which he approves, pp. 136–139) more rigorously throughout his book. The history of a doctrine (e.g. the Angels, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints[1], the necessity for sacramental Confession after commission of mortal sin) is sometimes given without comment or criticism which would enable us to distinguish the degree of authority which the author would attach to its various phases.

One or two possible criticisms on points of detail may be mentioned. The first concerns Mr. Stone's attitude towards the Old Testament. In taking his own definite line he hardly makes us feel that he has given complete justice to the established results of modern archaeological (as distinct from literary) research; e.g. the bearing of the Babylonian legends on the early narratives of Genesis. The one sentence in the book which seems to approach unfairness is the statement on p. 129, 'to suppose that the Bible is full of mythical legends and distorted history is to approach a method of thought as far as possible removed from the mind of the Catholic Church.' And he frequently adopts the traditional interpretation of particular texts without alluding to the existence of difficulties: e.g. Gen. iii 15 (p. 50); Is. vii 14 (pp. 51, 61); Eccl. xi 3 (p. 241). In the chapter on the Atonement might not the statement that our Lord 'bears the penalty of sin' (pp. 93, 94) have been safeguarded from possible misunderstanding by some explanation such as is offered for the term 'vicarious'? A note enumerating the various theories of the Atonement (on the model of the notes on Trinitarian and Christological errors) would have been a welcome addition. On p. 47 St. Irenaeus is quoted as witnessing to the belief in Original Sin, but no reference is given to other passages (see quotations in Harnack, *History of Dogma*, II pp. 270, 271) which minimise the effects of the Fall. On p. 259, as against the evidence of the fourth-century Fathers in favour of the Invocation of Saints, mention might have been made of the passages from St. Ambrose, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Chrysostom which (*a*) seem to disparage appeal to saints for their intercessions, (*b*) express doubts whether the saints have knowledge of earthly events.

Mr. Stone's style is occasionally rather involved and difficult to follow; but always dignified and expressive. He can be on occasions both clear and powerful. The whole chapter on the Incarnation is perhaps the best part of the book: we commend especially to the reader's notice the words in which the oneness of our Lord's Person is described (pp. 73–77). The book as a whole is so good that we

[1] In spite of the 'conclusions' given on p. 265.

hope a second edition will soon be called for: and in the next edition we trust Mr. Stone will give us an index of subjects—a want which is not sufficiently supplied by the index of contents.

(2) *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte.* Reinhold Seeberg, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. (Deichert: Leipzig.)

This book, though based upon the author's larger *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, is not an abridgement of it, but rather an independent work. It is, as Dr. Seeberg tells us, a collection of the most necessary material arranged in such an order as to present at the same time the framework for a history of Dogma. The material consists largely of the *ipsissima verba* of the authorities quoted, and the purpose is to supply a textbook to accompany a course of lectures on the subject and to save the time spent in dictating and copying down extracts. No attempt is made to estimate or judge except in a very few cases. As a rule the opinions and doctrines of the various teachers and ages of the Church are simply exhibited as far as may be in the form of quotations, generally without any comment beyond a word of explanation to point out the connection with preceding teachers. The book is thus not one which could be put by itself in the hands of a beginner; its true use would be as an accompaniment to a history of Dogma. Brevity is one of the expressed aims of the author; and indeed it is quite wonderful how much he has to tell us in a short space. In a few places only have we been able to see that the course of the history is obscured by the necessity of fewness in words. The change of parties and opinions in the Arian controversy between 325 and 381 might perhaps have been made more intelligible even in the short space allowed to it (pp. 36–40). The connection of Eutychianism with St. Cyril of Alexandria's teaching is not shown (p. 47). In the account of the system of Origen we miss the statement of his view of the Fall (p. 25). In the section on St. Cyprian Prof. Seeberg goes beyond St. Cyprian's words (as quoted) in saying that the Eucharist is a *repetition* of the offering of Christ (p. 31). As regards the Reformation and post-Reformation history we in England cannot help feeling that Prof. Seeberg has not done us justice. Not a word is said of the course which the Reformation took in England or of the attitude adopted by the English Church. The Thirty-nine Articles are not, so far as we can see, even mentioned. In the last section of his book—probably in answer to a criticism on his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* in the 'Theologische Litteraturzeitung' (May 12, 1900)—Prof. Seeberg excuses himself from following the later developments of Protestant theology. Accordingly he says nothing about the teaching of the great English and American non-episcopal religious bodies. No mention again is made of the Old Catholic movement on the Continent. These are serious omissions. The clearest

and also the strongest part of the book we thought to be Part II, on the Middle Ages and the Eve of the Reformation. Part I is noteworthy for the independent attitude which it adopts towards the prevalent tendency which emphasises, to the point of exaggerating, the differences between successive stages in the development of dogma. Part III, on the Reformation, is not so clear or easy to follow in its account of the Lutheran and Calvinistic theology. In the matter of dates, the year of the Second Council of Nicaea is omitted (p. 53); and (by misprint?) the Synod of Arles is dated 316 instead of 314 (p. 56).

(3) *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith.* T. H. Bindley, B.D. (Methuen.)

The aim of this work is to 'present the original texts of the outlines of the Church's teaching and to endeavour to elucidate them by means of historical and dogmatic annotations.' The documents presented are (1) the Creed of Nicaea, with other Creeds closely connected with it; (2) the Second and Third Epistles of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius and his Epistle to John of Antioch περὶ εἰρήνης; (3) the Tome of Leo and the Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith. It will thus be seen that by the 'Church's teaching' Mr. Bindley means the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation so far as they were defined by the Oecumenical Councils. Each set of documents is preceded by a short historical introduction; then comes the actual text followed by notes. At the end of the book there is an English translation of the documents. The introductory remarks giving a short explanation of the state of parties with the doctrinal position of each, the issues involved, and the progress of events in connection with the controversy, are brief and clear, and serve their purpose excellently in orientating the reader for the understanding of the documents. The description of Eutychianism (p. 189) as a denial of our Lord's humanity needs explaining. The notes on the texts are on the whole rather disappointing. They might have been made much more useful if they directed the reader more to the sentences which contain the keynotes of the doctrinal positions. In the Tome of Leo, for instance, there is no note directing the reader's attention to the words '*exinanitio illa . . . inclinatio fuit miserationis, non defectio potestatis*' (ll. 109–112), a statement which went to the root of Eutyches' difficulty. This want in the notes is partly—but only to a small degree—remedied by the excellent analysis which precedes the text of the documents. The translations at the end of the book are idiomatic and (as far as we can see) true to the meaning of the original. The words 'personally' (e.g. pp. 263, 268, 269) and 'naturally' (p. 265) are hardly sufficient renderings of the originals καθ' ὑπόστασιν and κατὰ φύσιν. On p. 254 the parallelism between καθ' ὑπόστασιν and κατὰ θέλησιν μόνην ἢ εὐδοκίαν (ll. 48–51 of the Greek) is overlooked, and a

doubtful rendering is given. On p. 265 'as truly life-giving as the Word's very own,' the word 'and' is omitted (perhaps by error) after 'life-giving'; the omission makes a considerable alteration in the meaning (see l. 208 of the Greek). On p. 267 'conceived of by Himself' is ambiguous. On p. 279 'scandal' has modern associations which make it hardly a fair rendering of 'scandalum.' We sincerely hope Mr. Bindley's book will meet with the encouragement which it undoubtedly deserves.

(4) *Greek Manuals of Church Doctrine*, by H. T. F. Duckworth, published for the Eastern Church Association, with a preface by Rev. A. C. Headlam (Rivingtons), contains selections from the present-day teaching of the Greek branch of the Eastern Church. Mr. Duckworth, who has spent some years in Cyprus as Representative of the Eastern Church Association, is well qualified to speak on the subject. He has chosen for his authorities four representative catechisms for the use of pupils ranging from students in Theological Seminaries to children at the Elementary Schools. The result, it is stated in the preface, shows that the differences of doctrine between the Greek Church and the English Church are slight compared with the points of agreement. Some of the lesser-known matters in which the Greek Church differs from us may be noted here. In the list of Old Testament books the Apocrypha is included under the term 'deutero-canonical books,' and described as 'pervaded by the same spirit of purest piety which is dominant in the rest of the Old Testament.' Tradition (defined as 'the unanimous teaching of the ancient Fathers') is declared to be 'a source of Christian truth of equal value with the written Word' (p. 21). Heresy results from neglect of the true tradition, which the Eastern Church alone has preserved intact. 'Anglicans' or 'Episcopalians' are included in the 'Church of the Protestants' which has offended by rejecting Tradition altogether. They are the 'Protestants of the English Church who have retained the ministry with its three orders and the hierarchy of the Church, and, in part, the ancient order of the administration of the Divine Eucharist' (p. 22). It is interesting to notice that 'original sin' is regarded as the 'cause of constant inclination to evil'; 'a taint of sin' which 'entails personal responsibility' when it has broken out in act. In the Holy Eucharist the Bread and the Wine are 'changed' (μεταβάλλονται) by the words of consecration and become (γίνονται) the Body and Blood of Christ. The word 'Transubstantiation' (μετουσίωσις), though found in the seventeenth-century Confessions quoted at the end of the book, seems to be purposely avoided in the Catechisms. But in the Confessions the word is used to affirm the *fact* (ἀληθῶς not τυπικῶς), not to explain the *manner*, of the Presence. Auricular confession is urged as a duty in

order to avoid the danger of unworthy partaking of the Holy Eucharist. The Eschatological section is of particular interest. The 'saints' are the 'friends of GOD,' 'now already in a place of joy': they may be invoked to intercede with Him on our behalf. The unrighteous dead are already suffering punishment. Those who repented on earth, but died before they had opportunity to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, suffer punishment for a time and are then released. Their release is helped forward by the prayers of the living, and especially by the offering of the 'bloodless sacrifice.' But 'we know not the time of the soul's release.' Mr. Duckworth's manual is excellently suited to fulfil its purpose of making more widely known in England the doctrines and practices of the great Church of the East.

(5) *The Victory that overcometh*, by H. A. D. (Elliot Stock), is a series of short discussions on the Articles of the Apostles' Creed, with a few chapters on kindred subjects. The book contains valuable thoughts scattered up and down in its pages: but it suffers greatly from disorderliness. It is difficult to know whether the discussions are intended as sermons or meditations or essays: but certainly the name best fitted for its jerky and disconnected paragraphs would be 'jottings.' One or two chapters only, and these especially towards the end of the book, have any connected thread running through them. The book is marred moreover by statements which do not represent the Faith which (speaking historically only) has 'overcome' the world. The explanation of 'Only Begotten Son' on p. 38 is so worded as to make it appear that the title 'Son of GOD' as applied to our Lord might be applied to Christians generally with a difference of degree only. Yet we gather from the general tenor of the book that the author would not be satisfied with the conclusions involved in this statement. The chapter on the Article 'He suffered' has nothing to say on the relation between human sin and the Crucifixion as it appears in the Biblical doctrine. The Passion is treated exclusively in the light of the text 'He learned obedience by the things that He suffered.' The words 'secured our salvation' occur once only, and without any context or explanation: the only meaning which could be attached to them in the light of this discussion on the Passion would be that the example of the suffering of Jesus teaches us the value of suffering and the way to bear it.

(6) *An Examination of Harnack's 'What is Christianity?'* A paper read before the Tutors' Association (Oxford) on Oct. 24, 1901, by W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D. (Longmans.) In this paper the author discusses one by one the points raised by Prof. Harnack in his recently published Lectures. Prof. Harnack 'offered to his audience,' says Dr. Sanday, a 'reduced Christianity,' in which 'he leaves out much

that we have been in the habit of regarding as essential to it.' In spite of some show of appealing to the testimony of the first generation of Christians as interpreting the teaching of Christ, he really limits his Gospel to a residuum which in his judgement formed the original contents of the Christian religion. St. Paul, the author of the Fourth Gospel, and the early Fathers of the Church, added to the original teaching of Christ: and the greater part of their additions are not authoritative because they go beyond what was taught or implied by the Master. The Pauline and Johannine Christology, and the conception of a Catholic Church with Creed and Liturgy which was the outcome of the struggle with Gnosticism, are not essential parts of Christianity. Such is Prof. Harnack's view. In Dr. Sanday's reply it is not so much the positive side of Prof. Harnack's book as his negations which are questioned. The refusal to allow the later teaching to take its place by the side of the earlier as part of the Christian religion is criticised on two main grounds. First, that Professor Harnack overlooks or minimises the presence in the earlier teaching of germs which bore fruit in the later teaching. As a result his statement of the earlier teaching is inadequate, and he exaggerates the contrast between the earlier and the later. Secondly, Prof. Harnack estimates the authority of the later from the standpoint of his own version of the earlier. 'The moment their (i. e. the early Christians') testimony conflicts with his theories (i. e. of the teaching of Christ) it is overruled.' Against Prof. Harnack's view Dr. Sanday urges that the development exhibited in the history of the early Church was one of steady growth in which however 'the roots struck deep down into the original soil.' Prof. Harnack's estimate of present-day Christianity in Greek and Roman Catholicism and Protestantism is criticised on the ground of a defective appreciation of the 'whole side of corporate and external religion.' He speaks disparagingly of Church, Doctrine and Worship, because he fails to give due weight to the truth that 'God fulfils on earth His counsel for men through men' (quoted from Westcott, *Lessons from Work*, p. 35). Dr. Sanday's pamphlet should most certainly be read. It is marked with all his usual fairness and courtesy; balanced and temperate in statement; yet it always hits straight and hard. It must be remembered that it was written to be read before a University Society. The ordinary reader will perhaps find it somewhat difficult, from the brevity of the reply, to realise the full weight and bearing of the arguments.

(7) *The Bible and its Theology*. G. Vance Smith. (Longmans.) This is a 'fifth edition, revised and enlarged.' The general standpoint of the book is that the New Testament (accepting on the whole its genuineness) does not teach the doctrines of the Trinity and the

Incarnation. The chief passages generally quoted in support of these doctrines are discussed. Several however are omitted; e.g. John xvii 24, xx 28; Heb. i 3*b* ('upholding all things by the word of His power'). The collocation of 'Jesus Christ' with 'God the Father' in St. Paul's salutations and the claim of Jesus to forgive sins are not noticed. The expectation of Jesus as the Judge in the Last Judgement receives only a passing allusion, as if it had no significance (p. 204). In a revised edition the author might have taken more account of recent literature and thought. A sufficient answer to the contention of ch. x is to be found in Latham's *Pastor Pastorum*. The objections to the continuity and organic unity of the Old Testament are answered by a work like Dr. Sanday's *Inspiration*. In chapters xxiv and xxv, an attempt is made to disprove the *fact* of the Atonement by overthrowing one particular theory which tries to explain the fact; nor can the theory be regarded in the present day as very widely prevalent. Dr. Vance Smith is reverent and restrained in expression, considerate and courteous towards his opponents. But in his imputation of unconscious prejudice to them he is himself not always free from unconscious prejudice (see e.g. p. xii). The derangement of accents and breathings in the Greek quotations on pp. 323, 324, must be seen to be believed.

(8) *The Incarnation.* H. V. S. Eck. (Oxford Library of Practical Theology: Longmans.)

Mr. Eck starts with a preliminary chapter on the Incarnation as answering to the needs of man. The New Testament evidence is then dealt with under three heads, the Godhead, the Manhood, and the Virgin-birth of Jesus Christ. Three chapters follow on the history of the doctrine down to the Council of Chalcedon: and in conclusion three chapters are devoted to the relation of the Incarnation to the Atonement, to the Holy Eucharist, and to common life respectively. The book closes with a series of notes dealing with the more technical points, the discussion of which was wisely avoided in the text. In drawing up the New Testament evidence Mr. Eck lays himself open to the charge of neglecting the historical order of the passages quoted. The quotations would have been more striking if they could have been made to illustrate the gradual unfolding to the disciples' minds of the truths implicitly present from the first. The references to the High Priesthood of our Lord quoted from the Epistle to the Hebrews (p. 44) would be more appropriate in the chapter on the Manhood than in that on the Godhead. In the chapter on the Virgin-birth the statement that discrepancies of detail in the narratives of the Nativity strengthen the witness to the central fact (p. 87) is, as it stands, too paradoxical. What would a jury think of such a statement? We do not mean to

say that it is not true: but it needs to be justified at greater length. On pp. 97, 98 the references to the New Testament use of ἡ πίστις in an objective sense (= the Faith) are hardly all so certain as is implied. In the list of early creed-like passages (pp. 101–103) mention might have been made of the Baptismal formula in the (early) Western text of Acts viii 37. In the discussion on 'development' (pp. 116 ff.), the work of 'systematic' theology, the gathering, harmonising, and arranging in due proportion and relation of the truths of the Faith, might have been included along with the development of phraseology. But what seems to be the most serious omission in the book is the comparative absence of allusion to the Heavenly Intercession of our Lord. This is barely mentioned on p. 60. We search in vain, especially in the chapter on the Incarnation and the Atonement, for some words to explain the place of the humanity of Christ in this work of Intercession. We miss a reference to it again in the summary on p. 252. But apart from these criticisms, we cannot lay down the book without a very warm word of thanks to Mr. Eck. His treatment of the Incarnation amply justifies—if any justification were needed—the inclusion of the book in a series dealing with Practical Theology. He is always practical. He has learnt from his master, Dr. Bright, not only the spirit of warmth and reverent devotion, but also the grasp of the moral or spiritual side of dogmatic questions. He never allows us to lose sight of the practical bearing in discussions which might seem at first sight to be merely academic subtleties.

(9) *Confirmation.* The Right Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. (Oxford Library of Practical Theology: Longmans.)

The plan adopted in this book is to 'begin with Confirmation as actually administered in our Churches,' and then to 'justify its existence and explain its character' by the New Testament and the practice of the early Church. Accordingly, after a brief introductory chapter, the history of Confirmation is dealt with under the following heads: (1) its identity with the 'laying on of hands' in the New Testament; (2) the mode of administration; (3) the minister of Confirmation; (4) relation of Confirmation to Baptism and Holy Communion; (5) the age for receiving Confirmation. This part of the book is clear and straightforward, and, as far as we can see, sound in its history and its practical conclusions. On the question of the relation between Baptism and Confirmation Dr. Hall agrees with Canon Mason and Father Puller that the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is the distinctive gift of Confirmation. His reasons for this view are set forth very convincingly. But as he declines to commit himself except very guardedly to either side, we cannot help thinking that it might have been useful to have given (if only in form of a note) the line of argument adopted by the

other side. For practical purposes also we should have welcomed a fuller explanation of the meaning in which it is said that Confirmation is 'consecration to a priestly character' (pp. 27, 95). The more immediately practical chapters which follow are somewhat disappointing. With the exception of the chapter on 'Preparation for Confirmation' they strike one as being too vague and general to be of great practical use. They are very brief: perhaps that was inevitable. But they are also disjointed and in places even scrappy.

(10) *A Treatise on the History of Confession until it developed into Auricular Confession*, A. D. 1215. C. M. Roberts. (Cambridge University Press.)

This is an attempt to bring together the most important passages from the Fathers and other writings illustrating the change from open public confession to private auricular confession. The conclusions to which it comes are briefly as follows. The early public confession (*exomologesis*) was intended in the first instance for open sins which caused a scandal. But Christians guilty of secret sins were also encouraged to come forward and declare their guilt with a view to submitting to penance and obtaining reconciliation. About the third century it was found that this open confession was often unedifying, and in the East (probably not in the West, although Mr. Roberts assumes that this was the case) 'Penitentiarii' (οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πρεσβύτεροι) were appointed to hear all cases privately first and restrict the public confession to cases in which it would not do harm. By the seventh century the public confession and open penance in church had begun to disappear both in East and West, and their place was taken by private confession and private penance. Then arose the question, Was such confession necessary to salvation? On the one hand, for open and notorious sins the public confession followed by public penance and reconciliation had been regarded from the earliest times as absolutely essential to forgiveness. On the other hand, it had never been *compulsory* (although always commended) to make public confession of *secret* sins. So, e.g. in the twelfth century, two opinions had grown up as to the necessity of private confession. Mr. Roberts recognises the existence of these two opinions, but fails to connect them with their natural origin in the earlier practices. The first definite statement that forgiveness could only be obtained through auricular confession, which is therefore necessary for salvation, is from the English Ælfric (995 A. D.). The discussion was closed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which ordered that all men should make their confession at least once a year. Mr. Roberts is content simply to give the history of his subject. He avoids doctrinal discussions, and draws no practical conclusions. But in spite of this a certain

controversial undertone runs through the book, greatly, we cannot help thinking, to its detriment. Where doctrinal language is used, it often seems to indicate a failure to understand positions with which the author is evidently not in sympathy. Unhealthy distinctions are drawn between 'confession to GOD' and 'confession to a priest' (pp. 57, 68)—between the act of the Church and the act of the priest (pp. 66, 71)—The compulsoriness of the confession is wrongly included in the definition of auricular confession with which the book starts (p. 1); and it would seem that on this ground he justifies himself in speaking of his book as the history of confession 'until it developed into auricular confession, A.D. 1215.' On p. 58 the reference of Paulinus to the strictness of St. Ambrose in preserving the seal of confession is wrongly interpreted by Mr. Roberts. The familiar words of St. Augustine, *Confessions* x 3, regarded in the light of their context, cannot be considered as a reference to sacramental confession, and should not have been quoted as such (p. 63). Mr. Roberts' book is however of value at the present time, because of the proof it affords of the late date at which auricular confession was generally recognised and established as a matter of compulsion. But why has he given us no index of contents or of chapters, and no headings to the chapters?

(11) *Purgatory: the State of the Faithful Departed: Invocation of Saints.* Three lectures delivered before the Clergy of Leeds in support of the 'Anglican tradition' on these questions. A. J. Mason, D.D. (Longmans.) We wish Canon Mason had told us more definitely what the 'Anglican tradition' in his view of it has to say on these points. He prints the phrase in inverted commas as if it had a well-known definite content, but beyond hinting (p. xii) that it speaks of three places—Heaven, Hell and the Intermediate place of waiting—he leaves us without explanation as to its meaning. Where is the tradition embodied? In the Articles? They leave us with a negation only. In the Homilies? They scarcely support what Canon Mason tells us of the Anglican tradition. In the Prayer Book? Where is the statement or implication concerned? In representative Anglican writers? What do they say? Do they speak with one voice? We should like to have heard from Canon Mason some answer to these questions. Briefly, what we gather of Canon Mason's own results is this. He inclines to allow as a private opinion that there may be a cleansing of the soul after death from taints and weaknesses repented of and forgiven in this life; but refuses to have it laid down as an article of belief, or to speak of the time or place or manner of cleansing. The first two lectures which deal with this question do not seem to give entire justice to the early Patristic and to the Biblical teaching. In spite of the statement on p. 23, it is very difficult to think that Tertullian

(in *de Anima*, 58) does not refer to a cleansing of the soul by suffering during its waiting state. Let the reader study the whole chapter in Tertullian and see in the light of the context whether anything less will satisfy him as to Tertullian's meaning. Again, in discussing 1 Cor. iii. 13–15, Dr. Mason says the fire tries the work, not the man. But we might well ask, Can the man and his work be thus separated? And does not St. Paul imply by *v.* 15 that he does not separate them? Both are tried, and the metaphor used, the refiner's fire, suggests that the process of trial is also a process of purification (cf. Zech. xiii 9 for a similar combination of ideas). On the question of the Invocation of Saints Dr. Mason is more definite. He would discourage it entirely. Again, we think he has hardly done justice to the early history. The invocations on tombstones and in one or two of the earlier writings may offer no authority in support of the primitiveness of the practice; but, on the other hand, it cannot be denied offhand that they have anything to do with Invocation (see pp. 117, 118). But when we have said this, we must express our gratitude to Dr. Mason for his timely reminder that in the thought of the early Church peace, not pain, is the chief feature in their picture of the faithful departed; that they know nothing of 'saints' to whom the realisation of Heaven is already granted; nor of Invocation in the sense and degree of its later practice.

(12) *The Things beyond the Tomb in a Catholic Light.* T. H. Passmore. (Longmans.) This little book on the Future State is intended for use in parishes. Mr. Passmore is nothing if not definite. He sometimes spoils his arguments by adding weak proofs to good ones. The paying of the 'uttermost farthing' and the 'sin which hath never forgiveness' (p. 13) cannot be quoted as if they unquestionably favoured the idea of a temporary punishment in the Intermediate State. The argument from our Lord's silence as to Jewish prayers for the dead is over-estimated (p. 29). No distinction is made between a doctrine of Purgatory as an allowable opinion and as a binding article of belief. Job xix 26 is quoted unhesitatingly in favour of the Resurrection of the Body (p. 39). The conception of the 'Spiritual Body,' 1 Cor. xv 44, is very inadequate (p. 64). The description of St. Paul's forecast of 'Spiritualism' is fanciful (p. 32). The chapter on the 'End of the World' is rather crude and literalistic. But apart from these blemishes the book is clear, simple, and restrained. The chapter on 'Hell' is wholly commendable, both for what it says and also for what it does not say.

(13) *Christianity and Judaism: an Essay.* G. H. Dalman. Translated from the German by the Rev. G. H. Box. (Williams & Norgate.) This little book is the outcome of a lecture delivered before the German

Evangelical Union at Berlin in 1898. Its subject is the consideration of the relations between (Protestant) Christianity and Judaism at the present day in Germany. The conditions of which it speaks—the pressure of the 'Jewish' question, Anti-Semitism, attempts to amalgamate Christianity and Judaism in a new religion by watering down the inconvenient salient points of both beliefs, schemes of Jewish proselytism, Zionism—these are surroundings which together constitute an atmosphere bewildering to the English mind. Undoubtedly for English readers the most interesting part of the Essay will be the account of modern Judaism on its doctrinal side, the divisions between orthodox and reformed Judaism, the neglect of the Old Testament, and the standpoint of a modified Talmudism, with the tendency to drift towards a vaguer Unitarianism. The accuracy of this account is vouched for by a leader of modern Jews, Mr. C. G. Montefiore, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1900, p. 736 (quoted by Mr. Box in his Preface). Professor Dalman is opposed to Anti-Semitism, i.e. any political scheme which refuses civil equality to Jews. He admires the Jewish attempt to restore their national existence in the Holy Land, but sees no hope for Zionism as a spiritual or an intellectual movement. As against the dreams of Jewish proselytism, or the piecing together of fragments of Judaism and Christianity into a new creed, he draws out what seem to him fundamental contradictions between the two religions—notably the failure of Judaism to perceive and satisfy the needs of human nature as Christianity does by its doctrines of original sin, faith in Christ, and grace. Mr. Box has been very successful as a translator. His English is smooth, readable, and idiomatic.

S. C. GAYFORD.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) English.

Church Quarterly Review, October 1901 (Vol. liii, No. 105: Spottiswoode & Co.). Criticism and the Acts of the Apostles—Father Hecker and Americanism—The Liverpool Cathedral Scheme—John Gambold, Poet and Moravian Bishop—The Letters of Madame de Sévigné—The Holy Eucharist: an Historical Inquiry, Part II—The United Free Church of Scotland—The Alfred Literature and Commemoration—Education in Parliament—Bishop Westcott—Short notices.

Jewish Quarterly Review, October 1901 (Vol. xiv, No. 53: Macmillan & Co.). L. Abrahams 'Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell'—J. Skinner Notes on a newly acquired Samaritan MS [of Pentateuch, at Westminster College, Cambridge]—S. Schechter Geniza Specimens, Saadyana—M. Joseph Religious Life in the Home—R. J. H. Gottheil Gleanings from Spanish and Portuguese Archives: (1) The Jews and the Auto da Fé 1459–1781 A.D.; (2) Documents relating to Jewish History in the Bibliotheca Publica of Evora—C. G. Montefiore The Desire for Immortality—H. M. Adler The Jews in Southern Italy—W. Bacher Ein Hebräisch-Persisches Liederbuch—N. Porges Zu Schechter's neuestem Geniza-Funde—S. A. Hirsch Isaiah xlv 18, 19—M. Kayserling Autos de Fé and Jews—Critical notices: C. G. Montefiore: (1) Krauskopf's 'Rabbi's Impressions of the Oberammergau Passion Play'; (2) Loisy's 'Études Bibliques' and 'La Religion d'Israël—H. Hirschfeld Descriptive Catalogue of Hebrew MSS of the Montefiore Library.

The Expositor, November 1901 (Sixth Series, No. 23: Hodder & Stoughton). W. M. Ramsay Corroboration: the Census Lists of Quirinius and Augustus, and the Family and Rank of St. Paul—A. Carr Cyrus the Lord's Anointed: (1) His wider Mission—J. Rendel Harris A further Note on the Use of Enoch in 1 Peter—S. McComb Prof. Harnack on our Lord's Resurrection—G. Matheson The Scientific Basis of Prayer—D. Smith 'Numquam sic locutus est Homo'—(The late) F. Field Notes on Select Passages in the Old Testament (*continued*).

December 1901 (Sixth Series, No. 24). W. M. RAMSAY The Cities of the Pauline Churches—A. CARR Cyrus the Lord's Anointed: (2) The Testimony of the Greek Historians—J. DENNEY The New Life and the Spirit—G. MILLIGAN The Roman Destination of the Epistle to the Hebrews—R. WINTERBOTHAM The Ambiguous in the New Testament—G. MATHESON 'Should Science dim the Hope of Immortality?'

(2) AMERICAN.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, October 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 48: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co.). B. L. HOBSON English Theistic Thought at the Close of the Century—E. H. GRIFFIN Psychology as a Natural Science—F. H. FOSTER James Martineau—B. B. WARFIELD The Printing of the Westminster Confession—F. CISAŘ Los von Rom—A. W. FERGUSSON, &c. The Meetings of the Assemblies—J. Fox Allen's Life of Phillips Brooks—Recent Theological Literature.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1901 (Vol. v, No. 4: Chicago University Press). W. S. PRATT The Liturgical Responsibilities of Non-Liturgical Churches—M. VON NATHUSIUS The Duty of the Church in relation to the Labour Movement—A. H. SAYCE The Antiquity of Civilized Man [in relation to the recent Cretan Discoveries]—W. M. PATTON Blood-Revenge in Arabia and Israel—The Cheyne-Black Encyclopaedia Biblica, Vol. ii—E. J. GOODSPEED The Critical Value of the Newberry Gospels—Recent Theological Literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue de l'Orient chrétien, 1901 (Vol. vi, No. 3: Paris, A. Picard). S. VAILHÉ Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti, saint Théodore et saint Théophane—X: Griefs de l'Hellénisme contre la Russie (*suite*)—L. CLUGNET Vie de sainte Marine: (2) Trois textes latins (*suite*)—L. CHEÏKHO Autobiographie du patriarche Ignace-Michel-Djaroué—P. RENAUDIN Les Églises orientales et 'orthodoxes' et le Protestantisme (*suite*)—J. PARISOT Les chorévêques (*suite et fin*)—S. PÉTRIDÈS Les deux mélodes du nom d'Anastase—V. ERMONI Rituel copte du Baptême et du Mariage: Texte copte et traduction (*suite*)—Mélanges: (1) F. NAU La patrice Césaria, correspondante de Sévère d'Antioche; (2) H. LAMMENS Un projet de croisade franciscain—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, October 1901 (Vol. xx, No. 3: Brussels, 14 Rue des Ursulines). L. DUCHESNE Un dernier mot sur le martyrologe hiéronymien—Acta graeca SS. Dasii, Gai et Zotici martyrum Nicomediensium—C. KIRCH Nicephori sceuophylacis encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam—P. DE LOË De vita et scriptis B. Alberti Magni (*pars altera*)—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—U. CHEVALIER

Supplementum ad Repertorium hymnologicum (*Gaudia festivae—Imbellis ut grex*).

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, October 1901 (Vol. ii, No. 4: Louvain, C. Peeters, for the Université Catholique de Louvain). A. VAN HOONACKER L'hypothèse de M. Wendt sur la composition du quatrième Évangile—C. CALLEWAERT Les premiers chrétiens furent-ils persécutés par édits généraux ou par mesures de police? observations sur la théorie de Mommsen principalement d'après les écrits de Tertullien, I—F. X. FUNK La date de la Didascalie des Apôtres—Mélanges: (1) G. MORIN Le nouveau traité de saint Jérôme sur la Vision d'Isaïe, édité par Ambr. Amelli: (2) A. C. DE SCHREVEL Remi Drieux, évêque de Bruges, et les troubles des Pays-Bas: étude sur le dixième et le vingtième denier, les Conférences de Bréda, la Pacification de Gand, l'Union de Bruxelles et les négociations des États généraux avec don Juan, I—Comptes-rendus —Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1901 (Vol. xviii, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Le symbole d'Athanase et son premier témoin: saint Césaire d'Arles—U. BERLIÈRE Les chapitres généraux de l'ordre de St. Benoît—J. CHAPMAN La chronologie des premières listes épiscopales de Rome—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—Bibliographie.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses, November–December 1901 (Vol. vi, No. 6: Paris, 74, Boulevard saint-Germain). F. THUREAU-DANGIN La Famille et la Cour d'un dieu chaldéen—H. COCHIN Le frère de Pétrarque et le livre du *Repos des Religieux*, III—D. LENAIN Histoire de la théologie: (2) Problème doctrinal—Chronique biblique: A. LOISY (2) Grammaire et critique textuelle (*suite*): (3) Exégèse de l'Ancien Testament: (4) Exégèse du Nouveau Testament: (5) Géographie de la Palestine; histoire d'Israël et des origines chrétiennes.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift, 1901 (Vol. lxxxiii, No. 4: Ravensburg and Vienna, H. Kitz). SCHANZ Die Lehre des h. Augustinus über die Rechtfertigung—ENGELKEMPER Die Vorrede Saadja Gaons zu seiner arabischen Übersetzung des Pentateuch—DIEKAMP Eine ungedruckte Abhandlung des h. Johannes von Damaskus gegen die Nestorianer (*Greek text*)—VETTER Ein hebräischer Text vom I Makkabäerbuch—Reviews—Analecta.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1901 (No. 4: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). RYSSEL Die neuen hebräischen Fragmente des Buches Jesus Sirach und ihre Herkunft, II—MEINHOLD Die Lade Jahves—SCHWARTZKOPFF Kant, Schopenhauer, Deussen und der christliche Theismus—Note: LEY Zur Erklärung der Bedeutung des Knechtes Jahwe in den

sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Liedern—Review: KAUTZSCH Neue Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments.

1902, No. 1. SCHULZ Τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; Verhältnis von Gesetz, Sünde und Evangelium nach Gal. iii—SCHAUMANN Das Prinzip der Individualität bei Alexander Vinet—Notes: (1) MÜLLER Emendationen zu Hesekiel: (2) BLASS Über Ev. Joh. xix 35: (3) BROSE Der Teich Bethesda: (4) KAWERAU Ein Brief des Barthol. Latomus an Melanchthon: (5) GÜNTHER Wortzeichen oder Wahrzeichen?—Review: KÖHLER Thiele *Luthers Sprichwörtersammlung*.

Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, September, 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 10: Erlangen and Leipzig, A. Deichert). K. THIMME Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Sakramentslehre Luthers—H. SCHNELL M. Konrad Pegels *Dialogus de poenitentia* aus dem Jahre 1516—G. HOENNICKE Coel. Sec. Curio, ein evangelischer Humanist—A. WALTHER Zwinglis Pestlied.

October 1901 (Vol. xii, No. 11). R. SEEBERG Luthers Stellung zu den sittlichen und sozialen Nöten seiner Zeit und ihre vorbildliche Bedeutung für die evangelische Kirche—LOTZ Der Bund vom Sinai, III —K. THIMME Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Sakramentslehre Luthers (*concluded*)—R. CÖLLE Die Pointe des Gleichnisses von den zehn Jungfrauen.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, October 1901 (Vol. xliv, No. 4: Leipzig, O. R. Reisland). K. LINCKE Die Entstehung des Judentums—L. PAUL Welcher Reiche wird selig werden?—A. HILGENFELD Das Gleichnis von den zehn Jungfrauen Matth. xxv 1–13—J. DRÄSEKE Die Syllogismen des Photios—J. DRÄSEKE Zu Arethas von Cäsarea—F. GÖRRES Papst Gregor der Grosse und Kaiser Phokas—Reviews.

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THE MANIFOLD UNITY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

IN what follows immediately I express—as preface to a definitely held opinion about *religion*—only the conjectures and impressions of a listener with regard to existing tendencies in the *general* movement of thought; impressions which are perhaps little better than sanguine hopes, such as the real student, punctual in the observation of contemporary learning, will reject as baseless or recognise as more fitly expressed elsewhere. Such impressions are only confessed in order to give shape to my own thought in the latter part of this article.

Perhaps it might be said that the most important, if not the most evident, movement of modern thought is one which at least aims at some reconciliation of idealism and realism. We need a tolerant idealism; and within idealism, a tolerant monism: an idealism which shall make full use of the impressions of experience; a monism which shall find large room for the practical dualities of goodness and happiness, of sin and misery [1]; further a monism which, in its confident and just assertion of the unity

[1] I do not say 'of good and evil.' That would be to raise the question whether monism is possible at all. Any attitude towards *this* duality requires a more careful statement than can be given by way of illustration in the course of another discussion. The unity which resolves that discord is one which overcomes evil by a substantial victory, and not one which makes evil irrelevant by passing beyond the distinction of morals. The moral sense is precisely that element of consciousness which survives within our discord as witness to the final harmony.

of being, shall do more than find room for, shall exalt, that responsibility of the particular consciousness which is one half of both worship and conduct. The monism which is thus tolerant is not a 'moderate' monism; it is rather one which takes care to make evident the high level at which it is pitched. Such special care is needed in order to allow for the interpretation made by minds to which the Eternal is not sensibly near. It is perhaps a natural tendency of clear-eyed spirituality to announce what sounds like too near-hand a unity. The clearness which in the seer is due to long sight makes to the short-sighted a suggestion of proximity. And thus the confidence of the teacher becomes a source either of deception or of 'offence' to minds of another temperament or of a lower accomplishment. Monism apparently secured at too low a level either discourages or discredits the cause it has at heart. The practical man knows that his progress depends upon gripping certain distinctions which are proximately of an invaluable truth; the distinction between justice and mercy, between sin and spiritual want, between a transgression of law and a mere ὑστέρησις of perfection; the distinction between God and man which leaves the worshipper rather *solus cum Solo* than *in Solo*. The work of our best teachers is to find the unity in which these contrasts are resolved, but to find it far enough aloft; so as to raise us to the high plane of completeness, and not to challenge our sense of limitations in a region which we seem to know. It may be fair rhetoric to speak of parallel straight lines as radii of a circle; but the circle is one of which the centre is infinitely distant. An ultimate and effective monism will have its roots, or perhaps its grappling-hooks, in a full recognition of near-hand distinctions.

A liberal idealism, a liberal monism—it is by these alone that the sure progress, not by any means of spirituality only but of science also, can be secured. I am on less safe ground when I say that some real progress has been made towards these good things. It may be impossible to point to great works which are an advance in this respect upon old books which still have influence among us. It may be that among the thoughts of others we catch only those which are most sympathetic with our own, and overlook more powerful movements which make for estrangement and conflict. But I am under the impression that

this is not the case; that while there is indeed a lamentable facility of personal segregation, and to dissociate himself from some one else is the frequently accepted duty of every eminent man, yet there is under the surface a real drawing together of supposed opposites, a real effort of inclusion, a raising—perhaps very gradual—of some antithetical terms into that light in which they are seen to be complementary. I believe for example that the peace which has fallen upon the debate between naturalists and theologians is due not solely to a fatigued indifference which has its share in the effect, but partly also, and in its more valuable part, to a real recognition by science of its own departmental character, to a real respect yielded by spirituality to those limitations which constitute the very charter and strength of science. In the deep places there is a change which makes for conciliation, which ought to be prelude to a new period of activity.

Such changes are no doubt recurrent, and it may be possible to recognise features which belong to each fresh revival of movement. There is first a time when idealism must be almost purely critical. In face of a confident and exclusive materialism—or what is in effect materialism for those who accept its teaching—the first task of idealism must be to show once more the inadequacy of any theory of knowledge which begins at the acquisition of particulars in the world of sense. The present writer was lately within hearing of an able physiologist who claimed to be 'conscious' of possessing a brain, grey matter, pyramidal cells, and so forth; and proposed this richly furnished consciousness as the basis and starting-point of psychological inquiry. This was a survival of the speculation before which idealism is bound to be critical. Criticism has indeed in this case to be pushed, like the sword which St. Louis recommended for the layman's controversy with Jews, 'as far as it will go[1].' But the worst once over, the critical attitude may be exchanged for one more genial and more hopeful. The idealist aspires to the possibility of allowing for the point of view even of the physical realists, not hoping of course to prove the existence of 'external' things, but seeking to account for our impression of their reality, to give a rational meaning to the conviction and

[1] Le Sire de Joinville. 'The layman, said the king, ought to defend the Christian creed with the sword only,' *de quoy il doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut entrer.*

a rational interpretation of the world. To shut up as far as possible the senses as inevitable deceivers, to turn away from the scene of daily experience as unable to contribute to the knowledge of solid truth—this, after three centuries of successful science, is no longer any one's desire. Instead, the idealist accepts Green's account of philosophy as 'a progressive effort towards a fully articulated conception of the world as rational.' It is a *rational* conception we require, a description in terms of mind; but it is a *fully articulated*, therefore proximately and practically pluralist, conception that we seek; and it is *the world* we are to account for.

Modern scientific thought is on the whole favourable to such an interdependence as we covet of 'outward' and 'inward' knowledge. For ideas of Evolution have increased the impression both of the actuality and of the rational character of the world. I am not referring to the more extended view of physical nature opened up, and the clearer perception that man is a part of that nature. These tend no doubt to weaken a man-centred conception. It is the notion of ordered change, of history in the universe, which seems to me most markedly to increase the impression of external reality. As a fixed spectacle, the scene in which we live might be thought, or at least spoken of, as a vision, a spectre, a non-significant concomitant in consciousness of what was alone important, namely, the spirit with its value and its history, its distinct process and real events. But the world is for us no longer in any sense a fixed spectacle, a *décor* for our actions set up either lately or once long ago. It is conceived of, if not known, as the result *up to now* of continuous changes; changes of which science knows no beginning, but of which we know, within a certain range, that they are still in progress. We have come upon a scene in which the workmen are at work, and the present position is only the last of many preceding it without break and upon the same plane of change. Rightly or wrongly the notion of a continuous movement in time possesses our minds. And although logically this may make no difference to the position of realism, it is practically much less possible to make light of a process than of a picture, a process which extends to the broadest features of external existence, and which is, to some extent observably, maintained before our eyes. The moving, growing world is inevitably made more real

to reflexion by the knowledge of its movement, somewhat as the growing tree of the Indian conjurer is a more impressive manifestation than the stiff nosegay flourished for an instant by his English rival. The world as 'Evolution' shows it is more real; it is also more rational, or lends itself more easily to rationalising. For the mechanical explanations of the inter-adapted whole, instead of making that whole, as was threatened, seem better able to dispense with mind, constitute precisely the best defence of a reasonable teleology. If 'reason' is given a reasonable meaning, the extension of the reign of law must be an extension of the range of reason and purpose; and the very process itself (typified in the struggle for existence), which was to exclude purpose, is a kind of logical inversion in the nature of things by which final causes become effective ones. The old equivocation on the word 'cause' is justified by the disclosure that purpose penetrates all the details of process with which it was formerly contrasted [1]. We get the result, therefore, that modern knowledge of natural sequences renders nature more stubbornly resistant to an intolerant or independent spiritualism; but at the same time more inviting to a spiritualism which is content to live on terms with 'fact.' The very process which makes general scepticism *less* possible makes rationalism (the search for an intelligible meaning of the world) *more* possible: the world being seen as at once more actual and more ideal. In this way it may be that science promotes the conciliatory attitude we desire. In the noblest science, the science of human history, certainly a unifying tendency is plain. The reassertion of the primacy of consciousness, the primary importance of the history of thought, has for its object not to disparage but to co-ordinate the record of events, to show facts as making one whole with the convictions of men.

II. The analogy by which I wish to pass to certain points of interest in religious thought is by no means a strict one; but it may serve for suggestion. Can we not recognise a parallel necessity in theology to that which I have conjectured in philosophy; a parallel necessity, and something of a similar effort?

[1] The *αἰτία* of Plato can really at last be translated 'cause,' for nature discloses *our* 'principles' as *its* operative machinery.

There has been a revival of attention to the inward substance, as distinguished from what were known as the 'evidences,' of religion; a revival also of what some would call subjective pietism in exclusive distinction (a distinction, as I wish to submit, falsely exclusive) from 'Institutional Christianity.' The necessity for greater 'inwardness' has been felt, even apart from the needs of devotion, both by orthodox and revolutionary believers in face of modern difficulties. The latter have proposed to save faith by withdrawing it from the domains of history and criticism; and the former, in revolt against the crude criticism offered by science, have asserted, or ought to assert, that in matters of the spirit the 'inward' must rule our debate; that an unbelieving theology is no theology at all, but an attempt to bar the very beginnings of a science which can be nothing unless it is, to start with, the description of what is contained in Christian consciousness and experience. There is a revival of mysticism.

This revival, perhaps it might be said, stands at an earlier stage than the parallel movement in general thought. It is still critical, self-defensive. A new attention to the 'inward' tends, at least in some quarters, to a disparagement of external history, of dogma, and of ecclesiastical organisation.

Nor is it only among those who are at all likely to be called mystics that there appears a tendency to set the significant or spiritually valuable in contrast with the actual.

To the unlearned fancy it seems arguable at times that some of the scholars who announce to us the results of critical research are led by something other than the cold light of textual evidence or literary inference. How else are we to understand the marked difference between the advanced teaching of to-day and that which passed current for liberal a few years ago? There has been in the interval no change in the materials, at least no change adverse to the historical authority, for example, of the Gospels. In their totality we have as good reason as ever to believe them authentic records of the earliest Christian conceptions within the main current of Christian life[1].

[1] The notion that the change lies in something other than the evidence is expressed with less hesitation since Dr. Gore has written from the point of view of real study a statement to the same effect. In the *Pilot*, August 3, 1901, he pointed out that in the last ten years 'the advantage to the conservative cause involved in the bringing to light of Tatian's Diatessaron, and in the confirmations won from

Yet now we are asked to give up very much more of that which was lately allowed to be authentic if not true. Is it not possible that some scholars are led to view the evidence in a special way because of the prepossessions with which they are unconsciously furnished; that other scholars with other prepossessions would see the high lights of importance upon a different set of evidential points; or would view the same points in such a way as to reach an opposite conclusion? And among such prepossessions has there never been a quasi-mystical objection to facts as such; a maidenly distaste for that heavy food; a dim feeling that actuality and significance were mutually exclusive alternatives? Can there have been an unconscious objection to particular existence, a preference for spiritual import which counted history its enemy and therefore desired to limit the bulk of historical *credenda*? I am aware that the question will seem to involve a strange inversion. The revolutionary critic stands out rather as one who because of the undeniable difficulties of the history seeks another basis for what may still be faith. But it may yet be that he magnifies the difficulties of evidence because in his intense and one-sided spirituality he desires to see religion rising superior to records. That spirit would indeed command respect which rated so highly the inward value of ideas that it supposed an historical foundation for them gratuitous, and shown to be gratuitous by the very force of the inward thought. 'It is so plainly good,' we seem to be told, 'that men should think Christ rose from the dead, that we have no need to suppose He really did. The principle of economy forbids one to admit a foundation in external events for a belief which is sufficiently justified by its moral value.' Of course no one pleads that the heart's welcome of a fact is good ground for declaring its occurrence impossible. The severest critic asks for nothing but sufficient evidence. But the judgement of evidence may be insensibly altered by a dim conviction that what truly matters does not happen, and that what truly happens is of such things as, in Dr. Johnson's phrase, can 'neither impregnate the imagination nor enlarge the understanding.'

But whatever drawbacks may attend it, a revived attention to

various sources for the historical character of the Acts—to mention only two points—have had nothing to counterbalance them in the way of positive discovery, so far as concerns the Gospels.'

the inward foundations of religion is the beginning of all good. In order to define one's hope of progress it may be permissible to describe three possible stages of the relation of the 'inwardness,' by whatever name it might best be indicated, with the more historical and objective parts of religion. These stages might be conceived of as possibly successive in time, and the short and inexact words 'outward' and 'inward' may be taken to denote familiar ideas.

The earliest stage may be one of mutual distrust between the 'outward' and 'inward' schools of believing thought. At various points in the history of the Church the ecclesiastical mind has shown a jealousy of the claims of 'inwardness,' a jealousy which would be justified if those exclusions which have been already mentioned really belonged to the essence of the mystical or Quietist or Evangelical position. Whether justified or not, the distrust has often been revived, and has been felt equally by Catholic believers and by scientific observers; the distrust, I mean, of the claims of individual experience or intuition, claims of which the offence really lies in some pretension to exclusiveness or singularity, and not in the stress laid upon an inward foundation.

Answering to this is the equally well-known distrust, felt by those Christians who may be roughly called Pietists, of what they feel to be an externalising account of Christian truth—an account which in their apprehension attributes a totally false value to the organisation of a body of men on the stage of human history, to documents certified by outward authority, and a discipline which continually tends to be maintained by political force. The line of division between the two schools is not that between Catholics and Protestants. 'Institutionalism' appeared in full vigour within Protestantism at an astonishingly early stage of its existence; and Quietism[1] has not failed to

[1] The word is used here not in its historical sense, but because that for which it historically stands typifies for me the most permanent and strictly characteristic element of a large and very varied stream of Christian life. I know that if we are to understand that form of life and thought there is need of a great work of distinction. But I am speaking here of its *external* relations; and accordingly use the word which to me seems least coloured, in order to indicate, without description or analysis, that which is in some way or another known to everybody. So long as a technical historical meaning is not given, the word used may for the present purpose stand for just that which the reader knows best in the *region* to which it belongs.

maintain its place in the Church. But the idea that spirituality and corporate life must vary inversely is slow to die. An able writer[1] quotes with apparent sympathy Stanley's conjecture that 'complete individual isolation from all ecclesiastical organisations whatever is the ultimate issue to which the world is tending,' a conjecture which, if we insist on verbal accuracy, is undeniably sound, but not so if by 'world' is meant the Christian people. There is no need to illustrate this first stage, the stage of mutual distrust, in which the one side accuses the other of 'individualism,' 'vague subjectivism,' and so forth, and is accused in turn of what is called 'formalism,' 'institutionalism,' or 'idolatry,' according to the tone of controversy which happens to prevail.

The second stage is a clear advance upon this. It is marked, at least on one side of the old division, by the reassertion of both parts or aspects of Christian life. Both are shown to have equal right to exist. The writers who seek to do the work of conciliation are not properly called mediatising writers, nor are they found conspicuously in a middle school of Church action. They seek to allow for both sides of the contrast rather than to find a middle line which shall avoid extremes. It is Augustine, if any ecclesiastic, who is at home among mystics. It is Teresa and John of the Cross, if any mystics, who are cordially Catholics. Nevertheless, at the stage we are trying to define, the conciliatory and comprehensive school does not contemplate a full union of the two kinds of thought. It pleads for the lawful right of two modes of Christian life, to exist side by side in different individuals within the Church. There is much which is of permanent value in such a plea, urged (as it is urged) with moderation. For most Christians will show a more or less marked tendency to one side or the other, and perhaps from the earliest days of the Church there has been a recognition of the inevitable difference.

Yet theoretically this mode of comprehension cannot be a final

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1901, 'Modern Church Going'—'Christianity is properly incompatible with local worships' [local worship seems to be meant]. 'The Divine founder of Christianity seems to authorize a large measure of concession. He created a society and He instituted sacraments. In these was latent the necessity of local and appointed worship. . . . The pure spirituality of the religion was neutralized by the practical needs of the society.'

It is as if one should say, 'the pure spirituality of the person is neutralised by the possession of a body.'

one, because it seems to require the existence of two sorts of Christians charged with the duty of accepting and expressing the two sorts of Christianity[1]; while Christianity is in fact a whole, the whole-hearted adherence of each to Christ in the body of believers; and the truly normal Christian accepts it as a whole. That conciliation, therefore, however valuable, is not satisfactory, which suggests that there are no Christians, or few, who enjoy at any rate equally both sides of the contrast we have so faintly indicated. It shows a tendency which might be called Distributive. It is genial, hopeful, charitable, enlightened. Content with variety as the very condition of unity, it comprises within its view of the Church every real exhibition of truth and life. Nevertheless it will defeat its own object if its geniality makes it echo the secular proverb that 'it takes all sorts to make a world.' The diversity of gifts under the one Spirit is not a diversity which should make faith and love seem ever so little characteristic of one class within the Church, or corporate fidelity and active service a characteristic of another class. This might be called the 'picnic' as contrasted with the 'joint-stock' view of Christian treasures. It shows the sum total contributed and held in separate parcels by the partners, and not possessed by a joint tenancy, *a singulis in solidum*[2]. Sometimes a contrast meant to guide

[1] *Two kinds of Christians.* There seems reason to think that great caution should be used in ascribing a doctrine of two kinds of Christians even to those Alexandrian Church-writers who sometimes use expressions which, when quoted in isolation, *suggest* a deeply divided notion of Christian life. Origen of course, far less than St. Clement, really (I speak under correction) supports such a division; and, with regard to St. Clement's 'true Gnostic,' the special polemical occasion of his teaching has to be borne in mind. Sometimes what appears like the definition of diverging developments of Christian life may be in truth intended to describe what is simply more and less *fully* Christian.

Such doctrines (of specific distinctions between believers) when taught among the many heresies which appear from the time of the Valentinians to the time of the Cathari, Albigenses, and especially the Pastoureaux, are not in point at all; and this for two reasons. Because (1) all these heresies are avowedly dualistic even in anthropology, ascribing and consequently abandoning a part of man's nature to the evil Principle, and (2) because by regarding the visible Church as simply evil rather than as an imperfect and striving manifestation of good, they lie outside of *Christian* thought. We have been well taught by Harnack (unless I am mistaken) that these dualistic heresies have no share whatever in the origination of sound Protestantism or of any really Christian Pietism however apparently one-sided. See Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. Ed. vi 92 note, and vi 136.

[2] In Dutch Roman law, each one of four men holding forty acres in partnership might hold a particular parcel of ten acres. In English joint-tenancy (I under-

the distribution is found and pressed too far, within the original Christian circle, among the sacred writers and first leaders of the Church. We are encouraged with an excess of emphasis—for it is only an excess of emphasis which is complained of—to believe in a Joannine and a Petrine Christianity, as if one of these lacked altogether, or conspicuously, what is characteristic of the other. To the present writer it seems that what might be called the co-inherence of thought among the sacred writers grows clearer with every year's study. But it is little more than an accent which one regrets. There is the life of Martha, and the life of Mary. But it should be remembered that Mary had the one thing necessary, and what is necessary is, in some sense, to be represented in all.

The more profound studies of unity in diversity which the best teachers of our own time are giving to us, are those which will introduce the third stage of our progress. This stage, towards which in every recurring cycle of thought it is the Christian's duty to press on, is one in which men see that diversity is not a relaxation allowed for safety's sake within unity—a concession to passing needs, but is the necessary foundation for all vital oneness. This deeper conciliation will seek, moreover, the representation of the whole in the part. The members vary that they may cohere. But they vary quite as much as they cohere, precisely because they contain within themselves a representation of all the contrasted elements of the body. Specialisation of function implies not only community but penetration of life, and it grows precisely in proportion as the individuality of parts is supported by corporate dependence, and corporate strength is constituted in the health of the members[1]. The suggested analogy will not carry

stand) each of the four would have an equal hold upon every one of the forty acres. This last holding is *a singulis in solidum*.

[1] The idea of unity by diversity of members in a body is not what I have supposed it necessary to mention. What is not quite so familiar (nor indeed *practically* so true and plain) is that each member contains *in posse* the characteristics of all. If the part selected is really natural (e. g. a polype or a cell, and not some large conventional division, such as the head or the foot), then it may (very roughly) be said to represent the whole potentially. Specialisation of form and function depends not only (as every one knows) upon co-operation in a body, but also (when the body is a whole and not an aggregate) upon identity of type. The digestive cell has something of the contractility of the muscle and something (often a good deal) of the irritability of the nerve. It is only, so to speak, *per accidens*, only really through special nutrition, that the cells of certain tissues are more effectively and obviously repre-

us all the way to what is undoubtedly necessary in a *spiritual* organism, namely, that each member, the body's life being a life of reason, a conscious life, should grow in consciousness, as well as in possession, of the most contrasted elements of the life of the whole. Such a conciliation as we desire claims for every Christian not indeed the equal exhibition of every phase of Christian life, but the perpetual advance towards a possession, and even a *conscious* possession, of a full representation of that life in its two main aspects —the outward fidelity of brotherly communion and the inward peace of a unified life; the apprehension of external verities, if they may be so called, and the inward conformity to the law of truth. There must be during this life different degrees in conscious knowledge of the twofold unity for different believers, but the most 'inward' will more and more plainly recognise that he owes the continued exercise, as well as the origin, of his faith to facts beyond himself, and holds it only in communion with the rest of believers; while, on the other hand, every one who relies upon the historic victory of God in the sphere of human experience, or upon the outwardly organised Society possessed of heaven-sent gifts, will more and more clearly know that he has his access to the fruits of victory and his share in the society of grace only through a vitally real inward and spiritual conformity to the unseen Source of both. On the one hand it will be more generally recognised that religion, rightness, progress consist not in the acquisition of a number of wonderful gifts, but in the constitution and maintenance of a single bond, the bond between man and God. On the other hand, it will be seen that this bond or union, this root of truth and virtue, is developed in all the manifold activities of Church life, activities which are holy and necessary not merely as representations of that 'one thing needful' which is behind them, but as the substantial growth of a principle of Divine life, which is itself love, and therefore both active and social.

There will indeed be an inward and an outward life of the individual, but the outward will not be regarded as a drawback

sentative of the whole. In a body of which the life is *intelligent*, though the analogy of organisms, as observed, will not carry us far, and in any case will not carry us all the way, it appears that every member must, in proportion as the intelligence is developed *at all*, have also an *intelligence* of what belongs to the whole. The difference between one kind of Christian and another is really a difference (so far as essentials go) of less and more.

or 'concession,' still less as hostile, to the inward. The outward also must be spiritual. It will be an activity or frame of life which is the proper clothing of the inward, fit to protect, to drape, and to shroud it; to secure its continuance, to reveal it, and to hide. A man will as soon wish to get rid of this, as in bodily life to get rid of his skin in the interests of the interior organs. There is indeed a skinless life in the spiritual sphere, a life which instead of being really 'interior' (as the saying is) is more properly a life *inside-out*. There will be in the Christian a due shelter of outward conduct, and the sources of his conviction and obedience will not be less secure because they cannot be produced. That life is 'inward' or spiritual which is ruled from within; not necessarily that which is even relatively inactive in the sphere of sense; and accordingly we find even in practice that it is Mary nowadays who accomplishes the Martha tasks—Gordon who rides to Khartoum, and Westcott who mediates in industrial war.

III. The intimate and inextricable coexistence of the inward and the outward in the economy of grace is seen in fullness in the New Testament. It is so close there that the facts of what may be called external revelation are expressed in terms of consciousness, and the facts revealed in consciousness are confirmed in terms of history. This is no mere use of double names for one mental change; but an indication of the real unity of the Christian and That in which and by which he lives. It seems to follow that the Scriptural basis (or the earliest record) of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is to be looked for as it is expressed in terms of Christian consciousness. As the Bible and indeed all the simplest and most energetic Christian writings within one's reach are familiarly studied, the correlation between the Christian spiritual condition and the 'external' revelation of the Trinity becomes increasingly clear. This means not that the conception of God existing as Three in One is a mental externalisation of a fact of consciousness, but that the fact of consciousness, namely faith, is nothing else than the existence of God in Trinity subjectively considered. To describe faith is to give the subjective version of the Being of God: for faith is nothing else but the effect in men of God's being what He is.

Faith is the operation of the Holy Spirit. Thus it is described and accounted for in Christian language. The presence of the Holy Spirit is referred to the being of the Son and His relation to us. It is because God is the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost, that we know the Son by the Holy Spirit bestowed on us in and by Him; and knowing the Son, know Him as the Son of the Father. The self-communicating nature of God, as described in the doctrine of the Trinity, is apprehended as active in the experience of faith. Such a statement, if it were proposed as a proof of the Being of God, would be open to the charge of being an argument in a circle. I set it down only in the attempt to show how in the Scriptures and Christian language the Doctrine of the Trinity, conceived as external, must be sought in terms of the Christian consciousness. Faith is the Trinity affecting and acting in man. The knowledge of God is His Presence. This consideration, moreover, affords a balancing support to that mode of describing our access to the truth of the Trinity which speaks of it as effected by an inference from the Incarnation.

Our Lord, we have learnt, was seen to be God and man: to be God, and yet to speak of God as One over against Him. Thus we are told the passage was made to the conception of the One God as existing in twofold Personality, self-regarding, self-obeying, self-dependent, self-derived.

It is the passage to the truth of the Third Person which is sometimes less clearly expressed in this method of exposition, so that it sinks almost to the rank of a corollary, following by no very clearly necessary transition from the acquired truth of Duality[1].

[1] To St. Paul, for example, the threefold distinction was (I submit) not a conclusion drawn from Scriptural authority, but the necessary form for a knowledge of God which had become aware of itself. I might here add that those frequent passages in the Epistles which are twofold in form are not incomplete references to the Holy Trinity stopping short at the Second Person. They refer to the distinction or connexion between God in Himself and God Incarnate in Christ; a relation which is necessarily one of duality, because it lies across the line which separates two terms which can never be more than two, namely, God and all that is not God. But these references to God and God-in-Man involve the complete doctrine of the Trinity for all who, with the Apostle, are accustomed to think of the Holy Spirit as the agent of Incarnation and of the Lord's sacrificial life, and the cause of our union with the Incarnate. For them the Holy Spirit is not a conclusion of the creed on the far outskirts of reasoned inference, but the near life of God, the earnest in hand, the experienced reality in virtue of which the creature knows that which is beyond experience, a ground and not a result only of inference. In the

To this method, then, of explanation of the doctrine as arising from the contemplation of the Incarnate as external, a figure in Divine and human history, it is well to add such considerations as we can which show the doctrine as arising from the experience in faith of God within.

Further, as faith is thus the result in man of the self-communicating nature of God, we see that the existence of faith is only accounted for by its content; we only know why there is such a thing as faith, by hearing what it is that faith reports. Its being, that is to say, must be explained by its message; and the message itself is conveyed in terms of that inward condition which is faith itself.

It is useless therefore to search for statements of the doctrine in a distinctly historical or externalised form within the documents which spring from faith itself; useless precisely because such statements are implicit in the account of the state of believers. You cannot describe a Christian except by naming or indicating Father Son and Holy Spirit.

Here is a case—the case of Christian illumination—in which knowledge is not the result of a partial compilation of particulars, nor even only an attitude or opening of the spiritual *sensorium* towards the reality which is to be known; but rather *is* that reality subjectively considered. Faith is the result in us of God being that which He is. The fact that God is known to be is accounted for only by the self-communicating form in which His Being is.

Once again let me say I am proposing no proof of the Being of God[1], but showing in what direction the Doctrine of God must be sought in the most spontaneous Christian utterances. But there may be a hint by the way of the reason why our faith, since it is known to itself as the Presence of God inwardly operative, is not strong or weak in proportion as it can or cannot

Acts the power and presence of the Holy Spirit are facts available for evidence, not to be inferred but to be alleged.

[1] Yet the vice of a circular argument does not attach to the contention which might be based upon the historical fact that faith exists on the earth in consequence of Christ having been on the earth. To His life of thirty-three years must be traced this psychological fact of all the subsequent ages. Men have been caused by Christ not to accept the statement that God is, but to *believe* in God; to be sure that they truly know Him. And this He did by inviting them to contemplate and trust Himself; and yet the effect is that they believe not at all in a human personality of their teacher, but believe with an inexpugnable confidence in God and God Incarnate.

describe itself to the world. The fact that its content is its explanation shows why it is equally impossible to prove it and to give it up.

Such considerations, wearisome I am afraid in form, may be illustrated by many passages in St. John. For example, John xiv 20, taken in connexion with John xiv 11 and the whole section, is at the same time a description of Christian consciousness and an announcement of the Holy Trinity. 'In that day ye shall know that I am in My Father, and ye in Me, and I in you.' 'Believe Me that I am in the Father, *and the Father in Me*, *v.* 11[1].'

The 'day' is the day in which the Comforter shall have come, that One who, by all the analogies of our Lord's speech, must be one and coequal with the Life which He reveals.

'Ye shall know'; it is, if one may say so, a statement in psychology. And what is by the Spirit known shall be, on the one hand, the coinherence of the Father and the Son (by comparison of *v.* 11), and, on the other hand, the indwelling of the Incarnate God in the believer. The whole 'external' doctrine of the Trinity and of the Presence of Christ is thus set out in terms which are nothing but the explicit description of the condition known as faith[2].

This fact suggests to us a twofold conclusion; first, that God is not only knowable, but the One only knowable. The knowledge of any thing is inexplicable. Of God alone can it be said that we not only know Him, but know how we know. Faith is the example κατ' ἐξοχήν and the key of all knowledge;

[1] The significance of these words, as teaching the eternal and necessary coinherence of the Divine Persons, will not be obscured by the teaching of Dr. Moberly with regard to other words like them (John x 30)—teaching which is not less directly applicable to the passage we are now considering. He emphasises the fact that such words were spoken by Christ God-man, and so as to be true of Him in every regard. 'Those great words,' he writes, '"I and the Father are one," are spoken by the Incarnate, the Christ, the Son of Man, in time and in place and through human brains and lips, not simply across infinities by the eternal Logos.' Moberly, *Atonement*, p. 99. By reason of the singleness of our Lord's identity that which is true of the Word eternally becomes true of Him existing in the reality of created being. It is this very fact, of course, which constitutes the salvation of creation and the true life of man, who is *nothing* or dead just so far as he is not in God.

[2] John v 20, Jude 20, 21, are passages which immediately occur as of the same kind, the object of description being the believer, while the doctrine of God is disclosed.

for faith explicitly discloses that unity and difference between the knower and the known, in which all knowledge consists. And secondly, knowledge is a community of life. 'Because I live ye shall live also.' 'In that day' (the day of a common life, a life in us of which Christ's life is the cause) 'ye shall know.' We learn therefore the same proposition with another accent. Since knowledge comes by life, it is to be remembered that life will issue in, or become, knowledge. Community with Him who is the Knowable involves an exaltation of the consciousness. The old questions of benefits received 'ex opere operato' die down. They were dangerous only so far as they were pleas for a mechanical, physically secured, state of supposed salvation. They lapse when it is seen that the work of God is to know Him, that the Life is of men the light.

IV. I have pursued too far what I intended to be a merely preparatory paragraph, leading to this opening, viz. that since the law of correlation lies at the root of revelation, belongs essentially to God's disclosure of Himself to man, any account of matters connected with revelation will be safer and wholesomer the more clearly it indicates that well-known correlation. And from this I wish to go on to certain special inter-relations of various aspects of revealed truth, the remembrance of which tends to reduce the mutual mistrust which is so astonishing and so destructive an element of Christian debate. I have already more than sufficiently shown the main line of division as I imagine it. But there are further divisions which are not less important. And, besides, in order to manage any reconciliation upon any special point of misunderstanding, it is necessary to have made a large and habitual and varied preparation of the ground. A direct and isolated effort, for example, to recommend inward and personal apprehensions as balancing an ultra-ecclesiastical mode of thought leads a friend to start in alarm as from an untrustworthy Quietism—and there may even be good grounds for alarm. The opposite case is well enough known. The consequence is that there are minds for which any account of divine promises as fulfilled in personal experience is open to suspicion, and others for which the recognition of their fulfilment in Sacraments and in the real growth of Holy Church seems the mark of a

gross and carnal misapprehension. It is only by large and slow movements that we can reach the point where men of both tempers will wait for God's loving-kindness in the midst of His Temple.

The Holy Scriptures themselves have not always been used in a way suited to check the tendency to separation and to mutual distrust. And yet in them are to be found both the terms which cover the extreme varieties of real Christian thought, and the nexus which should bind them together.

There seems indeed to be no well defined variety of Christian thought outside Scripture which is not to be found also within it; and this is not due to a deliberate adherence in all ages and quarters to the words and reasoning forms of the sacred writers, but seems to spring from the nature of the case and to constitute something like a minor support for the unique authority of the Canon. It appears to me that, together with endless variations of degree and of combination, and no doubt also many forms of thought which my own does not allow me to apprehend, there are scattered up and down the Bible statements which belong to every possible order of description. For example, leaving aside those which are historical in the ordinary sense, some are in terms purely external;—'heaven opened'; the Son of Man 'coming' to the earth; 'a great white throne'; and 'the nations gathered small and great.' Some are in terms of spiritual mystery;—'abide in Me'; 'the way ye know'; 'we with open face reflecting as a mirror doth the glory of the Lord are changed into the same likeness.' Many are in the ordinary language of moral direction;—'be ye kindly affectioned one to another'; 'rejoice evermore'; 'so far as the event rests with you, live at peace with all men'; 'pray without ceasing.' So various are the modes (to use a musical term) in which the Divine melodies are set, that each in turn absorbs our taste and attention and puts the others out of memory, out of contact as it were with our minds, just as a different key, and still more a different mode, seems to lie in a separate world of music from the one to which our senses are for the moment yielded.

But we have also cases in which the many various modes of description are employed with regard to one substantial fact of spiritual life, so that we possess a kind of type-combination or

normal platform [1], by reference to which the other scattered informations may be grouped in relation to one another. Such a case is that of Baptism. Baptism is described within the New Testament under at least five or six aspects, in terms belonging to as many different modes of description.

1. It is *a heavenly mystery*, 'heavenly things,' beyond the belief of Nicodemus, John iii.

2. It is *a gift of Christ*, the Son of Man, or a result of His ministry on earth; and in some sense also an element, or derived from some element, in the Incarnate Life. The Baptism in Jordan is typical of it, but the Lord's Death is in some true sense specially connected with Christian baptism, as its source and its reality.

3. It is described also sacramentally, as *an ordinance for obedience*. It is 'baptism by water,' it is the appointed way to be saved, and associated as such with repentance. 'Repent and be baptized.' 'Born again of water.'

4. Once more it is *a spiritual experience*, or at least a spiritual event. 'Born again of the Spirit.' 'Baptized into His death.' 'Ye have received the Spirit of adoption [2].'

5. In correspondence with all this, it is *a moral renewal*, and leads to a certain moral temper. He who said 'Except ye be baptized' said also 'Except ye be converted and become as little children.' Further, this change both as mystical and moral contains certain social implications. Baptized into Christ we become 'members of one another.'

6. And lastly, and as part of that which precedes, it gives *a rule of life*; it requires certain suitable actions as result and

[1] 'Platform' is used here in its older sense of 'ground-plan,'—a diagram in flat as contrasted with an elevation or a drawing in perspective; the sufficient indication of the form and especially the foundation of a future structure, e.g. of political action. This sense is found not only in Shakespeare and Hooker and Bacon, but as late as Pope and even Burke, who says that ministers should be 'capable of drawing out something like a platform of the ground which might be laid for future and permanent tranquillity.' (*Conciliation with the Colonies.*)

[2] The spiritual and moral experiences referred to are not put forward as being the only ones derived from baptism which is at the root of the *whole* life of grace. They are thought only to be specially *interpretative* of baptism; somewhat in the same way as miracles seem to be specially *expressive* of God's presence in a world the whole of which is equally with miracles the creation of His power. Both in creation and in grace we recognise within the one great effect special parts which are fitted for the more articulate and luminous *exhibition* of that power and love which support the *whole* effect to which the expressive parts belong.

security of the moral temper and of the mystical incorporation—'Lie not one to another,' 'seeing ye are members one of another,' 'seeing ye have put on the new man,'—a 'putting on' of Christ which is elsewhere referred to baptism.

Such, very scantily represented, are some of the modes in which this one fact of baptism finds description in the New Testament.

V. In these modes—it is the very proposition to submit which so tedious a preparation has been made—we do not find rival descriptions of the matter among which a man must choose his own. To start with a limited plan of what Christian writings ought to say and must have said, and then to reject, as unauthentic or secondary or interpolated, modes of expression which do not fail to fit but fail to coincide with the critic's chosen mode, is to abandon any use of an ancient document for the *essential* improvement of one's own mind. By this method of use it can only amplify the contents of one's thought in its present shape; it can do nothing to make the mind capable of a fresh manner of acquisition. It cannot add perspective to our platform, or solidity to our picture, or movement to our apprehension of solidity. Here again I am a little careless about excluding the charge of circular argument. It is enough for my present purpose that the opposite way of thinking, which measures the extent of real Scripture by the conformity of passages to a preconceived model of thought, equally involves an argument in a circle, and includes in the circle a much smaller range of interest. It is every way wiser, when we find various modes of thought in a document which has for us the authority of ages, to seek to gain sight of an object upon which all these thoughts might properly converge; and not, till we have shown this to involve an impossibility, to exclude from the record all that does not echo the *kind* of statement we regard as normal.

We are not, then, forced to a selection among mutually exclusive alternatives: to say, e. g., the new birth is not a sacramental event but a personal experience; it is not a gift of God in Christ but a moral conversion of the will; it is not a recognisable Church ordinance but an unspeakable and wholly incalculable operation of the Spirit. We have rather to consider the different expressions as various instances of the emergence in thought of

a range of reality which has its continuity in the personal life of God made man, and its unity of application to us in the expressed will of God in Christ.

VI. Among these various forms of statement a certain series is found forming an organic whole, in the third chapter of St. John; a chapter which contains not only the relation of a particular incident in our Lord's life, but the form given in the Fourth Gospel to the whole teaching about Baptism and regeneration with respect to one part[1] of its meaning for man.

The movement and growth of the series of statements is such as to yield a kind of law by which to consider others which appear elsewhere.

They do not appear in the ideal order of origin; and there is reason for believing that the actual order of their development is as much needed for the removal of our difficulties as is the recognition of inter-relation and dependence among the various modes. In a problem of kinematics (in which the law of movements is studied without reference to the conception of force or the nature of the moving body) it is theoretically indifferent at which of several points in a given system an investigation is begun. But the practical success of the investigation often depends very largely upon a happy selection of the point of origin. Something of the same kind may be true in the more difficult inquiries of morals or of spiritual life. Not to recognise transition at all is to be condemned to ignorance. But recognition of transition and even a knowledge of its law may not bring so much advantage as is possible, unless the study of the facts begin at a suitable point. It is precisely in the Holy Scriptures, and above all in the words of our Lord, that a correct discernment of this point is to be recovered in face of a systematic theology which necessarily tends to proceed from the point which is ideally fundamental in the judgement of a school or an age. There are few changes more revolutionary in personal mental experience than the change from Protestant theology to the theology of St. Athanasius, and this in spite of a coincidence of teaching upon points of substantial

[1] There is for example no teaching of the mystic *death* of baptism, nor of the community of life with other believers which it effects, and the fact that the new life is that of a member of Christ is not *explicitly* indicated.

debate among Christians. The difference is largely a difference of the point of origin. Something of the same revolution which takes place in the student's mind when the Greek theology is opened seems to have been effected or vigorously attempted by de Berulle in the religious thought of France, and that in the same way, namely, by restoring the origin for theological investigation to the Athanasian point, the Person of the Incarnate Word.

As the point of origin for us is the Person of the Saviour, so the point of origin for our Lord is the need of the man who comes to Him by night, the need of light, the condition of vision. A detailed comment on the incident of Nicodemus (so far as it lies within my capacity) is not desirable for this paper. The significance of the Pharisee's character, the practical and moral import of birth as a change fundamental, indispensable, and beyond the recipient's power, the *direction* in which we should look for the meaning of the figure of birth, the reference of the change to the action of the Spirit moving in sovereign independence and bringing the subject into the same law of freedom—all these we pass over, or rather we accept all this taken together as the starting-point, for it is the point of origin chosen by our Lord. He begins with the necessities of the human, alienated person. He passes from the change which must take place in him to the Divine action which causes the change—to the movement of the Spirit. He declares the characteristic of the new life which is added to the nature derived from fallen humanity.

But from all this, so high and eventful a mystery, He speaks of a transition which is needed to 'heavenly things' (*τὰ ἐπουράνια*). All that has been said is in the region of rudiments. How shall the man who finds these too high for belief, these earthly things (*τὰ ἐπίγεια*), pass to the revelation which awaits him? 'How will ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?'

What are these *ἐπίγεια* and *ἐπουράνια*? It is plain that the earthly things are not the physical movements which our Lord accepted as the image of the Spirit's free action, nor the water, taken by itself, which is the instrument of baptism. For Nicodemus lacked faith concerning the 'earthly things,' and these facts of physical experience make no demand upon faith. The 'earthly things' must comprise the whole mystery of baptism so far as our Lord had disclosed it. They comprise the new birth,

the birth from above, by water, and by the Spirit, which gives entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven, and spiritual being to that which was flesh, born of the flesh, i. e. the natural man with all those natural powers which remain in him in a fallen state. But if the whole mystery of regeneration, even the action of the Holy Spirit as it works manward and in man, if the unspeakable inward change of baptism, quite as much as the sign of it, is in some sense among τὰ ἐπίγεια, what are the heavenly things? The reality of the new birth in the individual, too high for selfish or worldly conception, too hard for an ungenerous or unexercised faith, is still but the earthward, 'lower' side of a Divine mystery. What is its higher side, the heavenly things of which our Lord had not yet spoken? πῶς ἐὰν εἴπω ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια πιστεύσετε;

The heavenly things are those transactions in God Himself which are first the timeless original, and then the historical gift, and to the end the primitively new fountain, of the whole life of Grace. We are taught by our Lord to discern in them two parts which He teaches in the order of our discovery, the reverse of the order of their origin. Starting from man as he is by nature, and man as he is dealt with by God, the Lord passes to the life of the Son. From Grace which is the life of Christ in us[1] we are led to that which is nearest, the life which was in Christ Himself before He took us severally to Himself, the life of the Son Incarnate. This is the near border of the heavenly things, the reality whereby God entered in sovereignty into human nature, sanctifying it in perfect obedience within His own personal life. That this, the Incarnation and humbling of the Word, is that to which our faith is first to pass is indicated when our Lord, immediately after the words 'How shall ye believe?' adds 'And no man hath ascended into heaven, but He that descended out of heaven, even the Son of Man,' who is also to be lifted up and to draw men from below to receive eternal life. This, then, is the first-seen heavenly counterpart and cause of man's new birth. His new life, his entrance to the Kingdom, is connected with a mysterious coming down of One who is from heaven. And as He who descended alone ascends, we learn not obscurely that they who

[1] It is remarkable that in this place it is not stated that the new birth is a birth into or in Christ—a truth so clearly taught afterwards. It is indicated in the words, 'no man hath ascended.'

ascend (εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν) ascend in Him, whose descent and suffering death are cause of their life and exaltation.

The incarnate life, existing in earth and heaven, raises men from earth to heaven by the return to heaven in their nature of Him who came down, and in whom the believer has life eternal. The mystery of individual regeneration, then, so wonderful in itself, finds its heavenly foundation in that which is the regeneration of humanity, the 'descent,' suffering and triumph of God in Man. From this is transition to deeper altitudes of the same mystery. Beyond and above and older than the Incarnation is the purpose of God concerning it. That is to say, there is a Divine counsel which caused the Incarnation, even as the Incarnate Life is the operative counterpart, the ἰδέα and αἰτία of all our life of grace. This Divine cause or principle our Lord indicates, when immediately after the words last quoted He says 'For in such wise God loved the world that He gave His Son, His only begotten Son, in order that every one that believeth on Him may not perish but have everlasting life.' He who descended, who is lifted up, who ascends, the Incarnate, is seen further to be the Son, and to be given (*v.* 16) and sent into the world (*v.* 17).

Here then the third point of light is plain: and the three appear moments in one sequence of mercy. The 'earthly' salvation depends on the Incarnate substance of life, and this proceeds from the Divine purpose of love; and all three moments are preserved in the power of that life and love, so that the Father's gift of the Son is perpetually new and remains as primitively original as was the freshness of the virgin birth in fulfilment of the Eternal purpose; and the life of the regenerate continually receives that unspeakable gift, not as by some ancient title of registered privilege, but by ever-new dependence upon unfailing mercy—the sure mercies of David.

In these three luminous points we have (as in star-pointers) a line of direction for further search. This enables us to add at once a fourth, which follows regeneration in time as that in time follows the life of Christ. This is the 'experimental' conscious apprehension of the privilege of new birth: the development of that gift, the 'entrance to the Kingdom.'

So far perhaps (on the special thread of our present thought) we are led by the incident of Nicodemus. But in order to

complete the briefest survey we attend further to certain other statements of the same mystery. For within our Lord's words we have (as has perhaps been already said) one further point which becomes in practice two. It is the reproduction in temper of the birth-gift, its substance shown in a voluntarily and resolutely chosen 'tone'; it is the becoming as little children. We have the truth of *character*. And further, this is secured by acts of obedience and service of which it is itself the root, and like all roots nourished by the leaves to which it gives birth. We have the truth of *habit* forming character and affording proof of it.

The divisions, then, into which men's thoughts naturally fall are all represented in the Divine teaching. They are represented in their order of discovery, a discovery which starting at the making of a Christian proceeds upwards and downwards in time. They may also be resumed in the order of their origin. In this ideal or formal order we have:—

1. The mysterious origin of the heavenly things. It is an event or an element in the Divine life, a determination of the Divine mind. 'God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son,' offering Him to faith as the substance of salvation.

2. There is an event in the life of the Word, in His mission; involving, including His Incarnation. 'He that came down from heaven,' the Son of Man through whose uplifting on the Cross comes salvation and eternal life, shows in the transactions of time the law of an unchanging counsel.

3. There is a sacramental bestowal of this life: the result of the coming down. A man is born of water, born of spirit even as he was born of flesh; born from above.

4. There is an inward spiritual experience. By the Spirit, viewless and free as the wind, he also who is born of the Spirit is raised to a law above that of physical determination. His life follows the movement of God. He sees, he enters the kingdom of God.

He that is baptized and so saved, born again, born from above, brought into the law of the Spirit and the kingdom of God, is also to become conscious of the heavenly condition, and the process of development may take time or be accomplished in some marked event. The spirit of regeneration becomes known as the spirit of adoption.

5. But further there is to be a conformity of will and temper and character. 'Except ye be baptized' is answered by 'except ye be converted and become as little children.'

6. Lastly, the necessary security in action of the above, the habitual and specially accepted duties which cultivate and fulfil the moral temper of children, also find their representation in the Divine teaching. The new-born must serve one another, in honour preferring one another.

Briefly along this special line there are these things:—(1) the heavenly gift of the Son, (2) the Incarnate Life within which the Baptism in Jordan itself is a typical representation of the down-coming to fulfil righteousness, (3) the Sacrament of Baptism, (4) the spirit of regeneration and adoption, (5) the temper of humility, (6) the practice of obedience.

Now it is precisely upon these points, taken severally, that the actual 'schools' of religious thought are supposed to lay stress, and sometimes almost exclusive stress; are supposed, that is, by those who (in each case) stand outside them. The result for confusion is almost the same practically as if the outside judgement were in each case just. Each point is seen as exalted not by showing its causal and necessary relation with the whole, but by obliterating or disparaging the rest which go to make up the whole.

(i) Emphasis upon the first alone is attributed to no definite school; but it is represented, nobly and well, by a certain temper amongst us which stands sufficiently apart, and is indeed perhaps the salt of our mental life. It is the temper which broods voicelessly upon the deep unnameable, or reports to us its acquisitions of light only in reverberating salutations to the Immensities and Infinities, the Silences and Powers which lie aloft, below, beyond our knowledge. In devotion, this, which is indeed the one thing needful, has sometimes almost reached an utterance for some souls—almost at any rate afforded a guidance—in the call to the Divine Cloud, to the treading down of all thought under the 'veil of forgetting'; or in the more warmly breathed invitation of St. John of the Cross to come forth into the Dark Night, to essay the Ascent of Mount Carmel under the stars or in the starless gloom. This holy temper is at home with the prophet in the deadness which was vision; it watches as did Abraham when the horror of darkness settled upon the accepted sacrifice

of covenant. In worship it offers its voice of music for a clue to secrets unexpressed ; in agnosticism it has its reverence and awful yearning. In positive theology of a less tentative tone and of a less inward and formless meditation it is apt to pass into a teaching which affects us as being reversed in position, as resting upon the clouds, starting with an immense series of masterful definitions of the infinite and indefinable for which we are shown no authority, and which are proposed rather as the base of new structures of creed and commandment than as the apex of a building.

That is the temper which longs for the 'heavenly things,' which would in a certain inexpressible love and dependence become aware of the unending and always unspeakable gift by which the Son becomes ours from the Bosom of the Eternal Father. It is amiss only if its love for the One is nourished by contempt for His manifestations ; if, as in the agnostic, reverence for the Silences is allowed to disparage the words which have reached us thence ; if, in the mystic, the rapture of the Dark Night is disturbed by thought of an Incarnate Son of Man[1]; if, in the dogmatic, a train of self-multiplying definitions is allowed to grow without check received from the historical life of Jesus, or the discoverable needs of men. Briefly it is the *beginning* at this point, which is only formally and in idea a starting-point, which sets us wrong. Our safe course begins with Jesus, His words and Himself; and from Him revealed passes upward to the Father whom no man hath seen, and down to the august institutions Christ has created and the hearts and lives He claims to inhabit and to command.

(ii) The second stage is that of the Incarnate life. Of this it may be possible to create a study which refuses to follow the actual developments of the Life it regards. Pausing in the naturalistic study of the actions of the Son of Man and of His character, judged as the character of a man among men, it becomes fruitless for human society just because of its refusal to know that which our Lord has Himself told us of His pre-incarnate life. The study of Jesus, artificially freed from all that

[1] This is not the case, I need scarcely say, with St. John of the Cross. He, like St. Bernard, is one who sings with the Bride in the Canticle, and in the darkness of natural solitude expects the discovery of Christ the Divine Lover.

He Himself claimed of oneness with the Father, artificially separated from all that He Himself created of social effort, may enable us to set up a standard of conduct under the shelter of His name, but it will not guide us to the knowledge of Him as He breaks the power of sin. Such an isolated study perhaps belongs to no one. If it did, it would probably claim different names according to the accomplishments and tastes which nourished it. It would be 'Bible Christianity' in some circles; in others it would be 'a thorough-going historical reconstruction' of the Saviour freed from all additions made by the Empirical Church. Its characteristic word might be: 'Theological dogma, mystical reverie, are alike unnecessary, and sacramental organisation mischievous. The true Christian is he who asks what Jesus did.'

(iii) In the third place we have the Sacramental doctrine, the mind turned to events in the Church which extend to us the life of Christ. Along this line comes all that Institutional Christianity which has already been referred to. This, with its avenues on either hand, is for many the most practical basis for Christian apprehension. In the mystery of her station as the bride of Christ; in the social achievement which she continually wins; in the great structure of worship, dogma, law, of rite and sacrament and guarded Scripture and common prayer; in her unbroken sequence of hierarchical succession; the Church as seen on earth with her treasure of history and her opportunity for the future is moreover, as we saw, full of avenues to that which is high and to that which is inward, and personal, and obscure, and of daily need. The life of God is the known substance of the Church's actions; and these in their turn secure not merely the fixed and finished foundation, but the constitutive and perpetually energising law of personal faith and personal obedience. But even the ecclesiastical temper may be confined and made mechanical. There might be—those who stand aside say there is—a 'High Churchmanship' which should dwell exclusively on the sacramental glories and privileges, while forgetting both the Divine origin and the personal development of the gifts bestowed; which should guard the succession of a hierarchy without remembrance of the mission of Christ, and should adorn with symbolic reverence the mysteries of His Presence without seeking Him either in heaven

or as He is in men 'the hope of glory.' Of such a churchmanship the word might be: 'History is unprofitable and prophecy departed. Beware of a merely subjective pietism or an exaltation of secular enterprise: preserve the due sequence of rite and the integrity of authority; and you shall be a real Christian because bonded into the real Church.'

It is difficult, at least for the present writer, even to imagine such a mechanical churchmanship, or to express its imagined cry without using the very words which save it from isolation. It passes soon into the right institutionalism which says 'Dwell in the land and verily thou shalt be fed'; 'we wait for Thy loving kindness, O God: in the midst of Thy Temple.' And this because the 'institution' we deal with is itself living, not an organisation but an organism, not a corporation but a body. We have perpetually to guard against the substitution for it of an earthly association defined either by the natural powers of political force and expediency, or by theories drawn from nobler sources and relying upon nobler motives, but still not of Christ. But we shall ill serve the spirituality of the Church by distinguishing, so as to distribute, its organisation and its inspiration; by proposing, for example, to add to the ministry of office a ministry of *χαρίσματα*. This is to condemn the office to deadness. Whereas in the old covenant the Priest and the Prophet stood over against one another, in the new their functions are united and are shared by the whole Christian body; so that the authority is inspired, and inspiration is subject to authority: the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets in the order of the Church, because the order is informed by the Life-giving Spirit.

The third head, then, taken exclusively, would be the province of a mechanical ecclesiasticism, recommending us to avoid on the one hand the labour of criticism, and on the other the mazes of 'morbid introspection,' so as to rely simply upon a so-called 'obedient' reception of the appointed ordinances. It tends to a reduction of individual liberty. 'Put yourself in my hands and I will see you safe' often represents its aspiration, which thus runs the risk of robbing God of live souls and making His kingdom poorer by precisely the number of automata manufactured.

(iv) The fourth head is that of spiritual experience. It is mystical in a different sense from that indicated above. Here

is the mysticism of St. Teresa or St. Catherine of Siena, as contrasted (and it is a real contrast) both with the mysticism of Pseudo-Dionysius or Ruysbroeck and with the theological rapture of St. Gertrude.

It is of this that those who cannot claim to know Protestantism have accused the Protestant temper in one of its great varieties. If there are teachers who regard it exclusively, their representative word might be 'It avails not to say that you believe the revelation of God's purpose; it avails not to worship the Christ of history in the past; least of all does it avail to have received the sacraments of the Church. The real Christian is he who is aware of Christ within himself, who *feels* the spirit of adoption. Such an one needs no other test: he depends upon no companionship or authority. He has the witness in himself.'

Something of such a temper is said to be in the Spiritual Christian of the great Alexandrians; something which may be supposed to look like it in certain parts of the varied teaching of St. Augustine[1]. It has its great attractions, its great temptations. We have only to urge that its true life and safety lie not

[1] St. Augustine makes the study of Scripture 'the path towards love.' He may be *represented* as stating a corollary which is by no means required by the conception of this end of Scripture, viz. that the man who has laid hold of the end may dispense with the means. So in *de Doctrina Christiana* i 39, 'Homo fide spe et caritate subnixus eaque inconcusse retinens, non indiget scripturis nisi ad alios instruendos': quoted by A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, iii 204 note. But in a general view of the treatise *de Doctrina Christiana*, this appears as a practical proximate statement of experience rather than as a definition of an abiding relation between Scripture and Grace. A man may observe, as the Saint does, that in point of fact some believers for their present spiritual requirements grow to be independent for a time of the letter of Scripture—'Multi per haec tria [fidem spem et caritatem] etiam in solitudine sine codicibus uiuunt; perfectum aliquid tenentes' they need not turn to texts. But this does not imply that Scripture as a whole is not entirely required for spiritual life as a whole and for its continued advance. Note on that point St. Augustine's tone in *contra Faustum*, e.g. in lib. xiii cap. 18, 'Abiciant ergo qui crediderunt omnes libros per quos factum est ut crederent.' Such, he represents, is the inevitable conclusion of the opponent's argument. But in this case what becomes of the Gospel, 'Nam si hoc uerum est, cur uel ipsum Euangelium Christi a fidelibus legatur non uideo. ante fidem quippe inutile est ... post fidem superuacuum.' The conclusion of an unread Gospel is for Augustine a *reductio ad absurdum*. Harnack adds that in *de Doctrina Christiana*, book i, cap. 34, Augustine 'borders on the belief of Origen that the Christ of history belongs to the past for him who lives in love,'—a statement which ill reflects the noble words of that chapter where the Lord's words in John xiv 6 are paraphrased thus:—'per me uenitur, ad me peruenitur, in me permanetur.' The Christ of history was not known to Augustine as a person apart from the Christ of love.

in isolation, but precisely in dependence upon those things which in our thought precede it. It is the realised acquisition in consciousness of that which is substantially bestowed in Sacraments; of that which stands fast in Christ, the Christ of history and the Christ of prayer; of that which has its ever new fountains in the deep love of God. And it leads on to that which follows, the Christian temper, the Christian activities. Unless it draws its streams from revealed truth and spreads them out in social service, the inward devotion is insecure and may become only the involved admiration of self.

But it is difficult indeed to conceive an inwardness which should be both sincere and mistaken. It is with this as it is with 'Churchmanship.' The nature of that which is believed saves the belief from straying. The Church approached as a structure turns out to be a Heart; the prayer which is cultivated as an individual treasure turns out to be a Community. All (and it is our very plea which can scarcely be suppressed even in the attempt to sketch an imagined exclusiveness), all is in the inward fidelity, all is in the honest churchmanship, all either by way of seed or by way of flower or fruit. But, we may be asked, if the whole process has to take place in consciousness and in moral discipline, is not the sacramental system gratuitous? To those who make this objection from the point of view of Protestantism it might be enough to say that the same objection lies against the memory of our Lord's life. Of those who take what is called a broader ground it may be asked in turn whether the cause is superfluous because of the indispensable character of the effect? And if there is a work for consciousness, will it not be precisely the work of knowing the causes since the effect itself is an intelligence?

And again from another quarter and in a different interest what sounds like the same question may be put. For some who find the inward joy are inclined to ask whether it is worth while to question the outward facts, since the fruit of them is held. The answer is, of course, that faith is only faith if it regards its object as true; not true for it but true itself, having the antiquity or rather the eternity of self-sufficient being, while it awakens in the believer the security of a personal reproduction.

It is not unnatural if some who dwell exclusively on the

secret experience of the new-born life are drawn to disparage the sacrament, the mystery of accomplished regeneration, which links the experience of the soul to Christ. In that experience Christ so shines out that there can be no conscious remembrance of baptism. In healthy sight a man is not aware of his eyes. Yet there is no seeing without the eyes, and, without seeing, the object does not enter into apprehension. The Divine Object of faith is the cause also and giver and operator of organ and apprehension alike. We see Him, we see by Him, He sees in us. And the three realities are one. To exalt the seeing we do not disparage the eye. To care only for the Incarnate life while neglecting all effort to secure its connexion with ourselves, might be the fault of a merely antiquarian school. To exalt the sacrament to the disparagement of personal experience of its power is an attitude sometimes ascribed to Churchmen. To combine the most earnest regard for the affectionate realisation of sonship with neglect of the truth of His recorded life, with some contempt of the definitions of faith concerning Him, with some approach to disregard of the sacraments He bestows, this is something like the position ascribed to Evangelical believers by those who in turn fall under their perhaps unjust condemnation. There is no need, in gratitude to a present Saviour, to think meanly of those laborious debates by which the Church wrought out her treasured definitions, or to look grudgingly upon the tasks of to-day—the reduction of obstacles to faith in philosophy and science, the hard labour of historical research, the critical investigation of the literary sources of our knowledge of Christ and of His work as external to ourselves[1].

[1] It is precisely the notion of development which ought to prevent us from discarding as unessential this or that element of Christian life—as dogma, rule, or necessary rite of fellowship—in favour, for example, of feeling. Strictly speaking, the 'essence' of Christianity is Christ and is in God—not even in feelings which are judged to be exhibited in common by the Reformation and the New Testament. (Pfleiderer, *The Essence of Christianity*, 'The New World,' Sept. 1892.)

But if by essential is meant 'necessary to the integrity of development,' we should remember that leaves belong to the necessary form of a plant as well as roots or fruit; that if the root makes the leaves sprout, the leaves make the root to swell. The seed by which new individuals are to be originated contains within itself the primitive leaves in actual form, and their function of nourishment is exercised at the very beginning of growth.

Nevertheless, adventitious and unwholesome growths apart, there are times when to prune the growth is to increase the crop, as well as times when to shear the leaves is to starve the root.

(v) The fifth topic (if that word will serve) is the topic of moral character. It may be conceived as the special care of a certain liberal teaching of which the characteristic word may be something like this: 'Not what a man believes concerning the unseen constitutes him a Christian, nor is his religious state defined by the company in which he worships or by the Sacraments which he receives. Not even certain affectionate or reverent feelings determine his position, and the supposed "real events of inward life" are shared by all kinds of enthusiasts, good and bad. A man's position is defined by what he *is*. It is the character of Jesus, judged by the best standards of natural ethics,—His meekness, His truth, His right manliness, His unselfishness—these constitute the true claim of the Master, and it is the reproduction of these which constitutes the true disciple.'

Nothing could be truer as the matter stands in fact, precisely because in fact right conduct is only reached in this discipleship. But the idea is false if it is intended to discard as unimportant both right belief and true incorporation. It is as if a man should say: The fruit alone makes the vine. That is true enough in fact, but precisely because you cannot gather grapes from thorns—and for the same reason it is capable of a false meaning. In morals we sometimes infer the unimportance of the root from the very solidity of the results which show it to be indispensable.

It is impossible indeed to express with sufficient strength the sanctity of 'works,' the actual reproduction of the divine life and the divine presence which belongs to virtue alone. William Law has gone far to teach us the substantially divine character of all goodness. But in course of use the strictest words of identification are dissolved into metaphor, with the result that instead of ethics being lifted up into divinity—goodness being ascribed to God only and its exhibition in man identified with God's presence —the divine original mysteries are lowered to be poetic ways of representing what is supposed to be an independent goodness.

The application of notions of development to society and the Church has been to some serious extent confused by a want of clearness, in a given application, as to whether it was the development of the individual from the embryo, or the descent of a race with modification, which was being studied by way of analogy. Phylogeny and ontogeny have been mixed. They are to be connected and their common laws sought for; but in applying them by analogy to religion we have too often passed from one to the other without notice and even without discernment.

Christianity is the increase of money spent, of numbers 'got together,' for no particular end.

And yet, if only not isolated, it might all be true. 'Pure religion and undefiled is to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction.' Good works are more than a result, much more than a concomitant, of holiness. They are holiness, God's presence, in action.

In all these directions our task is to resist by every means the separating tendency; to watch against this more jealously than against any other evil, and at every fresh emergence of it to show the new substitute (as it may be) for historical Christianity, or for sacramental grace, or for prayer or character or service, its true place as a constitutive element (for so if it has any solidity it must be) in the one reality of life. It is the Bible, and especially the New Testament, and herein above all the words of the Lord, which must show us this unity.

I have laboured at too great a length a connexion or series which is obvious enough and obtains full recognition in a thousand mission sermons outside of controversy. A word of St. Paul may seem to form a clasp for our chain of thoughts so as to make of them a continuous circle. The great passage on humility in Philippians ii, is only one of many in which the apostle asserts (1) the Divinely mysterious root, and (2) the consequences in duty, of a true ecclesiastical position. It is especially important for our present purpose as connecting our last link, the link of action, directly with our first. We are to cherish a humble temper and a life of service free from faction and vainglory because thus we share the Mind of Christ; we think and feel with Him. Here in goodness is the mind which was His before His Incarnation, and which within the life of glory was the motive of His mysterious self-emptying by the addition of our poverty to His unchanging fullness, the motive of His humility and His obedience unto death. Our community with Christ is shown to be precisely in the self-emptying, and this was also His mind in full community with the Father.

The last, and as it seemed the lowest link, the prosaic version of spiritual position in true character, and true character in faithful conduct, proves to be the link not of approach but of arrival. Here at last, in character and in conduct, is actual coincidence or

unity with that Divine secret which was the first source of all the series. Our links form a circle; or perhaps a pentagon[1]. For there are real angles, real distinction and transition between each two stages: and yet by virtue of the angles of distinction, the unity of a necessary figure is preserved; each part is found indispensable, and the last to be produced brings us to that which was the starting-point. If belief is the sight of God, and sacraments the bond to God, and prayer the sense of God, then character is conformity to God and conduct is union with Him, for this is love in action and God who is pure Act is pure Love.

Such considerations may not be useless for an object which is theologically and scientifically desirable, even though they may serve another purpose. The purpose I mean is that of persuading good churchmen not to be wholly offended when they hear sacramental terms roughly applied—as, for example, when conversion is wrongly but by a natural mistake called 'regeneration.' We who are born again yet have not constantly walked in the Spirit, and ruled by the flesh we fail to see the kingdom. When by a reassertion of the Spirit's power the old gift becomes operative in a man, and an abundant entrance is ministered for him into the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, it is little wonder if in the fresh outburst of the joy of sonship he describes himself (like Origen) as one new-born that day of God. Let those who rightly hold fast to the secure and unique beginning of each man's salvation consider that the unknown and unexamined gift of a new life, substantially bestowed in Baptism, is developed into explicit consciousness by an inward reproduction of its essential foundations in personal experience of weakness and strength, in knowing that emptiness of the creature which is filled, as it can only be filled, by an infinite Gift.

P. N. WAGGETT.

[1] Pentagon, not hexagon; because our sixth head, which comprises actions, though it takes in practically the whole exhibition of life, remains for the purposes of system and idea a subsidiary part of the fifth head, the head of morals. Yet this subsidiary section must be followed in history through all the varied enterprises by which the Church has endeavoured—with varying directness of aim—to find expression for her inward brooding acceptance of spiritual truth; the successive enterprises of martyrdom, and church-planting, and creed-formation and monastic rule; of mission and crusade and symbolic ceremony and canon law; of school-theology and plastic art. It must be followed, in practical endeavour, to the real attempting of our modern duties—the Christianising of social activity at home, and the maintenance abroad of wide territorial movements of evangelisation.

THE JEWISH ANTECEDENTS OF THE EUCHARIST[1].

THE importance of Jewish Archaeology for the study of Christian origins seems to have been strangely overlooked in some recent critical discussions of New Testament problems, and more especially in some of those which deal with the complicated questions raised by the analysis of the Gospels. In his preface to the third edition of the late Dr. Edersheim's *History of the Jewish Nation* (published 1896) Prof. Sanday laments that the brilliant group of Jewish-Christian scholars, represented by Edersheim and his contemporaries Franz Delitzsch[2], Ferdinand Weber, Biesenthal, and Caspari, has left few successors.

Prof. Schechter, too, in a lecture delivered in London some three years ago at University College, deplored the neglect of Rabbinical studies in England, and invited Christian scholars to enter this field[3]. Happily we have still among us Dr. Charles Taylor, of Cambridge, while among foreign scholars the names of Strack and Dalman at once occur in this connexion. But it remains unfortunately true that there is a deplorable lack of representatives of Jewish scholarship among Christian scholars. As a consequence the importance of the subject is not adequately recognised throughout the ranks of the whole body of New Testament students, at any rate in England. And till Jewish scholarship has a larger voice in the counsels of criticism, critical results must necessarily, it would seem, be one-sided and tentative to a degree that is really unnecessary. Perhaps some improvement will take place when the English translation of the first instalment of Dr. Dalman's great work, *Die Worte Jesu*, appears. Till,

[1] A paper read before the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford, May 23, 1901.

[2] Delitzsch was not, however, of Jewish descent, as is often erroneously stated.

[3] The lecture has appeared, under the title *Some Rabbinic Parallels to the New Testament*, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xii 415 ff. (April, 1900), and was reproduced recently in the *Homiletic Review* (May, 1901).

however, a larger number of New Testament scholars consents to give much closer attention to the relevant Jewish institutional and religious history than has been the case within recent years, we must resign ourselves to inconclusive and unconvincing critical results.

On what Prof. Schechter has called its 'halakhic' or legal and institutional side the New Testament offers no more fascinating and at the same time complex problem than the question of the real relation between the Christian Eucharist and the Jewish Passover. Was the last Supper a Passover? If not, what account are we to give of the paschal features that undoubtedly exist in some of the New Testament accounts of the institution of the Rite?

When such an authority as Prof. Sanday, after a full review of the evidence and of recent theories on the subject, is obliged to confess that 'as the question at present stands we can only acknowledge our ignorance[1],' it would be presumptuous to imagine that I can give an answer which will solve all difficulties. Yet there is one possibility which has been overlooked in all discussions of the subject that I have seen, and which I venture to put forward in the hope that it will be deemed at least worthy of consideration by those who have a right to pronounce judgement. If in my presentment of the hypothesis I traverse some well-known ground, this will, I hope, be pardoned in the interests of lucid statement.

I.

(1) *First, then, was the Last Supper a Passover?* At first sight the Synoptic accounts appear imperatively to demand the identification. We are expressly told (Marc. xiv 12) that on 'the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover,' the disciples inquired where the Passover was to be eaten. The sacrifice of the Paschal lamb took place on the afternoon of Nisan 14. On the evening of that day, which from sunset onwards would according to Jewish reckoning be counted as the beginning of Nisan 15, it is implied in the Synoptic accounts that the Last Supper was eaten, and so would coincide with the Jewish Paschal meal. Thus the Crucifixion must have taken place the following day, viz. on the afternoon of Nisan 15.

[1] Art. 'Jesus Christ' in Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, ii p. 634 b.

In the Fourth Gospel, however, the Crucifixion is clearly represented to have taken place on the afternoon of Nisan 14, when the Paschal lambs were sacrificed (cf. Jo. xiii 1, xviii 28, xix 14, 31). According to this representation the Last Supper must have been eaten a whole day before the regular Jewish Passover. However explained, there is here a direct conflict of evidence, and the question arises, which account has internal probability in its favour? It seems to the writer that a number of considerations converge in favour of the Johannine narrative.

(*a*) The evidence of the Synoptic accounts is self-contradictory. As the veteran Dr. Chwolson—the last of the band of Jewish Christian scholars left to us—has pointed out in his monograph *Das letzte Passahmahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes*[1], the expression יום ראשון לחג המצות i.e. *The first day of unleavened bread* has always been understood by Jewish writers—both ancient and modern—to refer to Nisan 15 not 14. On the other hand the Passover lamb was sacrificed on Nisan 14. Consequently the expression 'On the first day of unleavened bread *when they sacrificed the Passover*' involves a contradiction in terms. This argument seems to me to be absolutely decisive. In other respects also the Synoptic accounts are inconsistent with themselves and irreconcilable with Jewish usages, if the time of the Last Supper is made to synchronize with that of the Jewish Paschal meal.

(*b*) There is further the significant omission in all the accounts of any mention of the Paschal Lamb. If the sequence of events in the Fourth Gospel is correct, Christ was Himself the Paschal Lamb; and this representation is confirmed by the language of St. Paul (1 Cor. v 7), 'Christ our Passover has been sacrificed.'

(*c*) In all the accounts it is noticeable that *one* Cup only is mentioned which was partaken of by *all*; whereas at the Passover a special point is made of each man having his own Cup to drink from. This is a point which is often overlooked, and to which it will be necessary to return.

(*d*) Lastly there is the discrepancy between the Lucan account and that in the other Synoptists, which must be reserved for fuller discussion below.

We may safely assume, then, that the Last Supper was cele-

[1] p. 3.

brated on the night of Nisan 14, that is, the night before the Jewish Passover; and that it is not to be identified with the Paschal meal of the Jews—for the theory that it was an *anticipatory* celebration of the Passover will not bear examination.

(2) *Can it, then, be connected with any other Jewish Ceremonial observance?* I believe the answer to this question to be in the affirmative, and the Jewish ceremony in question to be the weekly *Kiddûsh.*

The ceremony of Kiddûsh, or weekly Sanctification of the Sabbath, is an ancient Rabbinical observance, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Christian times. This is proved by the fact that the order of the first two blessings—that over the wine, and that over the Day—was a subject of dispute between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, 100 years before the destruction of the Temple[1]. The traditional way of explaining the Mosaic command (Ex. xx 8) *Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy* (לקדשו) was, according to the Talmud, *Remember it over the wine* (זכרהו על־היין *Pesachim* 107 a). Hence, of course, its special name of קִדּוּשׁ or קִדּוּשׁ הַיּוֹם i.e. *Sanctification* or *Sanctification of the Day.* This ancient ceremony is still largely observed in the Jewish Home, with much of its pristine simplicity. It is essentially a Home-observance, and according to the dicta of the Rabbis can only be properly celebrated in conjunction with, and as a prelude to, the Sabbath Evening meal.

Before sunset and darkness on Friday the Jewish wife lights in the dining-room extra candles or a special lamp in honour of the Sabbath, pronouncing over them as she does so the appropriate benediction. On the return of the father with his sons from the synagogue service (for the women rarely attend synagogue on Friday night) they find the table prepared, spread with a clean table-cloth, and at the head, where the father sits, two loaves of bread—which are usually specially baked for the occasion—in memory (so it is explained) of the double portion of manna which was gathered on Fridays. These are covered with a napkin. Near them stands an empty cup, and close to this a jug or bottle of wine to fill it. After chanting the praises of a virtuous wife

[1] Cf. in the Mishna *Berākhôth*, ch. 8, § 1 (= Surenhusius i 38), for the weekly Kiddûsh; and for the Kiddûsh of Passover, *Pesāchim*, ch. 10, § 2 (= Surenhusius ii 173).

from Proverbs xxxi the husband begins the *Kiddûsh* proper. This is prefaced by the verses in Genesis relating the work of Creation on the sixth and the Rest on the seventh day. Then he fills the cup, and holding it up proceeds:—

'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and wast pleased with us, and hast given us for a heritage, in love and favour, thy holy Sabbath, a memorial of the work of Creation. For it precedes all thy holy convocations, in memory of the going forth from Egypt. For thou hast chosen us, and hast hallowed us above all nations, and hast given us, in love and favour, thy holy Sabbath for a heritage. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hallowest the Sabbath[1].'

The father then drinks from the Cup, hands it to his wife, and she to the children and others at the table, all drinking from it. Then follows the ceremony of washing the hands. The husband thereupon utters the benediction for bread:—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth,' and he proceeds to cut one loaf, taking a piece for himself and distributing pieces to the others. If wine is not at hand, the washing of hands takes place first, and the benediction over bread is substituted for that over wine, the bread being cut and distributed at once. Then follows the Sabbath meal.

Kiddûsh, however, is not confined to the Sabbath. The great festivals are preceded in exactly the same way by a solemn 'Sanctification.' Thus there is a *Kiddûsh* for Passover, Pentecost (Feast of Weeks), Tabernacles, the Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly, &c. The ceremony is substantially the same in all cases—wine being used and a festive meal following, only the blessings being varied to suit the special character of the day. It should be noted that the *first* of the four Passover Cups is the Cup of the Kiddûsh for Passover.

The remarkable points of contact between this ceremony and the Christian Sacrament are at once apparent. Perhaps the most

[1] For the order of service, as now used, cf. Singer, *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (Hebrew and English), p. 124 (published by Eyre and Spottiswoode).

striking is the distribution of the *one* Cup. Another noticeable point is the order in which the constituent parts of the ceremony are arranged, viz.:—

(i) *The Cup.* (ii) *The washing of hands* (for which, as Edersheim[1] has suggested, it is not improbable that our Lord deliberately substituted the feet-washing described in Jo. xiii). (iii) *The distribution of the bread.* Now this order—first the Cup, and then the Bread—is significant. It agrees with the Lucan account (Luc. xxii 14–20), where, as is now generally agreed, only one Cup (according to the true text) is mentioned, and this comes first[2]. Further, St. Paul twice mentions the Cup first (1 Cor. x 16, 21). It is true that in the former of these passages the expression used is 'Cup of blessing' (τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας) which apparently exactly corresponds to the third of the Passover Cups, the technical name of this being 'The Cup of blessing' (כוס של ברכה). But the coincidence is, I believe, merely verbal. The full designation of the third Paschal Cup is כוס של ברכת המזון i.e. *The Cup of Blessing over meat.* 'Blessing' in this expression qualifies not the Cup, but 'over meat'; whereas in the Pauline phrase 'Cup of Blessing' = the consecrated or blessed Cup; 'for,' as Grimm in Thayer remarks[3], 'that this is the meaning is evident from the explanatory adjunct ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν' —*The Cup of Blessing which we bless.* There is therefore no difficulty in identifying *the Cup of Blessing* in this passage with the *Kiddûsh* Cup.

A more serious difficulty remains, however, with regard to the detailed account of the Institution given in 1 Cor. xi 23–28, the passage beginning 'For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread,' &c. Here the usual order is followed, and paschal features are more marked. On further examination of this passage, however, the stereotyped character of the language—so unlike St. Paul's usual manner—appeared very striking, and suggested the conclusion that it is in effect a citation by St. Paul of a liturgical formula already current

[1] *Jesus the Messiah*, ii 497.

[2] The textual phenomena of this passage are fully set forth by Prof. Sanday in the article cited above (Hastings' *D. B.* vol. ii) p. 636.

[3] *Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v. εὐλογία.

when he wrote[1]. On this hypothesis the discordance between St. Luke and St. Paul disappears.

One other venerable authority agrees with the Lucan account in placing the Cup before the Bread—and this is, perhaps, its most striking corroboration—I mean the *Didache*[2]. The passage in question is so remarkable that it is worth while to transcribe it in full: I quote from Dr. Taylor's translation[3]:—

'And as touching the feast of Thanksgiving [Eucharist], thus give ye thanks:

'First, concerning the Cup, We thank thee, O our Father, for the holy vine of David thy child, which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever.

'And concerning the broken bread, We thank thee, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever.

'As this broken bread was once scattered in grains upon the mountains, and being gathered together became one; so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom. For thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.'

I venture to suggest, then, that the real Jewish antecedent of the Lord's Supper was the weekly *Kiddûsh*. We may suppose that the *Kiddûsh* was often celebrated by our Lord before His Death with His Disciples. The evidence of Acts xx 7 ('upon the first day of the week, when they were gathered together to break bread') suggests that a *weekly* Eucharist was the common custom of the primitive Church, at any rate outside Jerusalem: and in this it is not difficult to see a reflexion of our Lord's earliest and normal practice. At the same time we must suppose that the celebration of Kiddûsh, under the influence of the high spiritual ideas with which it was infused, gradually emancipated itself from its formal connexion with the weekly sabbath. For the idea of a spiritual

[1] For further discussion of the order of the Bread and Cup given in this passage, see below, p. 365 f. I had at one time thought the passage might even be an interpolation, a theory held also, I find, by Straatman (see J. M. S. Baljon, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Groningae, 1898, *ad loc.*); but it would be very difficult to account for the absence of any trace of disturbance in the MSS, and the view expressed in the text appears to me on all grounds more satisfactory.

[2] Chap. ix.

[3] *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 128 f.

sabbath, as the sabbath which is binding on Christians, which is reflected in the second of the so-called Λόγια Ἰησοῦ, 'Except ye keep the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father,' and in the earliest post-apostolic literature, doubtless goes back to the personal teaching of Christ. The spiritual sabbath—i.e. the sabbath-rest from sin attained by leading the new life—was not a matter of one day in seven, but of every day. The Christian *Kiddûsh* might thus become a matter of frequent celebration. According to this view it must be conceived as a spiritualization of the old Jewish ceremony, which was thus made the vehicle of higher and deeper teaching by our Lord. Its frequent celebration constituted at once a parable, a bond, and a pledge of union between the Master and His followers, endeared more and more as time went on by the tenderest recollections and associations, until it culminated in the last great celebration before the Death. Is it fanciful to see in the great discourse on the True Vine, given in St. John xv, a summary of the Saviour's teaching for which the earlier celebrations of this simple Rite had at once furnished the occasion and prepared the way?

There is some support in the Gospels for thinking that such celebrations would have been frequent. Thus in the journey to Emmaus the two disciples recognise the Lord in 'the breaking of bread.' Though they had not been present at the Last Supper, yet they understood the act. There is also the discourse in St. John vi, which (especially such verses as *v.* 53 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in yourselves') seems to imply earlier eucharistic teaching. On this point Mr. Arthur Wright remarks[1], 'If we understand the Eucharist as originally a covenant of personal allegiance, there is reason to think that it was frequently celebrated during our Lord's ministry.' If the 'breaking of bread' at home, mentioned in Acts ii 46, was of daily occurrence, another corroboration would seem to be furnished for the frequency of the earlier celebrations. The earlier makes the later usage at once natural and intelligible, and explains the double practice of *daily* eucharists within the great central church of Jerusalem, coexisting with *weekly* celebrations elsewhere.

At this point it should, perhaps, be noted that according to the

[1] *New Testament Problems*, 180 f.

view here advocated, the Institution took place at the beginning —not the end—of the meal.

II.

But how, it will be asked, are the other Synoptic accounts and the account in 1 Corinthians xi to be explained? Here we have the order of the elements reversed—first the bread, and then the cup—while the narrative has received a Paschal setting. The paschal features are pronounced, even in the Corinthian epistle. Some great influence must have operated to produce these phenomena. What was it?

The answer is, I think, that the paschal features must have been developed very early under the influence of the symbolism of the Passion. Christ being the Christian's true paschal lamb (1 Cor. v 7), the memorial of the Last Supper naturally developed into the Christian Haggādā—the 'showing' (A.V.) or 'proclaiming' (R.V.) of the Lord's death till He come (1 Cor. xi 26[1]). This development, it may be supposed, was assisted by and partially coincided with the liturgical development, which ultimately issued in the severance of the Sacrament from the common meal. Practically the common meal of this earliest form of the Eucharist is identical with the *agape*. What part in the evolutionary process is to be assigned to the latter?

On the subject of the place of the agape in the early history of the Eucharist it is extremely difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion, owing to the obscurity with which it is surrounded. The following suggestions are only put forward tentatively, and with some misgiving.

The agape seems to have existed in two forms in the early Church, viz. (*a*) a native Jewish, and (*b*) a later Graecised form.

I conjecture that the ordinary meal which followed *Kiddûsh* became the earliest form of the common meal in the Church of Jerusalem. In this case the Eucharist must have *preceded* the common meal. But gradually this common meal became charged with Passover associations under the influences explained above.

[1] The Greek word in 1 Cor. xi 26 is *καταγγέλλειν* = Heb. הִגִּיד, 'to narrate, tell,' whence הַגָּדָה, *Haggādā*, 'the telling,' the technical name of the Jewish home-service for the first two nights of Passover, 'which consists mainly of a *telling* of the story of the Exodus.'

through thy child. . . . If any is holy, let him come; if any is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.'

As I understand this, chap. ix refers to the actual communion, *which is followed by the common meal, or agape.* The latter, it seems to me, is implied by the words at the beginning of ch. x 'And after being filled,' which mean '*after having partaken of the agape or common meal.*' In other words we have here (1) the Communion proper, and (2) the common meal. The words 'If any is holy, let him come; if any is not, let him repent' (ch. x) will in that case have a retrospective force, covering the combined celebration of Eucharist and Agape.

III.

It remains to add a word about the formula of Institution. The words 'This is my body' and 'This is my blood,' or 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood,' are guaranteed as the genuine words of our Lord by the combined testimony of the four New Testament accounts. They are also confirmed—and this perhaps is the most notable testimony of all—by the author of the Fourth Gospel, in his own striking way. It seems to be his manner tacitly—and sometimes in a curiously indirect way—either to correct or to confirm by fuller explanation what is set forth in the First Three Gospels. Thus instead of repeating the formula of Institution he gives us the Lord's teaching which forms its background and explanation. *I am the true vine* (John xv) is the Johannine equivalent of *This is my blood.* Indeed this great discourse with its context (John ch. xiii ff.), as it seems to the present writer, represents a summary of the Lord's Eucharistic teaching which culminated in the solemn celebration of the night before the Death.

It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that the words of Institution are entirely absent from the *Didache*. How is this to be accounted for? The explanation is, I think, simple. The fact that no account whatever of the Institution is given in the *Didache* ought to put us on our guard. It is obviously implied. The character of the manual also explains this. It is written with a view to the practical needs of the congregation *as a whole*, not of its officers. Hence the section on the Eucharist supplies merely forms of thanksgiving for the use of the recipient, not a formula

of consecration for the celebrant. Further, as Dr. Charles Taylor has pointed out, its 'meagreness' in many details 'is proof that the *Didache* must have been supplemented by oral teaching[1].'

IV.

To sum up the main points briefly. It seems to the present writer that the true Jewish antecedent of the Christian Eucharist is not the Passover, but *Kiddûsh*; that this is confirmed by the negative testimony of the Fourth Gospel (that the Last Supper was not a Passover), and positively by the order of the elements in the true text of St. Luke's account (ch. xxii [2]), and in St. Paul's indirect allusions; that further strong confirmation is to be found in the *Didache*, which also supports the view that the Eucharist first of all preceded the common meal or agape; and that the combined celebration became gradually assimilated to the Passover, under the influence of the symbolism of the Passion.

In conclusion, I would venture to quote some words of Prof. Sanday's, which have an apposite application to the points that have been discussed. 'We are reminded,' he says[3], 'that the phrase κλᾶν (κατακλᾶν) ἄρτον is repeatedly used of a solemn act of our Lord independently of the Eucharist (Marc. vi 41, viii 6, 19, Luc. xxiv 30). We are reminded also of the many instances in which attention is specially called to the "blessing" (εὐλογεῖν or εὐχαριστεῖν) of food by our Lord. They are the same words which are used in connexion with the sacramental Bread and the sacramental Cup. There is something in these facts which is not quite fully explained. There are *lacunae* in our knowledge which we would fain fill up if we could. The institution of the Eucharist appears to have connexions both backwards and forwards — backwards with other meals which our Lord ate together with His disciples, forwards with those common meals which very early came into existence in the

[1] *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 59; cf. also the important remarks on p. 50 f. of the same work.

[2] Though St. Luke preserves a reminiscence of the earlier usage in the order given of the elements, his account as a whole pronouncedly reflects the paschal features of the other Synoptists. In the received text, also, a desperate attempt has been made to harmonise St. Luke's order with that of the first two Gospels.

[3] Art. 'Jesus Christ,' Hastings' *D. B.* iii 637.

Apostolic Church. But the exact nature and method of these connexions our materials are not sufficient to make clear to us.' It is in the hope that one such clue as is here desiderated will be recognised in the venerable Jewish ceremony above described that the present paper has been written.

G. H. BOX.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above article was written, Dr. F. J. Keating's important work *The Agape and the Eucharist in the Early Church* has been published. The relation of the Agape to the Eucharist is there fully discussed. In Appendix I (pp. 165 ff.) the question as to whether the Eucharist originally preceded or followed the Agape is dealt with. Though the writer inclines to Bishop Lightfoot's opinion that 'the celebration of the Eucharist came, as it naturally would, at a later stage in the entertainment,' he admits that this statement is 'at variance' with St. Chrysostom's comment in 1 Cor. Homil. xxvii, where it is explicitly said that 'when the solemn service (τῆς συνάξεως) was completed, after the communion of the mysteries, they all went to a common entertainment,' &c. On one other point Dr. Keating agrees with the present writer, viz. in interpreting the expression in the *Didache* (ch. x) 'after being filled' (μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι) as = after having partaken of the Agape (p. 53).

G. H. B.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE SARDICAN CANONS.

THE sudden appearance of the Sardican canons on the stage of events, at a not unimportant crisis of the relations between the Roman and the African churches, is one of the most familiar problems of ancient church history. Apiarius, an African presbyter deposed by his own bishop, Urbanus of Sicca, appeals in the year 418 to Rome; Pope Zosimus entertains the appeal, and orders his restoration. The Africans, who had some years earlier formally discouraged attempts on the part of African bishops to carry matters 'across the sea'[1], question the Pope's authority in the matter, and Apiarius is not reinstated: whereupon Zosimus produces authority to support his claim in the shape of a canon which he calls Nicene. The African bishops, assembled in council to meet the Papal legates, are unable to find either the canon in question, or a second which Zosimus had also quoted, in the text of the canons brought back from Nicaea by Caecilian of Carthage, one of the few Western prelates who had been present at the great Council. Of the two canons alleged by Zosimus, the one ordained that any priest or deacon condemned by his own bishop should have a right of appeal to the neighbouring bishops—a provision more or less identical in substance with the fifth canon of Nicaea. The other contained similarly a right of appeal for any bishop condemned by his comprovincials: but to this there was no parallel at all in the Nicene canons as known in Africa, for according to the document on which Zosimus relied it was the see of Rome which was charged with the duty of deciding whether the case should be reheard, and if so, who exactly were to rehear it. In face of this divergence of texts

[1] Council of Hippo, 393, can. xxix (xxviii) 'ut episcopi trans mare non proficiscantur.' This was doubtless aimed primarily against bishops going off to push their interests at court.

the African synod decided to consult the principal churches of the East. The answer of one of them is preserved to us in the shape of a revision of the African (Caecilian's) version of the canons, carried out by order of Atticus of Constantinople: the covering letter of Cyril of Alexandria is also extant, but the documents which he sent with it are supposed to have perished [1]. Anyhow there was no doubt of the main result: the canons quoted by Zosimus were not known as Nicene to the Eastern churches.

But if Zosimus' quotations were certainly not Nicene, what were they? They belonged to a group of canons which since the time of Zosimus or soon after have been generally ascribed—whether rightly or wrongly it is the purpose of this paper to inquire—to the Council, called as oecumenical but ultimately representing only the West, which met at Sardica in 343 [2] under the presidency of Hosius of Cordova and decreed the restoration of Athanasius and other Eastern prelates who had been ejected from their sees for their adhesion to the Nicene confession. Of the historical character of the Council itself there is of course no question: but if the twenty canons which pass under its name really belong to it, it may well be asked why so little is heard of pronouncements so important during the eighty years which followed the Council—why when we do hear of them it is not as Sardican at all, but as Nicene—or why again the African bishops, instead of contenting themselves with saying that the canons were not Nicene, did not go on to point out that they were Sardican. And to these reasons for hesitation we have to add the reluctance which historians who range themselves on the negative side in the great debate upon the claims of the Roman see, which divides Western Christendom so much more effectively now than in the days of Zosimus, will naturally feel at admitting that a general right of appeal to Rome in causes ecclesiastical was decreed in full council, even if not acted on, before the middle of the fourth century. It is small wonder, then, if doubts as to the genuineness

[1] I have myself argued (in the *Guardian* newspaper for Dec. 11, 1895), that Cyril's answer really lies before us in the very numerous series of Nicene, Athanasian, and Sardican documents which form the nucleus of the collection known as that of the deacon Theodosius, cod. Veron. lx (58).

[2] It is unnecessary, I think, to enter into any disquisition on the exact date of the Sardican council. The year adopted in the text is at any rate the earliest possible, and so far the most favourable to the hypothesis I am hoping to disprove.

of these canons have occasionally been expressed, and have hovered in the background in the minds of many who have not expressed them[1]: and so on all grounds it seems to me matter for congratulation that this indefinite opposition should be brought to a head by so competent a champion as Dr. Friedrich of Munich[2]. Dr. Friedrich is a man deserving of the respect which is due to all who have made sacrifices for conscience' sake; he has a special claim to a hearing as the literary colleague and companion of the ever venerable Döllinger: and he is himself a scholar of very real and solid learning. We may rest convinced that the case as stated by him will be well and ably stated, and that, whether we agree with his results or no, we shall all benefit by the material which he has accumulated. If he marshals this material with (to say the least) no bias in favour of the claims and actions of the Roman see in the fifth century, I do not think that those who disagree with him need complain. It is an advantage to them to know exactly the full force of the case that has to be met. It is easier, as will appear in the sequel, to suggest the genuineness of the Sardican canons by showing the difficulties involved in the opposite view, than by positive arguments, which the nature of the case to some extent excludes.

Dr. Friedrich's main results can be stated in very few words. The canons now called Sardican are a forgery of the year 416–417, and the first instance of their use is in the letter of Pope Innocent to the African bishops on the Pelagian question just before his death in March of the latter year (p. 449). They

[1] An article in the *British Magazine* for 1846 (vol. xxix, pp. 241–68) is the only modern attack on their genuineness known to Dr. Friedrich. But the late Mr. E. S. Ffoulkes held the same view strongly: and if I may trust my recollection, Dr. Bright also once expressed himself to me in a sense which indicated that he would not be surprised to find that further research should prove unfavourable to their genuineness.

[2] *Die Unächtheit der Canones von Sardica* (Separat-Abdruck aus den Sitzungsberichten der philos.-philol. und der histor. Classe der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901, Heft iii). Von J. Friedrich, München, 1901.

Since this article was in type, a paper by the Bishop of Salisbury on the same subject has appeared in the *Guardian* for Feb. 26, 1902. Bp. Wordsworth is obviously inclined to accept the main conclusion of Prof. Friedrich: indeed the Bishop's statement of the case appears to me at more than one point the abler and more effective of the two. I am indebted to his paper for several references: but I cannot profess that my belief in the genuineness of the canons has been shaken.

were written in Rome, for they present unmistakable points of contact in matter with Roman documents—the rescript of the emperor Gratian to Aquilinus sent in answer to the Roman synod in 380, the canons addressed to the bishops of Gaul by another Roman synod under either Siricius (384–398) or Innocent (402–417), the decretal letter of Innocent to Victricius of Rouen in 404 (pp. 452–465). But they were written by an African, for they present hardly less unmistakable points of contact both in matter and form with various African synods (pp. 465–472)[1]. They were propounded by their forger as canons of oecumenical validity, and the Nicene Council being the only one which down to that time could lay claim to oecumenicity, it follows that they were propounded from the first as Nicene (pp. 472 ff.). The name of Sardica, in fact, was not attached to them till the sixth century (p. 452).

It is unquestionably true that the forgery of a series of canons intended to support at a time of crisis the claims of some one church—whether Roman or other—to particular privileges, is in itself neither impossible nor even improbable: and the claims of the Roman church being the most considerable, the forgeries connected with it are no doubt likely to be the most considerable also. Yet I think one begins to feel uneasy at the proportions which the mass of invention and interpolation assumes in Dr. Friedrich's pages. To accept the hypothesis of a single forgery and a single forger would have been one thing: to follow Dr. Friedrich in the tale of consequential forgeries which he unfolds is surely another—and yet some of these consequential forgeries will turn out, I suspect, to be an integral feature of his case. Does Bishop Gratus of Carthage, presiding at a council reckoned as the first of the series of Carthaginian councils (A. D. 348), make mention of 'sanctissimi concilii Sardicensis statutum': the particular canon which contains the reference is spurious (p. 419). Are there words in Innocent's letter to Victricius which assert that the limitation of the hearing of cases to the province where they arose was to be understood

[1] I see that Bp. Wordsworth too considers the 'Sardican' formula 'Osius episcopus dixit' a 'very strong argument for the African origin' of these canons, since only the African councils used this form. But it was the proper form of all official acta; cf. the Acts of the Martyrs. It was originally, no doubt, a mere matter of accident in what councils it was adopted.

'without prejudice to the Roman Church, to which reverence must be paid in all causes'—words which might be understood to allude to the system of appeals sketched out in the 'Sardican' canons: this particular passage is an interpolation (p. 443). Is the presence of the name Gratus in canon viii [1] of 'Sardica' an objection against an original attribution of these canons to Nicaea, where not Gratus but Caecilian was present as bishop of Carthage: the name is a later interpolation in the forgery (p. 474).

This last point brings us face to face with what seems to me to create, even before we approach the examination of the problem in detail, a presumption of considerable force against Dr. Friedrich's position. Grant that an enthusiastic supporter of Papal claims produced, at the right moment and out of a fertile brain, Nicene authority in favour of appeals to Rome: yet it remains true that this forgery—the forgery, that is, of canons *purporting to be Nicene*—deceived neither the African nor the Eastern churches, fell into discredit even at Rome, and after the lapse of a generation is not heard of again. At this point it is that, on Dr. Friedrich's theory, a phenomenon meets us which would surely be unique in the annals of literature. The 'Nicene' forgery of 416 is dragged out of the discredit and oblivion into which it had deservedly fallen, is revised and indeed almost rewritten [2] from the standpoint no longer of 325 but of 343, is labelled with the name 'Sardican,' and is thus equipped for the successful deception of posterity. Small wonder indeed

[1] The numbering of the canons of Sardica is a matter of much difficulty, since no two MSS seem to agree. It is certain, I think, that the canons as originally drawn must have been without numbers at all: probably the system which would best carry out the intention of the framers would be to arrange just so many canons as there are votes of the synod, 'synodus respondit [or 'universi dixerunt'] Placet.' But in this article I have thought it best to follow a printed text (*Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien*, F. Lauchert; 1896).

[2] I do not think that any one who reads through the present text of the canons will think this too strong a term. The name Hosius is the only name known to be common to Nicaea and Sardica: the other names Januarius, Gaudentius, Alypius, Gratus, Aetius, are all presumably due to the 'Sardican' editor—certainly Caecilian not Gratus was bishop of Carthage, and Alexander not Aetius of Thessalonica, at the council of Nicaea (see my *Ecclesiae Occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima*, i 84–89). One whole canon at least Dr. Friedrich expressly declares to have been absent from the original forgery (p. 468): and I imagine he would have to say the same of other canons.

t posterity should have been so long deceived, when one nsiders the combination of gifts employed by the 'Sardican' dactor to this end. He knew the Greek authorities of the ardican age: for he has constructed one canon out of a single xpression in Athanasius' *Apologia contra Arianos*, οἱ ἐν τῷ καναλίῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας (pp. 468–9). He knew the exact chronology of the Carthaginian episcopate: for he interpolates the name of Gratus of Carthage into another of his 'Sardican' canons (p. 474),—and, I suppose, it was he again who interpolated the name of Sardica into the Carthaginian canons of Gratus[1]. He could throw himself into the circumstances of a generation removed *ex hypothesi* a century and a half from his own with enough thoroughness to invent one canon about the troubles of the Church of Thessalonica, and another about the reception of fugitives persecuted for their 'catholic' confession. And while he thus revised, retouched, and added all round, he has restrained himself from the least alteration on the occasions where we happen to have the actual means of checking him: for the quotations of Zosimus agree word for word with the best manuscripts of our complete 'Sardican' text.

It will be admitted, I think, that what has so far been said on *a priori* grounds suggests a real difficulty in the way of accepting Dr. Friedrich's theory. I go on to apply one or two criticisms of his work and method—especially from the point of view of an investigation of the text of the canons: and I shall then pass to historical considerations of a wider and more general character.

The textual question is indeed the one on which I can offer most that is new to this debate: for while the various printed texts of the 'Sardican' canons are at once widely divergent from one another and also all of them pretty obviously imperfect, my own collations, now nearly complete, enable me to feel my way with confidence to a form of text which is more original than those hitherto known, and from which in different directions they diverge. That form of text, for the canons which chiefly come in

[1] This highly ingenious expedient of guarding one interpolation by another all but missed its aim, since the council of Gratus has been preserved in not more than one of the great collections of African councils.

question in this paper, I have printed below, pp. 396–7: reserving the full *apparatus criticus* for its appropriate place in my edition of the canons[1]. On one preliminary point of great importance I am happy to find myself in agreement with Dr. Friedrich, and am therefore excused from labouring it here at length—I mean the secondary character of the Greek version of the canons (p. 476)[2]. But with regard to the Latin original, seeing that a correct form of text is an essential preliminary for such delicate investigations as Dr. Friedrich's—and seeing further that Dr. Friedrich has himself abstained from consulting MSS[3]—I shall make no apology for using my own material as a standard for verifying his results.

1. In the first case, the absence of the personal name 'Iulio' in canon iii, Dr. Friedrich is right (pp. 473, 474). All manuscripts representing collections other than that (or those) of Dionysius Exiguus agree in omitting it: the right of appeal is given by the canon of Sardica 'Romano episcopo'—to the Roman bishop as

[1] It is my hope, after the second *fasciculus* of my book, dealing with the Creed and Canons of Nicaea, is published, to proceed at once to a supplementary *fasciculus*, of which the 'Sardican' council will form the principal element.

[2] That the Greek text is not an independent authority, but a rendering—though no doubt a contemporary rendering—of the Latin, appears to me sufficiently clear from such readings as ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλευροῦ πρεσβυτέρους ἀποστείλοι = 'e *latere* suo presbyterum mittat' (can. vii), or τοῖς πένησι καὶ τοῖς λαϊκοῖς ἢ ταῖς χήραις = 'pauperibus ac uiduis aut *pupillis*' (can. viii), where λαϊκοῖς is from 'populis,' a corruption (actually read in one of our best Latin MSS) of 'pupillis.'

[3] I am afraid we must say happily abstained, if we are to judge from his solitary incursion into this field. In the library of Dr. Friedrich's own city of Munich is preserved one of the most precious of all our MSS of Councils, Monac. lat. 6243, known (from its earlier home) as the Freising MS. Dr. Maassen, who was the first to call real attention to its importance, showed that it contained the so-called Isidorian version in its most original form (*Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande* [Gratz 1870] pp. 13 ff. 476 ff.). Dr. Friedrich writes (p. 435), 'In der uralten Sammlung des cod. lat. Monac. 6244, welche die isidorische Version in ihrer ursprünglichsten Form bietet, ist schon der 35. apostolische Canon überschrieben "De primatu episcoporum," und die Ueberschrift des 6. nicänischen Canons (f. 10') heisst "De priuilegiis quae quibusdam ciuitatibus competunt."' But Monac. lat. 6243 and 6244 are by no means the same thing: the latter is, in fact, only a MS of the latest and commonest of the collections of Councils, namely that form of the Dionysiana which Pope Hadrian sent to Charles the Great in 774. The 'uralte Sammlung' does not contain the apostolic canons at all, and has no titles to the Nicene canons.

The Freising MS (lent to the Bodleian for my use not long ago by the kindness of the authorities of Munich) is the same from which I printed in this Journal a hitherto unknown catalogue of Biblical books (*J. T. S.* ii 236).

such, not to any particular occupant of the see. But when Dr. Friedrich goes on to say that probably Dionysius too originally omitted the name—a suggestion to which the MSS give no sort of support—I suspect his only reason to be that he cannot afford to allow that Dionysius, writing in the first quarter of the sixth century, had already a different reading from that of the 'Sardican' redactor, whom he places, as we have already seen, after the beginning of the same century.

2. The second case which I select for examination—the transmission to Gaul by Innocent of a copy of the Sardican canons under the name 'Nicene'—is one where the conclusion is, I do not doubt, correct, but the textual arguments brought in support of it are for the most part baseless[1]. If Dr. Friedrich had confined himself to citing the single MS, Brussels burgund. 8780–8793, he would have done enough to prove his case: for that MS gives (1) the Nicene canons (in an otherwise unknown version, called by Maassen the 'Gallic-Spanish), (2) without break the Sardican canons, numbered continuously with the Nicene, (3) as colophon to the whole the words 'expliciunt canones cccxviii episcoporum[2] Niceni transcripti in urbe Roma de exemplaribus sancti Innocenti episcopi.' But he goes on to quote (p. 450) four more authorities for the connexion of 'Sardican' canons with Pope Innocent—the collections called by Maassen 'the Cologne MS,' 'the Albi MS,' 'the Corbie MS,' and the 'Spanish epitome': though in fact in every one of the four the name of Innocent has nothing to do with the Sardican canons at all, but belongs to the title of the Nicene canons as abbreviated by Rufinus for his Church History. I do not doubt myself that the data of the documents are correct in both cases, and that both the 'Gallic-Spanish' version (with the 'Sardican' canons incorporated as Nicene) and the abbreviation of Rufinus were sent to Gaul from Rome in the pontificate of Innocent—not necessarily by the pope's initiative, but perhaps in answer to the request of some Gallic visitor who came to consult the canonical texts recognised in the papal chancery[3].

[1] And baseless therefore also the inference drawn by Bp. Wordsworth that 'when the canons were first circulated in Gaul and Spain . . . they were fortified with a name that gave them credit and protected them against criticism.'

[2] Maassen (p. 914) wrongly prints 'patrum': the MS has eprm̄.

[3] It is true that Maassen (p. 58), while scrupulously recording the evidence of the MSS, interprets the occurrence of Innocent's name in relation to the Rufinus-

3. The third case I select is one where errors as to the true text of the 'Sardican' canons vitiate completely an important, if not indeed an essential, argument. It is obvious that any attack on the authenticity of the canons must begin by dealing with the almost contemporary mention of them in Gratus' council of Carthage: and Dr. Friedrich raises against the genuineness of this reference two main objections (pp. 418 ff). The first of these is that Gratus was never at Sardica at all, for the list in Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arianos* § 50) expressly mentions him among bishops who were not present, but expressed a subsequent adhesion to the proceedings of the council: the second, that he could not possibly have quoted 'concilii Sardicensis statutum' as against a bishop ordaining a layman from another diocese, since the 'Sardican' canon to which allusion is supposed to be made says nothing about laymen at all. Now with regard to the first objection, Dr. Friedrich may be right in asserting that Gratus was not at Sardica, though I cannot see that Athanasius 'expressly' asserts anything of the sort. But in what way is the evidence of either Hosius in the 'Sardican' canons, or Gratus in the Carthaginian canons, affected, if he were not at Sardica? Dr. Friedrich cannot surely think that Gratus could not at Carthage 'remember a statute of the council of Sardica,' unless he had been there! His difficulty must, I suppose, lie in the reference to Gratus in the Sardican canons themselves, where Hosius blames the fondness of the African bishops for running off to court, in disregard 'as we learn from our beloved brother

Nicene canons as due to a confusion with the true relation of his name to the Sardican canons. But it would still be improper to give conjecture as though it were fact, even if the conjecture were more certain than it is. For it does not seem to me sufficient reason for throwing over the evidence of the documents if Maassen asserts that 'it is certain that the Gallic-Spanish version of the Nicene canons does not come from Innocent,' and that 'it is wholly improbable that Innocent should have sent the Nicene canons in this abbreviation [of Rufinus] to Gaul.' Rufinus was an Italian well known in Rome, and his History was published in the early years of Innocent's pontificate: the Gallic-Spanish version of the Nicene canons was apparently put together out of Rufinus and the so-called 'Gallic' version, without any reference to the original Greek. I can see nothing against, and a good deal in favour of, the supposition that the (very primitive) 'Gallic' version was brought to Rome to be compared with the Roman texts; that, as there was no authoritative version at Rome, a new version was concocted by comparing the Gallic with the latest Italian version, that of Rufinus; and that the new composite version was sent to Gaul, together with its Italian source, under some sort of papal imprimatur.

and fellow-bishop Gratus,' of his earnest admonitions. So indeed runs the Greek[1]: but Dr. Friedrich has himself rightly told us that we must not trust the Greek against the Latin text, and in the Latin Hosius only says that 'the Africans, as we learn, *sicut cognouimus*, despise the salutary counsels of our most holy brother and fellow-bishop Gratus.' There is nothing whatever to show that Gratus was the person who gave evidence against his colleagues: and indeed it is much more probable that the statements to their discredit, including that of their disregard of their primate, came from other sources.

Dr. Friedrich's second objection is that whereas the Carthaginian canon is meant to prevent bishops ordaining *laymen* belonging to other dioceses—'neque laicum usurpare sibi de plebe aliena ut eum ordinet' is the decree which bishop Privatus asks for, and which bishop Gratus reinforces by appeal to a Sardican statute, 'ut nemo alterius plebis hominem usurpet'—the Sardican canons deal only with bishops ordaining or promoting *clerics* from other dioceses. Januarius moves that no bishop may solicit the 'minister ecclesiasticus' of another bishop and ordain him in his own diocese: Hosius adds that every ordination of an 'alienus minister,' without the consent of the ordinand's own diocesan, shall be null and void. The objection would be in any case, I think, a little bit pedantic: but such force as it may seem to have is evacuated when one finds that the word 'minister' has no place at all in the true text of Januarius' canon. What is forbidden there is the ordination of an 'ecclesiasticus alterius ciuitatis,' that is, as I suppose, simply 'a member of the ecclesia of another city,' a 'churchman' in the proper sense of that word[2].

[1] καθὼς ἔγνωμεν παρὰ Γράτου: though even if this were the correct reading, it would not follow that the Council could not have learnt it from Gratus by letter.

It has for some time seemed to me that this indication of the character and proceedings of African bishops throws a good deal of light on the popularity, among the religiously minded population, of the Donatist communion. With all their repellent qualities, were not the Donatists of that day less worldly than their Catholic contemporaries in Africa?

[2] The meaning 'ecclesiastic' is a later one. Neither Rönsch *Itala und Vulgata* nor Koffmane *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins* gives any help on the word 'ecclesiasticus': and Forcellini-de Vit gives nothing beyond what is already in Ducange. To the latter I owe the two following early references: (1) Gesta apud Zenophilum (Routh *Rell. sacr.* iv. 326: Ducange calls it the 'Gesta purgationis Caeciliani') 'Adhibete conclericos et seniores plebis ecclesiasticos uiros'—that the 'seniores'

In the instance previously cited we saw that, though Dr. Friedrich's textual evidence turned out, when confronted with the texts themselves, to have been incorrectly applied, his conclusion was still sound: but in this case the error does not affect the method only, but the result. And if the texts thus show that the testimony of the Carthaginian council to the 'Sardican' canons remains unshaken by the objections alleged[1], a serious inroad has, I think, been made already on Dr. Friedrich's position. The presumption of truth seems already to lie on the side of the defenders of the genuineness of the canons.

One more criticism of method, and I shall gladly pass to the more positive side of my task. After demolishing the testimony of Gratus, Dr. Friedrich goes on to say that various papal and other documents earlier than Zosimus have been alleged to show traces of acquaintance with the 'Sardican' canons—that Maassen reduced these points of contact to two only—that Löning contested the existence even of these two—and that therefore he himself may be excused from dealing with the matter. Yet the same writer, who on p. 421 passes by as worthless all evidence of earlier Roman knowledge of the canons, argues on pp. 460–464 that the Sardican forger wrote at Rome because his work shows so 'close a relationship both in language and in matter'—*die grosse sprachliche und sachliche Verwandtschaft beider Texte braucht nicht weiter hervorgehoben zu werden*—with these same Roman documents! Of course it was open to him to admit the relationship all along, and to go on to show that the priority did not lie on the side of the Sardican canons: but it can hardly be a legitimate process to begin by putting aside all alleged references by A to B as not worth discussing, and (having by this

here are laymen, and not clerics, is clear from two other passages in the immediate neighbourhood, 'quod omnes uos episcopi presbyteri diacones seniores scitis' (p. 325) and 'fratribus et filiis, clero et senioribus, Fortis in Domino aeternam salutem' (p. 327): (2) Letter of the secession synod of Philippopolis to the Africans (*Hilarii Opera*, ii [Verona 1730] 650: Ducange calls it 'decretum synodi Sardicensis') 'eum qui aliter quam in uero est audet euangelium praedicare quidam qui se ecclesiasticos esse uolunt facile ad communionem recipiunt.'

For the text of the Sardican canon see below, p. 397.

[1] I ought perhaps also to mention, since Bp. Wordsworth repeats it, the argument that the formula 'uniuersi dixerunt' etc. is absent from this canon only of Gratus' council. The answer is, I imagine, simply this, that 'Gratus episcopus dixit,' together with the authority of the Sardican council, implies the assent of the bishops to the proposal of Bp. Privatus.

means disproved the early existence of B) at a later point to reintroduce the same things without further parley as undoubted references by B to A. For myself I think that Dr. Friedrich's second thoughts are so far best that the canons 'ad Gallos' (it is uncertain whether they belong to Siricius or to Innocent) do present points of contact which are fairly conclusive. But the question whether the Pope borrowed from the 'Sardican' canons, or the 'Sardican' canons from the Pope, will of course be answered differently by Dr. Friedrich and by his opponents.

If I estimate rightly the results so far attained, whether from *a priori* considerations of probability, or from criticism of various details of argument and of method, they are such as to raise a serious presumption against the tenableness of Dr. Friedrich's thesis, and therewith to favour, at least negatively, the genuineness of the texts in question. It is time however to proceed to indicate, at least in outline, those lines of investigation which seem likely to be most fruitful of positive *data*. And the two things which I have most in mind about these 'Sardican' canons—their position in the early collections of canon law, and their relation to the circumstances of the fourth century—are both points in which breadth of treatment is specially to be desired. The evidence must be weighed as a whole: and it is just this which I think Dr. Friedrich, in the midst of much that is interesting and up to a certain point effective in detail, has failed to do.

I. The 'Sardican' canons in relation to the history of the early collections of canon law.

In estimating the evidence, especially the chronological evidence, of the early canonical collections, it is important to keep three stages distinct and separate in one's mind:—

(1) There are firstly (reckoning backwards) the MSS actually extant, the dates of which can be settled on palaeographical—perhaps, in view of the relative paucity of uncial MSS, one should rather say on palaeographical and historical—grounds. The MSS anterior to about A. D. 700 which contain the Sardican canons are the following: the Verona fragment, Veron. lix (57), saec. vi [1]; the Corbie MS, Paris. lat. 12097—in a piece of very

[1] Maassen (p. 761) ascribed this MS to the seventh century, Reifferscheid (*Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica* i 28) to the eighth: I ventured myself to

beautiful uncial writing at the end of this composite MS, saec. vi exeunt.; the Justel MS (which came from Fleury), Bodleianus e Mus. 100–102, saec. vi–vii; the Toulouse MS 364, saec. vii[1]; the Cologne MS ccxii, saec. vii; the Lyons MS (Berlin 83 and Petersburg F II 3) saec. vii[2].

(2) There are next the dates, earlier than the MSS themselves, at which the collections represented in the MSS were put together: for if a ninth-century MS, for instance, contains no material of a date later than the sixth century, we should be justified, in the absence of any contrary indications, in concluding that the collection itself was made in, or not much later than, the sixth century. But lest my own conclusions here should be thought to be biassed by the requirements of my argument, I confine myself under this head to repeating the results given by Maassen. Besides the Dionysian collection or collections—which we know to have been made before 523—Maassen ascribes to the sixth century the following collections containing the complete Sardican canons: (*a*) Freising MS, Monac. lat. 6243 (perhaps even end of the fifth century), p. 479; (*b*) Quesnel collection, if I understand rightly what he means to imply on p. 490; (*c–f*) collections of St. Blaise, Vatican MS, Chieti MS, Justel MS (p. 500); (*g*) Cologne MS ccxii, p. 584; (*h*) St. Maur MS, Paris. lat. 1451, p. 623. To these we may add the Verona MS, lix (57), which itself belongs, as we have seen, to the same century; and we have, counting the two editions of Dionysius separately, no less than eleven distinct collections earlier than A. D. 600.

(3) But there is yet a third stage which lies behind the complete collections represented in our MSS: for these collections them-

plead for an earlier date than either in a paper on Verona MSS of Canons in the *Guardian* for Dec. 11, 1895: and I find myself supported by the authority of Dr. L. Traube, in his very striking paper *Perrona Scotorum* (reprinted from the Munich Sitzungsberichte, 1900, Heft iv pp. 469–538) p. 507, who pronounces definitely for the sixth century.

[1] Maassen on the information of others ascribed this MS, which he had not himself seen, to saec. ix or viii–ix (p. 592): but I was able to show, in a paper in this JOURNAL (*J. T. S.* ii. 266–273), that it must belong to the seventh century, and that it was probably written at Albi.

[2] I have not yet seen this MS, but as the Petersburg portion appears to contain the complete Dionysiana it no doubt includes the Sardican canons. The history of this MS I discussed in *J. T. S.* i 435–441: the date of the Berlin portion is given by Traube, *op. cit.* p. 521, as seventh century.

selves must have grown up gradually and piecemeal. The large collections were formed out of the aggregation of smaller ones. Each collection will at one moment present points of contact with one of the other collections, at another with another. Thus, to take an instance or two of the manifold combinations of similarity and divergence, the four collections of St. Blaise, the Vatican, Chieti and Justel, are grouped together by Maassen as 'four related Italian collections of the sixth century': yet only two of them agree in giving the same version of the canons of Nicaea. Conversely the Italian 'Verona fragment' and the north-Gallic collection of Corbie are as independent as two canonical collections could well be: yet both give the names of the Nicene Fathers in a form shared by no other MS. And the same Verona MS is joined by another Gallic collection, that of St. Maur, in a similarly isolated way for the canons of Ancyra, Neocaesarea and Gangra. Again the same text (or, in the case of the Greek councils, the same version) will appear in different groups of collections in quite different families of text: and time must be allowed for the development of these differences before the final collections of the sixth century were made. Especially is this the case with the Sardican canons. Maassen, after enumerating the collections containing them, wrote that 'between all these collections great variations of text exist . . . In the division of the canons there are great variations . . . To restore the original Latin by means of the extant material would not be an easy task.' I think indeed that he overrated the difficulty of restoring the original text: but the variations on which he lays emphasis do exist, and they seem to me to prove quite incontestably that the text had a long and tangled history behind it at the time when the canons were incorporated into the various collections of the sixth century. In fact the view that the complete canons, as we have them, are a product only of the same sixth century seems, in face of this evidence of the canonical collections, to be nothing less than impossible.

But let us suppose, what might well be the case, that Dr. Friedrich or some supporter of his were prepared so far to modify the thesis of the pamphlet under review as to throw back to the middle of the fifth century the revision of the canons which gave them their present form and their Sardican name: yet

still, though some textual difficulties would be removed, enough would remain to be fatal (in my judgement) to the thesis even as emended. I do not see, for instance, what answer could be given to the following line of argument. Of all the numerous collections which contain these canons in some form or other, some treat the canons simply as Nicene—one indeed (as we have seen) does this on the authority of 'the holy bishop Innocent'—others treat them simply as Sardican—others again echo the disputes of 418–19 by explaining that the canons are not found in Greek but in Latin only[1]. Now it is the very core of Dr. Friedrich's theory that the canons as originally labelled Nicene, and the canons as ultimately ascribed to Sardica, were by no means the same thing, the Sardican reviser having recommended his edition to acceptance by the addition of a good deal of local colour. Since then we are fortunate to find extant one group of MSS with the Nicene label to the canons, and another group with the Sardican ascription only, we should expect to find this difference of local colour reproducing itself as between the two groups. Yet there is not in fact, to the best of my knowledge, a single instance of the absence from our 'Nicene' MSS of any one of the features supposed to be peculiar to the 'Sardican' recension. We are required therefore to believe that the respective collectors or copyists to whom we owe our various 'Nicene' MSS went carefully through their texts, incorporating from the later recension every fragment of 'Sardican' handiwork, and yet retained in their titles just that discredited claim to the name Nicene of which it was the special object of the 'Sardican' interpolator to get rid. If there are those to whom the difficulties of this view seem less than insuperable, I am afraid that I cannot agree with them.

[1] As Nicene six—Brussels burgund. 8780–8793, Quesnel collection, Chieti MS (Vat. Reg. 1997), version prefixed to the collection proper of the Freising MS, Veron. lix (57), Toulouse MS 364 (at one place: at another it has, from Dionysius, 'Canones Sardicenses'); as Sardican five—Dionysius Exiguus (both editions), St. Blaise collection, Vatican collection, Justel MS: as 'found in Latin but not in Greek' four—Freising MS, Würzburg MS Mp. th. f. 146, Köln MS ccxii, St. Maur MS—but all four contain somewhere or other the name of Sardica.

There is no real doubt that the Justel MS goes with the Sardican group, though the MS has been mutilated and has lost the 'incipit' of these canons. I hope shortly to have an opportunity of publishing in the JOURNAL an account of this MS, which has been just discovered to have come from Fleury, and of Justel's curious dealings with the leaves containing Sardica.

II. That not more than one main recension of these canons can be shown to have existed—that the hypothesis of a Nicene and a Sardican stage in the history of these canons is a figment—these results seem to follow from the evidence of the history of the canonical collections. I believe that the diversities of text (which do exist, though diversities of recension do not) would justify us amply in throwing back the common archetype into the fourth century. But I prefer to take the line that, the opposing hypothesis being now sufficiently discredited, we are entitled to demand whether the hypothesis of the genuineness of the canons will not better suit the facts of the case. And I go on therefore to the second line of inquiry which I proposed, namely, the relation of the Sardican canons as we have them to the conditions of Western Church history in the middle of the fourth century. I cannot pretend to speak here with any special authority; and yet I should like to call attention to some aspects of the evidence which seem to be either passed over altogether, or unduly minimised, in Dr. Friedrich's argument.

Let us try to place ourselves in imagination in the position of an able and prominent Western churchman like Hosius at the time of the meeting of the Council of Sardica. He would know that it was not the first Western council to lay down rules for the solution of particular difficulties and the guidance of bishops in certain defined cases: his own Spanish churches had drawn up such a code at Elvira about 305, and the representatives of the combined Western churches had followed suit at Arles in 314. But something more was beginning to be wanted than a mere code of rules: the Church had judicial functions to exercise as well as legislative, and if the individual bishop's independence was to be limited, for instance, on the question of principle whether the profession of actor or charioteer *ipso facto* debarred a man from Christian communion, it might well come to be doubted whether it was wise to leave to his unfettered discretion all matters of personal discipline affecting the clergy and laity of his diocese. Hosius would remember that twenty years before he had helped at the Council of Nicaea to sketch the outline of a system of appeals, under which the bishops of each province were to meet in synod twice a year in

order to revise the judicial decisions of individual members[1]. But there were two considerations which would make it impossible at Sardica simply to rest content with what was done at Nicaea, even if the canons of the latter council had as yet made their way to effective recognition in the West[2]. In the first place, the provincial organisation of churches, postulated by the Nicene canon, and ready to hand from then onwards in the East, barely existed in the West even at the date of Sardica. For Western Christianity, being, as must always be remembered, a century younger than Eastern, was proportionately weaker, and was not yet prepared to plant a bishop wherever there was a *ciuitas*, and a metropolitan wherever there was the civil capital of a province: not to say that the Eastern spirit of accommodation to civil precedents and organisation would hardly, even at this early period, have proved itself palatable to Western churchmen. In the second place, the council of Nicaea, though it dealt with the more pressing needs of its own day, and in doing so laid the foundations of a system, had left the work inchoate and unfinished: and the experience of the years that intervened between the two councils had amply shown the necessity for continuing and completing it. It was not only the clergy and laity who needed to be protected against possible injustice: the right to claim a re-hearing, to carry causes from a court of first instance to a court of appeal, could as legitimately be demanded by bishops. The very object of the meeting of the Sardican council was to pronounce upon the cases of Athanasius and other episcopal victims of Arian persecution: and it was not to be expected that a general council should be summoned every time that the sentence of a local or provincial synod called for reconsideration. At Antioch, in 341, the Eastern bishops had indeed contented themselves with deciding, in this

[1] Nicaea can. v.

[2] Probably it was only through the stress of the Arian struggle in the years after the council of Sardica that first the Creed and then the Canons of Nicaea came to be placed on a pinnacle of commanding and unique authority. St. Hilary of Poitiers in 356 was still unacquainted with the Creed: and of the numerous extant versions of the Canons those that can go back to any part of the fourth century are very few—one from Italy, the Chieti MS (Vat. Reg. 1997), one from Gaul, the Gallican version (MS Köln ccxii and Paris. lat. 3838), and perhaps one from Africa, Caecilian's version; besides the fragment from the Freising MS (Monac. lat. 6243), printed by Maassen p. 922, which is probably also Italian.

matter of episcopal trials, (*a*) that if the bishops of the provincial synod—the court of first instance—were divided in opinion, the metropolitan should call in bishops from the next province to help in adjudicating the case (can. xiv); (*b*) that if the provincial synod was unanimous, no appeal could lie at all (can. xv). But they doubtless took their cue from the policy of upholding as final the synodical condemnation of Athanasius at Tyre in 335: while the Westerns at Sardica would of course be actuated by the contrary desire of providing means by which similar condemnations could be revised. What line then was to be suggested? An appeal to the Emperor? Special precautions had been taken against this at Antioch (can. xii): and it was not likely to find more favour in the West[1]. But if the court was to be ecclesiastical at all, then, in the absence of any highly articulated church organisation in the Western provinces, there was no alternative open. The thoughts of Hosius and of other Western churchmen could not fail to be drawn to the Roman see, with its large body of clergy, its central position, its immemorial antiquity, its acknowledged primacy, and to find in the Roman bishop a natural arbiter in the thorny question of episcopal appeals.

If we now turn to the Sardican canons themselves, we find exactly what we have seen reason to expect if they really belong to A.D. 343, namely, some sort of separate provision for clerical and episcopal causes. Clerical appeals may be carried to the 'episcopi finitimi,' that is practically no doubt to the comprovincial bishops: but these bishops are spoken of rather as a concourse of individuals than as an organised body, and there is no mention in this connexion either of the word 'synod' or of the word 'metropolitan[2].' The whole regulation is of a loose and elastic

[1] Even the elaborated system of the council of Chalcedon—though it is true it does not deal specifically with appeals, probably because the Antiochene regulations had become Canon Law for the East—is entirely ecclesiastical, and in one case recourse to the secular courts is definitely forbidden (can. ix). It is interesting to notice the tendency at Chalcedon to erect the 'throne' of the bishop of Constantinople into the apex of the whole system of church judicature (canons ix, xvii).

[2] Only once in the whole series of the canons is allusion made to metropolitans, where it is laid down that petitions to the emperor must be forwarded through 'coepiscopum nostrum . . . qui in maxima ciuitate id est metropoli consistit': such is the true Latin text, and with it agree the Greek version and the retranslation from the Greek preserved in the collection of the deacon Theodosius, cod. Veron. lx (58). I do not think a more satisfactory test of antiquity could easily be found than in the method of representing in Latin the word 'metropolitan.' The Greek

character, better fitted (one would say) to the ideas of 343 than to those of 416. Episcopal appeals, on the other hand, are to be dealt with through the intervention of the see of Rome, but the distinctions (if any) between the two canons which deal with the subject—canons iii and vii—are not easy to unravel. On the whole it would seem that the provisions of the former canon are more general and include, even if they have not specially in view, a less serious class of cases, such as disputes between two bishops, while the latter applies only to actual trial and deposition and defines the machinery of appeal more minutely. In the first case, if the defeated bishop claims a rehearing, then either the bishops who have acted as judges or the bishops of a neighbouring province (not apparently the unsuccessful litigant himself) may refer to the bishop of Rome, 'in honour of the memory of Saint Peter,' the question whether the trial ought to be reheard, and if so who were to rehear it: the judges in the latter case are apparently to be selected by the Pope from among the local bishops. But in the second and fuller series of prescriptions, the right of appeal is given direct to any bishop deposed after trial by the bishops of 'the region': the Roman bishop has to decide (*a*) as before, whether the case is to be reheard at all, and (*b*) if it is, whether the bishops of the next province[1] (to that from which the appeal comes) will suffice to decide the case, or whether the assistance of a presbyter-legate from Rome will be desirable. In neither class of cases is there any provision for the Pope's calling up the business into his own court and exercising personal jurisdiction.

canons of Nicaea use ὁ μητροπολίτης (can. iv) without qualification or explanation: but in Latin versions of the Nicene canons 'metropolitanus' alone does not appear before A.D. 419 and later, in Atticus, Isidore, Prisca; 'metropolitanus episcopus' in Caecilian, Rufinus, and Dionysius; while three earlier versions avoid the word altogether by a paraphrase, the Gallican having 'qui in metropoli sit constitutus,' the Gallo-Spanish (which here, as often, is indebted to the Gallican) 'qui metropolim tenet,' and the Chieti 'qui in ampliori ciuitate prouinciae uidetur esse constitutus, id est in metropolim'—the closeness of this last rendering to the Sardican phrase is particularly striking, and may perhaps point to some near relationship between the Sardican canons and this very early version of the Nicene. A similar instance of antique phraseology was noticed above (p. 379, note 2) in the use of the word 'ecclesiasticus.'

[1] 'Episcopis qui in finitima et propinqua prouincia sunt,' and in the previous canon 'episcopis qui in proxima prouincia morantur': the corresponding phrase in can. xiv of Antioch (see above, p. 387) is ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιοχώρου ἐπαρχίας ἑτέρους τινάς. These indefinite phrases appear to embody the first tentative attempts to arrive at some system of checks on the action of the individual province.

These prescriptions, in their very vagueness and indefiniteness, seem to be exactly what we should expect in the first legislative attempts of Western churchmen to guard against the opposite evils of episcopal or clerical immunity and individual or provincial injustice. In a system of judicature which allowed and yet limited appeals, which left each case to be dealt with by local knowledge and yet introduced an arbiter superior to local prejudice, I can see nothing alien to the needs of a generation which was feeling its way to an increasing closeness of federation, or to the circumstances of a moment when the Pope had just earned the special gratitude of all catholic Christians by giving audience to the protest of Athanasius against his synodical condemnation in the East. We have only to look on to the documents of the next generation, as they are recorded by Dr. Friedrich himself (pp. 424–432), to be sensible of a change in atmosphere: what had been vague and misty at Sardica is sharp in outline and definite in tone, now that it is Damasus who asks and Gratian who sanctions. The echoes of Sardica are still heard in the 'concilium episcoporum finitimorum' and the 'quos Romanus episcopus iudices dederit.' But it is the new elements which are most significant—the judicial function of metropolitans, the stated number of bishops who form a court, the personal jurisdiction in appeals, the quasi-oecumenical position of the Roman bishop[1]. If the Sardican canons were forged in the Roman interest a generation later still than Damasus and Gratian, their author did his work imperfectly indeed.

To show that the Sardican canons fit the conditions, as far as we can restore them, of the middle of the fourth century, is not of course to say that there are no difficulties in the history of their transmission. It is well known, and is of course the starting-point of all doubt as to their genuineness, that after the almost contemporary allusion in the council of Gratus a deep obscurity falls upon them, which is not wholly lifted till we find Zosimus in 418 pressing upon the African churches the observance of two of them, which he quotes *verbatim*, on the ground not of their

[1] e.g. the phrases 'ad metropolitani per locorum iudicia dedicatur examen,' 'uel si ipse metropolitanus est' (contrast p. 387, n. 2 above): 'concilium quindecim episcoporum finitimorum': [Damasus] 'qui in omnes iudex fuerat constitutus.'

Sardican but of their Nicene origin. And even the reference to the Eastern churches hardly sufficed to convince the Romans of the truth of the African assertion that the canons in question, whatever they were, were not Nicene, seeing that St. Leo in the case of Flavian of Constantinople, A.D. 449–450, still bases the right of appeal upon 'Nicene' canons [1].

Strange as is this sudden appearance of the Sardican canons under the guise of Nicene, it becomes less strange if we reflect a little on the history of the *origines* of Western canon law in the interval between the Sardican council and the episcopate of Zosimus. We have already noted the trend towards conciliar legislation at the beginning of the fourth century: we have noted also the difference then existing between the development of the Eastern and of the Western churches. Thus we are prepared to find that—while in the East a more or less continuous chain of codes extends from Ancyra, Neocaesarea, and Nicaea in the first quarter of that century, through Antioch, Gangra, and Laodicea in the middle of the century, down to Constantinople (381) near its close—in the West the Church of Spain has preserved nothing between Elvira (c. 305) and Saragossa (c. 380), the Church of Gaul nothing between Arles (314) and Valence (374), and the Church of Africa nothing between the council under Gratus (c. 348) and that under Genethlius (390). The very germs of the root-principle of canon law were therefore absent from the mind of the Western Church during the greater part of the century, since the conception of a body of law which might be consulted with fair prospect of success in the solution of future difficulties as they arose postulated the survival and collocation of something more than the records of councils so few in number and so diverse in origin. Possibly it was not till the pressure of the great doctrinal struggle with Arianism relaxed that Western Churchmen found leisure to take up again the threads of conciliar legislation. Anyhow, from whatever cause, the chronological commencement of the more or less continuous series of known canons and decretals is extraordinarily well defined.

[1] Leo *Epp.* xliii, xliv, lvi: 'quam autem post appellationem interpositam hoc necessarie postuletur, canonum Nicaeae habitorum decreta testantur quae a totius mundi sunt sacerdotibus constituta,' 'eo quod libellum ad apostolicam sedem miserit . . . per eos qui directi fuerant in concilio a reuerendissimo episcopo Romae, qui secundum definitiones Nicaeni concilii consueti sunt interesse.'

Spain has her two councils of Saragossa in 380 and Toledo in 400—after which the barbarian invasions bring the conciliar movement for the time to a sudden check. Gaul has her councils of Valence in 374, of Nimes about 395, of Turin in 401. Africa has councils at Carthage in 390, at Hippo in 393, at Carthage in 397 and 401, at Milevum in 402, at Carthage again in 404, 405, 407 and so on. The first extant papal decretals belong to Siricius, 384–398; the first large group of them to Innocent, 402–417. Clearly then, whether or no other earlier councils had drawn up similar codes, now lost, of disciplinary enactments, it was at just the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries that the movement for preserving, collecting, and consolidating began more or less simultaneously in the principal Western churches: the foundation stones of the imposing edifice of the later mediaeval canon law were laid about the year 400. But these earliest nuclei of local and contemporary legislation had no natural place for the canons of a council so alien, both in time and place, as Sardica. If the African *corpus iuris* embedded in the acts of the Carthaginian council of 419 omits entirely the African synod under Gratus [1], it is small wonder that Augustine and other African Churchmen should have been equally ignorant of the synod of Sardica [2].

Probably the Roman Church had not quite so completely lost sight of the Sardican canons, even in the interval between the pontificates of Julius and Siricius when no direct proof of their employment can be found. And if it is objected that a Pope like Siricius' predecessor, Damasus, under whom so much was heard and so much was done with regard to the prerogatives of the Roman see, would have placed in the forefront of his

[1] This is true of the council *as such*, though it is also true that its canons were not wholly lost sight of, since can. v of the council of 419—which Aurelius introduced under the phrase 'terminos patrum statutos'—turns out to be an almost verbal repetition of can. xiii of the council under Gratus, while Augustine also (*Ep.* lxv: ed. Bened. ii 117) quotes the substance of Gratus' canon xi with the words 'concilio statutum.' [I owe these two references to Bp. Wordsworth's paper.] But in view of the complicated history of the African codes, it is impossible to say whether Augustine at least may not have derived his knowledge of the canon from some intermediate code rather than direct from Gratus' council.

[2] Dr. Friedrich of course accepts as genuine the documents of the Sardican council other than the canons: but Augustine only associated the name of Sardica with the Arian secession synod, which we distinguish as the synod of Philippopolis (*Ep.* xliv 6; *contra Cresconium* iii 38 [34], iv 52 [44]).

argument the synodical sanction for appeals to Rome given at Sardica, I answer that that is just what he would have declined to do. We have his own testimony to the far-reaching assertion that councils could not give what Christ Himself had already given. 'Sancta Romana ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis ceteris ecclesiis praelata est, sed euangelica uoce Domini et Saluatoris nostri primatum obtenuit': those are the words of Damasus' synod of 382 *de explanatione fidei*[1]. He who claimed the succession to the keys of the Kingdom direct from Christ through Peter, might hesitate to appeal in so many words to the sanction of Sardica, however gladly he availed himself in practice of the privileges accorded by that synod to his see. It was not till the name of Sardica was merged in that of Nicaea that the Roman bishops could afford, without derogation to their claims, to shelter themselves under the authority of a council.

This is one side of the facts: and I think it sufficiently accounts for the absence of traces, in Rome, of any use by name of the Sardican canons under Damasus, and outside Rome, of any current acquaintance with them in the early fifth century. The other side is the unique and unquestioned authority which the canons of Nicaea had by A.D. 400 won everywhere in the West. To the cause of the Nicene faith, and its heroic champion, the West had adhered through good and evil report: and by the time the brunt of the struggle was over and the issue no longer doubtful, the lightest word of the great Council was almost as final as Scripture itself. Other conciliar rules and regulations might have weight: these had binding force and from their verdict there was no appeal. Nowhere was this feeling expressed more strongly than at Rome. 'No canons,' wrote Innocent, when the Eastern bishops had pleaded the sanction of the Antiochene canons for the course taken against St. Chrysostom, 'were binding on Catholics, save those of Nicaea.'

From these two currents of feeling, in themselves comparatively simple—the growing desire for a body of authoritative Church law, and the profound deference paid to Nicene law—there followed, when they met and mingled, some curious developments. That a good deal which was foreign to the intentions, or at any rate to the expressions, of the Nicene Fathers was read

[1] See *J. T. S.* i 560.

into the imperfect Latin versions of the canons was the first result. If Julius tells us that the Nicene council allowed appeals (not from one bishop to a synod, but) from one synod to another, he clearly misunderstood the fifth canon: but such a misunderstanding is just possible with the Chieti version, or even indeed with the Greek original. If Innocent speaks of the 'canons' as debarring from the clergy any who had intentionally mutilated so much as a finger, this extension of the meaning of the first canon of Nicaea might just be covered by a strained interpretation of either the Chieti or the Gallican version[1]. How perilously easy it was found to go even further than this, and include under the venerable name Nicene all that was ancient enough for its true history to be wrapped in obscurity, can be amply illustrated from documents that are quite innocent of any connexion with the papal interest. A series of canons from Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, and Antioch are given in a very early 'Gallic' version with the recurrent title 'in synodo Niceno,' and are numbered continuously with the canons of Nicaea[2]. It was no doubt in reliance on this version that as late as 517 the council of Epaon speaks of an Ancyran canon on homicide as that which 'the ancient canons of Nicaea have decreed,' and that Gregory of Tours speaks of 'reading out the decrees of the Nicene canons' when the words that he goes on to quote are taken from the canons of Gangra[3]: and it was no doubt also as a solution of

[1] 'Qui partem cuiuslibet digiti sibi ipse uolens abscidit, hunc ad clerum canones non admittunt' (Friedrich, p. 422): the Greek of Nic. 1 has the same word twice ἐξετμήθη . . . ἐξέτεμε, but the Latin versions universally change from 'castratus,' 'sectus,' 'consecatus' to 'abscidere.' For points of contact in detail cf. Chieti, 'si quis autem sanus ipse se absciderit' and Gallican 'canon ad clerum admittit.'

[2] Printed in Maassen, pp. 939–943, from the only known authority, namely the citations in the 'systematic' collection of the St. Germain MS, Paris. lat. 12444. The version is rather an abbreviation than a translation: and a further abbreviation of the abbreviation is to be found in the MSS of the 'Spanish epitome' (Maassen, pp. 648, 649), from which Mansi printed it, iv 531.

[3] Conc. Epaon. can. xxxi. 'De paenitentia homicidarum qui saeculi leges euaserint, hoc summa reuerentia de eis inter nos placuit obseruari quod antiqui Nicaeni canones decreuerunt': it is true that Maassen (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum* III, *Concilia* i, p. 26), following the majority of his MSS, prints 'Anquiritani' for 'antiqui Nicaeni,' but I cannot doubt that the latter reading, which is given by three of the best MSS, is right. Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* ix 33: 'Regredere hinc et gubernare liberos nostros, nam ego non reuertar tecum: non enim uidebit regnum Dei coniugio copulatus . . . tunc ego accedens ad monasterium canonum Nicenum decreta relegi, in quibus continetur quia si quis reliquerit uirum

the difficulty raised by the discovery that the canons of Ancyra and the sister councils were not properly Nicene, that three of the early Gallic collections introduce the Isidorian version of them with a prefatory canon, under the name of Hosius, purporting to give them the sanction of the (Nicene) council[1]. And this confusion of the other early councils with the Nicene goes back to the fourth century. When St. Ambrose claims the authority of the fathers of Nicaea for the disqualification of digamists for the ministry, he must have been alluding to the seventh canon of Neocaesarea as misrendered in the same 'Gallic' version[2].

An even more striking illustration appears to be afforded by the documents emanating from the struggle between Theophilus and St. Chrysostom in the early years of the fifth century. According to Palladius' *Dialogus de uita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, Theophilus wrote to Chrysostom that he supposed he 'was not ignorant of the ordinance of the Nicene canons decreeing that a bishop should not act as judge in a case beyond his jurisdiction,' or literally 'beyond his borders'; while at a later point the bishops who supported Chrysostom retorted the same canon on Theophilus and the Synod of the Oak, 'you are violating the canons of the 318 bishops at Nicaea and are judging in a case beyond your jurisdiction . . . we have by us your own letter in which you impress on our fellow-minister John that he ought not to hear cases that are beyond his jurisdiction[3].' In each case the sam

et torum in quo bene uixit spreuerit, dicens quia non sit ei portio in illa caelesti regni gloria qui fuerit coniugio copulatus, anathema sit.' This is a paraphras of canon i of Gangra, rather than, as the Ballerini and Maassen (*Quellen &c.* p. 100) say, of can. xiv.

[1] 'Osius episcopus dixit: Quoniam multa praetermissa sunt quae ad robor ecclesiasticum pertinent quae iam priori synodo Anquiritano Caesariensi et Graniens [*sc.* Ancyra Neocaesarea and Gangra] constituta sunt et nunc prae manibus habentur, praecipiat beatitudo uestra ut lectione pandantur quo omnes actus modo innotescant quae prioribus nostris pro disciplina ecclesiastica acta sunt. Vniuersi dixerunt: Ea quae a prioribus nostris acta sunt recitentur. Et recitata sunt.' So the Corbie MS (Paris, lat. 12097), the Köln MS (ccxiii), and the Albi MS (Albig. 2: the Toulouse MS, from which the Albi MS was copied, is here defective): the form of words is clearly modelled on that of the Sardican canons.

[2] Ambrose Ep. lxiii 64 (ed. Bened. ii 1037) 'cognoscamus . . . patres in concilio Nicaeni tractatus addidisse, neque clericum quemquam debere esse qui secunda coniugia sortitus sit.' The seventh Neocaesarean canon does not happen to be preserved in the Gallic version: but the epitome has 'Presbyter bigamus non ordinetur.' I do not think that the source of St. Ambrose's statement has been identified before.

[3] *Chrysostomi opera*, ed. Bened. xiii 25 οἶμαι μέν σε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὸ διάταγμα τῶν ἐν

echnical word ὑπερόριος is employed, and it is difficult to resist he conviction that it is derived from the canon to which allusion s being made. Now not only does the word not appear in the canons of Nicaea, but even the underlying thought can only by rather forced inference be found in them: for in fact, as we have already had partial occasion to see, the Nicene council did not concern itself with more than the affairs internal to each province, and left the relations of provinces to one another entirely aside. Where then did Theophilus and Chrysostom find the prohibition of the ὑπερόριος δίκη to which they both refer? The answer can, I think, only be, from the second canon of Constantinople in 381, τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι —a canon which twice appeals to Nicene authority, and might hereby the more easily be treated itself as quasi-Nicene. But t is a noteworthy phenomenon that less than twenty-five years after the council of 381 Theophilus can use as simply Nicene, and Chrysostom instead of rejecting can use in his turn, what is at best not more than a Constantinopolitan gloss upon the canons of Nicaea[1].

But if the canons of so many early councils from Ancyra to Antioch, and even to Constantinople, thus tended by the beginning of the fifth century to be confused with the Nicene, what was to prevent the same fate befalling the canons of Sardica? Nay, was not the confusion even easier in this case, seeing that the relation of Hosius to both councils offered an undeniable point of contact? Hosius was known to have been present at Nicaea, and his signature was the first in the long list of subscriptions: Hosius again was the name prefixed to most of the Sardican canons. It is not even necessary to suppose that the identification was first made at Rome: for the parallels just adduced have taken us to Gallic and North Italian, as well as to Alexandrian and Constantino-

Νικαίᾳ κανόνων ὅπου θεσπίζουσιν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπερόριον μὴ κρίνειν δίκην: ib. 28 καταλύεις τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ κανόνας τῶν τιη' ἐπισκόπων καὶ ὑπερόριον δικάζεις δίκην . . . ἔχομεν γάρ του καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δι' ἧς παρεγγυᾷς τῷ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννῃ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὑπερορίας εἰσδέχεσθαι δίκας.

[1] This conclusion is so startling that if any other solution can be found, I should be quite willing to accept it. But at present I see no escape from it.

It is worth noting, as a further curious complication and confusion, that the Constantinopolitan Creed is given in the Alexandrian collection of MS Veron. lx (58)—cf. above, p. 371, n. 1—under the title 'Symbolus sanctae synodi Sardici.' See the text as published by Mr. A. E. Burn, *J. T. S.* ii 106.

politan, ground. Doubtless a scholar with real historical feeling could not have failed to notice the Sardican colour which tinges the *tout ensemble* of the canons: but no one would be prepared to maintain that Innocent and Zosimus either possessed the instincts of scholars themselves, or stopped to consult scholars before they used the documents which lay to their hand. That Popes should have acted so carelessly, we may indeed with right deplore: but that the canons they produced were a forgery, or even that the title given them was given with intent to deceive, are conclusions, I venture to submit, which are not warranted by the dispassionate examination of the evidence of history.

C. H. TURNER.

CANON III.

Osius episcopus dixit:

Illud quoque ut episcopus de prouincia ad aliam prouinciam in [illegible] sunt episcopi non transeat; nisi forte a fratribus suis inuitatus, uideamur ianuam caritatis clausisse.

illud quoque prouidendum est, si in aliqua prouincia forte ali[illegible] episcopus contra fratrem suum episcopum litem habuerit, non ex unus ex alia prouincia aduocet episcopos.

quod si aliquis episcopus iudicatus fuerit in aliqua causa et putat [[illegible] bonam causam habere ut iterum iudicium renouetur: si uobis plac[illegible] sanctissimi Petri apostoli memoriam honoremus; scribatur uel ab [illegible] qui examinarunt uel ab episcopis qui in proxima prouincia morant[illegible] Romano episcopo; si iudicauerit renouandum esse iudicium, renouet[illegible] et det iudices; si autem probauerit talem causam esse ut ea non re[illegible]centur quae acta sunt, quae decreuerit confirmata erunt.

Si hoc omnibus placet?

Synodus respondit: Placet.

CANON VII.

Osius episcopus dixit:

Placuit autem ut si episcopus accusatus fuerit et iudicauerint congregati episcopi regionis ipsius et de gradu suo deiecerint eum, et appellasse uideatur et confugerit ad beatissimum ecclesiae Romanae episcopum et uoluerit audiri, et iustum putauerit [ut] renouetur examen, scribere his episcopis dignetur qui in finitima et propinqua prouincia sunt; ipsi diligenter omnia requirant et iuxta fidem ueritatis definiant. quod si qui rogat causam suam iterum audiri depraecatione sua mouerit episcopum Romanum ut e latere suo presbyterum mittat, erit in pote-

state episcopi quid uelit et quid estimet. si decreuerit mittendos esse qui praesentes cum episcopis iudicent, habentes auctoritatem a quo destinati sunt, erit in suo arbitrio: si uero crediderit sufficere episcopos ut negotio terminum inponant, faciet quod sapientissimo consilio [suo] iudicauerit.

Canon VIII.

Osius episcopus dixit:

Inportunitas, nimia frequentia, iniustae petitiones, fecerunt nos tantam *h*abere nec gratiam nec fiduciam, dum quidam non cessant ad comitatum ire episcopi, et maxime Afri, qui sicut cognouimus sanctissimi fratris et coepiscopi nostri Grati salutaria consilia spernunt atque contemnunt, ut unus homo ad comitatum multas et diuersas ecclesiae non profuturas perferat causas, nec ut fieri solet aut oportet ut pauperibus ac uiduis aut pupillis subueniatur, sed et dignitates saeculares et administrationes quibusdam postulant. haec itaque prauitas olim murmurationem [non] sine scandalo † excitant †. honestum est autem ut episcopus intercessionem suam his praestet qui aliqua iniqua ui opprimuntur, aut si uidua adfligitur aut pupillus expoliatur—tamen et ista nomina si iustam habent causam et petitionem. si uobis ergo, fratres karissimi, placet, decernite ne episcopi ad comitatum accedant, nisi forte hii qui religiosissimi imperatoris litteris uel inuitati uel euocati fuerint. sed quoniam saepe contigit ut ad misericordiam ecclesiae confugiant qui iniuriam patiuntur et qui peccantes in exilium uel insulam damnantur aut certe quamcumque sententiam excipiunt, subueniendum est et sine dubitatione petendum indulgentiam.

Si ergo et hoc uobis placet?

Vniuersi dixerunt:

Placet [et] constituatur.

Canon XVIII.

Ianuarius episcopus dixit:

Illud quoque statuat sanctitas uestra ut nulli episcopo liceat alterius ciuitatis ecclesiasticum sollicitare et in suis parrociis ordinare.

Vniuersi dixerunt:

Quia ex his contentionibus solet discordia nasci, prohibet omnium sententia ne quis hoc facere audeat.

Canon XIX.

Osius episcopus dixit:

Et hoc uniuersi constituimus ut quicumque ex alia parrocia uoluerit alienum ministrum sine consensu episcopi ipsius et sine uoluntate ordinare, non sit rata ordinatio. quicumque [autem] hoc usurpauerit, a fratribus et coepiscopis nostris [et] admoneri debet et corrigi.

THE COMMEN
EPISTLE TO

THE TE

Eph. i 15–17 [Διὰ τοῦτο κ
Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς
ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μ
ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, δῴη ὑμῖν π
αὐτοῦ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλ
129

[Ὠ
δόξει σόλοικον εἶναι τὸ ἐν ἐπιγν
τῆς καρδίας εἰ μὴ ὡς ὑπερβατ
συμφράσεως οὕτως ἔχειν οἰόμεθα
πίστιν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἐπιγνώ
τῆς καρδίας, καὶ τὴν εἰς πάντας τ
ὑμῶν μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς
ἀποκαλύψεως, εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς
ἑξῆς.

130 εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ὑποκειμένου καὶ οὐσιώδου
πατήρ, δηλονότι ἡ δόξα ὑποκείμενόν
ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ Λ
Δικαιοσύνη,

τὸ μὲν οὖν **πνεῦμα** τῆς **σοφίας** σοφὸν ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ **πνεῦμα** τῆς **ἀποκαλύψεως** περιαιρεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας τὸ κάλυμμα, ἵνα ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ τις προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενος τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφ⟨ῶ⟩ται ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν. οὐδεὶς οὖν μὴ σοφὸς ἔχει **πνεῦμα σοφίας**, καὶ οὐδεὶς τ⟨ῶν⟩ ἡνίκα ἀναγινώσκηται Μωσῆς κάλυμμα ἔτι ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἤδη **εἴληφε** τὸ τῆς **ἀποκαλύψεως πνεῦμα**· εἰ μὴ ⟨ἄ⟩ρα τὸ **πνεῦμα** τῆς **σοφίας** ποσότητι τῶν θεωρημάτων τῆς σοφίας διαφόρως σοφοὺς ποιεῖ, καὶ ποσότητι τῆς περιαιρέσεως τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς γράμμασι καλυμμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίως διακονεῖ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ὧν περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα.

πρὸς τούτοις ἀκουστέον τὸ **ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας**· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταὐτόν ἐστι γνῶσις Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπίγνωσις Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπιγινώσκων οἱονεὶ ἀναγνωρίζει ὃ πάλαι εἰδὼς ἐπελέληστο, ὅσοι **ἐν ἐπιγνώσει** γίνονται Θεοῦ πάλαι ᾔδεσαν αὐτόν· διόπερ μνησθήσονται καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. ἐμφαίνει δὲ τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν καὶ νοητὴν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς τὸ **πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας**.

[i 18–20] **εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ⟨ὑ⟩μᾶς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.**

[Ὠριγένους]

ἡ κλῆσις τοῦ Θεοῦ **ἐλπίδα** ἔχει, ἣν χρὴ γνῶναι ἀπὸ πολλῆς προσοχῆς βίου καὶ ἐντρεχείας νοῦ· καὶ **ἡ κληρονομία αὐτοῦ πλοῦτον** ἔχει **δόξης** πολλῆς **ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις** ἄνω τόποις.

ᾧ κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ Παύλου δίδοται τὸ **πνεῦμα** τῆς **σοφίας καὶ** τῆς 131
ἀποκαλύψεως, αὐτὸς **εἴσεται** τὰ ἀποκείμενα τοῖς **καλουμένοις** καὶ θεωρήσει τὰ **ἐλπιζόμενα**, ὄντα **πλοῦτον δόξης τῆς** κατὰ τὴν **κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ**, ἣν δίδωσι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν **ἁγίαν** ταύτην καλουμένοις κληρονομίαν.

ζητήσεις δέ εἰ ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς **τῶν ἁγίων κληρονομία**, ὡς καὶ οὕτως νοεῖσθαι τοὺς κληρονόμους τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα, ὥσπερ λέγομεν κληρονόμους χωρίων καὶ κληρονόμους οἰκιῶν τὴν κληρονομίαν τάσσοντες ἐπὶ τῶν κτημάτων, οὕτως νοήσωμεν καὶ τοὺς κληρονόμους τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ ἔχεταί γε τοιαύτης διανοίας ὁ λέγων νόμος τοῖς δὲ υἱοῖς Λευὶ οὐ δώσεις κλῆρον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐγὼ μερὶς αὐτῶν, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ Κύριος κληρονομία αὐτῶν.

17, 19, 24. 2 Cor. iii 15, 16, 18 28. Ps. xxi (xxii) 28 30. Jo. i 9 42. Col. i 5 49. *cf* Jos. xviii 7; Deut. x 9; Num. xviii 20, xxvi 62 50. *cf* Jos. xiii 14

25–29: 563 C D 41–44: 563 E 45–50: 564 B

IX 18. μεταμορφῶται : μεταμορφοῦται MS 19. τῶν : τό MS 21. ἄρα Robinson : ὁρᾶ MS 32. ὑμᾶς : ἡμᾶς MS

DOCUMENTS

THE COMMENTARY OF ORIGEN UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS: PART II.

THE TEXT: EPH. i 15—iv 26.

§ IX.

Eph. i 15–17 [Διὰ τοῦτο κἀγώ, ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μνείαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, δῴη ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας.]

120 ['Ὠριγένης *φησί*]

δόξει σόλοικον εἶναι τὸ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας *εἰ μὴ ὡς ὑπερβατὸν αὐτὸ ἀποδῶμεν· διόπερ τὸ ἑξῆς τῆς συμφράσεως οὕτως ἔχειν οἰόμεθα* διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας, καὶ τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, δῴη ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς*.

130 *εἰ* ὁ πατὴρ *ὑποκειμένου καὶ οὐσιώδους ἐστὶ πατήρ, λέγεται δὲ καὶ* τῆς δόξης πατήρ, *δηλονότι ἡ δόξα ὑποκείμενόν τί ἐστι καὶ οὐσιωμένον· καὶ μήποτε ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ* Λόγος *καὶ* Σοφία *καὶ* Ἀλήθεια *καὶ* Εἰρήνη *καὶ* Δικαιοσύνη, *οὕτω καὶ* Δόξα· *καὶ εἴ ποτε* ὤφθαι *ἀναγέγραπται* Δόξα Θεοῦ, *οὐκ ἄλλο τι νοητέον ὦφθαι ἢ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

IX 14. Exod. xvi 10 *etc.*; Ezech. viii 4 *etc.*

IX 2–10: 562 B C 11–15: 562 D

[Errata in ch. i–viii: see *J. T. S.*, Jan. 1902, pp. 234–244. II 28. *αἰγίοις*: read *αἰγείοις* with MS VIII 31. *ἐπαγγελίας* Gregg: *ἐπαγγελίαν* MS]

τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα τῆς σοφίας σοφὸν ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως περιαιρεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας τὸ κάλυμμα, ἵνα ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ τις προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενος τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφ⟨ῶ⟩ται ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν. οὐδεὶς οὖν μὴ σοφὸς ἔχει πνεῦμα σοφίας, καὶ οὐδεὶς τ⟨ῶν⟩ ἡνίκα ἀναγινώσκηται Μωσῆς κάλυμμα ἔτι ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἤδη εἴληφε τὸ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως πνεῦμα· εἰ μὴ ⟨ἄ⟩ρα τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς σοφίας ποσότητι τῶν θεωρημάτων τῆς σοφίας διαφόρως σοφοὺς ποιεῖ, καὶ ποσότητι τῆς περιαιρέσεως τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς γράμμασι καλυμμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίως διακονεῖ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ὧν περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα.

πρὸς τούτοις ἀκουστέον τὸ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταὐτόν ἐστι γνῶσις Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπίγνωσις Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπιγινώσκων οἱονεὶ ἀναγνωρίζει ὃ πάλαι εἰδὼς ἐπελέλησто, ὅσοι ἐν ἐπιγνώσει γίνονται Θεοῦ πάλαι ᾔδεσαν αὐτόν· διόπερ μνησθήσονται καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. ἐμφαίνει δὲ τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν καὶ νοητὴν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς τὸ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας.

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25–29: 563 C D 41–44: 563 E 45–50: 564 B

IX 18. *μεταμορφῶται* : *μεταμορφοῦται* MS 19. *τῶν* : *τό* MS 21. *ἄρα* Robinson : *δρᾶ* MS 32. *ὑμᾶς* : *ἡμᾶς* MS

γίνεται τοίνυν ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ νῷ τῶν ἁγίων τὰ τοσαῦτα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ χωρησόντων ὑπερβάλλοντι μεγέθει δυνάμεως Θεοῦ τῷ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ πιστεύοντας. οὐ γὰρ τῆς τυχούσης δυνάμεως ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν χρεία ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι τί ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐγγινομένου εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγγινομένου κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς πάντων κρατούσης ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ἥτις κράτος ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ νῦν ὠνόμασται· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ χρησάμενος ἐνήργησεν ἃ ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

[i 20–23] καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκε κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

132 σωματικῷ χαρακτῆρι ἡγητέον ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι, οὐχ ὡς καθεδρῶν τινων ἢ θρόνων αἰσθητῶν κειμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐφ᾽ ὧν καθέζεται ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός· οὕτω γὰρ νοοῦντες οὐκ ἂν τῆς θείας φύσεως ἀξίως ταῦτα λέγοιμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ σωματικῶς ὑπόκειται ἡ γῆ καθεζομένῳ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὡς ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. πῶς γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς θρόνος εἶναι δύναται, τῇ σπιθαμῇ αὐτοῦ μεμετρημένος; καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ δρακὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμπεριειλημμένη; φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἡσαίας τίς ἐμέτρησε τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί; ἡγοῦμαι οὖν καὶ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι Θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πόρρω αὐτοῦ νοητά, πάντων μὲν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κατὰ βούλημα τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων βιούντων καὶ ἐγγιζόντων Θεῷ, τῶν δὲ ἀσεβῶν πόρρω αὐτοῦ τυγχανόντων, περὶ ὧν φησὶν ὁ προφήτης ἰδοὺ οἱ μακρύνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀπολοῦνται. ὥσπερ οὖν νενόηται τίς ὁ πλησίον Θεοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ πόρρω αὐτοῦ, οὕτως ἡγητέον τοὺς μὲν ἁγίους ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς εἶναι αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι τοὺς δὲ ἀσεβεῖς οἱονεὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ σωτήρ φησι στήσει τὰ πρόβατα· ἐκ δεξιῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρίφια ἐξ εὐωνύμων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ‘ἱδρύσας καὶ βασιλείαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχὴν δωρησάμενος,’ καθ᾽ ἣν ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ ἄρχει τῶν ἁγίων, ὠφελῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ μεταδιδοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ ὑπεράνω πάντων γενόμενος Ἰησοῦς διὰ τὴν φιλάνθρωπον εἰς πάντα οἰκονομίαν.

πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγούμενα τῶν δεομένων τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ

71, 72. Is. lxvi 1 73. Is. xl 12 78. Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 27 81. Matt. xxv 33

54–60 : 564 C 67–69 : 564 E 70–83 : 565 B–D

52. τά MS : perhaps τῶν, Gregg

ἐπιστασίας καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐξουσιάζοντα καὶ πολλὰ τὰ κυριεύοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως μεταδιδόντα, τινὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι [illegible] καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι [illegible]

CORPVS SCRIPTORVM ECCLESIASTICORVM LATINORVM

EDITVM CONSILIO ET IMPENSIS

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γίνεται τοίνυν ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ νῷ τῶν ἁγίων τὰ τοσαῦτα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ χωρησόντων ὑπερβάλλοντι μεγέθει δυνάμεως Θεοῦ τῷ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ πιστεύοντας. οὐ γὰρ τῆς τυχούσης δυνάμεως ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν χρεία ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι τί ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐγγινομένου εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγγινομένου κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς πάντων κρατούσης ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ἥτις κράτος ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ νῦν ὠνόμασται· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ χρησάμενος ἐνήργησεν ἃ ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

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πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγούμενα τῶν δεομένων τῆς παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ

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ἐπιστασίας καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐξουσιάζοντα καὶ πολλὰ τὰ κυριεύοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως μεταδιδόντα, τινὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἐνεργήσοντα· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἄρχει ἀρχὴν ἡλίκην ὁ υἱός. δεῖται γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἄρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξουσίαι βέλτιον ἐξουσιάσουσιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὄντες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὑπερεχούσης τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄγηταί τινα ἐπὶ συμφέρουσαν δουλείαν ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶς κυριευόντων, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα τὰ κυριεύοντα λαμβάνοντα τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ κυριεύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τῶν κυριευόντων κυριεύειν ὧν κυριεύει. ὅθεν ὁ ἐγείρας ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸν Χριστὸν
ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ 133
ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος, καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· εἰκὸς γὰρ εἶναί τινα καὶ ἄρρητα καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητα κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν τῶν ὅλων ἡμῖν οὐ ληπτὰ ὀνόματα ὀνομαζόμενα, τινὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ⟨τινὰ⟩ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. πόθεν δὲ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ ἁγίου πνεύματος;

πῶς δὲ εἴρηται καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐξεταστέον, φανεροῦ ὄντος ὅτι μυρίοι ὅσοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἔτι ἀνυποτακτοῦντες τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὔπω γὰρ ἔτι ὁρῶμεν τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα· καὶ τὸ δεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρις οὗ ἂν θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ τὸ μηδέπω πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ εἶναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν τις ἐρεῖ ὅτι κατὰ πρόγνωσιν εἴρηται καὶ τοῦτο. ἕτερος δέ, τὴν κατάταξιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ᾗ κατατάσσει ἕκαστον εἴς τι τάγμα παριστάς, ἐρεῖ τόδε· πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὅσα τῆς τάξεώς ἐστι τῶν ὑποτασσομένων.

καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκε κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ⟨τὸ πλήρωμα⟩ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

σῶμα Χριστοῦ εὑρίσκοντες λεγομένην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ζητοῦμεν πότερόν ποτε, ὡς παρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα, ὄργανον τῆς κεφαλῆς δεῖ αὐτὴν νοεῖν, ἢ ὥσπερ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα, οὗ σώματος μέρος ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλή, οὕτως Χριστοῦ σῶμά ἐστι ψυχούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς θειότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ πληρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ, ἢ ἄλλως πως δεῖ ταῦτα ἐκλαμβάνειν. ἐὰν μέντοιγε τὸ δεύτερον ᾖ, ἔσται τὸ μὲν ἀνθρωπικώτερον αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸ μέρος τυγχάνον τοῦ ὅλου σώματος, τὸ δὲ θεῖον καὶ ζωοποιο⟨ῦ⟩ν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡ ὡσπερεὶ ψυχοῦσα αὐτὴν δύναμις θεία.

πῶς δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία οὖσα σῶμα Χριστοῦ πλήρωμά ἐστι τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου θέλομεν γνῶναι, καὶ διατί οὐ λέγεται τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι

94. Deut. x 17 (Apoc. xvii 14, xix 16, *cf* Dan. ii 47) 105. Heb. ii 8; 1 Cor. xv 25

103–110: 567 B–D

91. *ὄντες* MS: perhaps *οὖσαι*, Gregg 100. *τινά* 2° Gregg: om MS 105. *ἔτι* MS: perhaps *αὐτῷ* (cf. Heb. ii 8), Gregg 109. *τόδε*: *τὸ δέ* MS 112. *τὸ πλήρωμα*: om MS (*αὐτοῦ* is the last word of a column in the MS) 118. *ἀνθρωπικώτερον*: *ἀνθρωπικότερον* MS 119. *ζωοποιοῦν*: *ζωοποιόν* MS

πληροῦντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ πληρουμένου. δόξει γὰρ ἀκολουθότερον ἂν εἰρῆσθαι τὸ τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι τὸν πληροῦντα, οὐχὶ δὲ τὸν πληρούμενον· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰ μόνον ΝΟΜΟΥ ἐστὶ ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν πληρωμάτων ἐστὶ πλήρωμα,
134 οὐκ ἂν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τινὸς πλήρους γινομένου. ὅρα δὲ εἰ δύναται πρὸς ταῦτα οὕτως ἀπαντῆσαι ὁ λέγων ὅτι, καθάπερ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν σχέσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ πρὸς τὰ λογικὰ ὥσπερ πλήρωμά ἐστι πάντων τῶν λογικῶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσπερεὶ πλήρωμα εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαμβάνει, πληρέστατα ἀποδεικνύμενος καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μακαρίων. καὶ ἵνα γε σαφέστερον γένηται τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐννόει βασιλέα μὲν πληρούμενον τῆς βασιλείας καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν αὐξόντων τὴν βασιλείαν, κενούμενον δὲ ταύτης ἐν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν δὲ ὅ⟨λ⟩ως ἁρμοδιώτερον τῇ Χριστοῦ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐστὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἑκάστου τῶν συμπληρούντων αὐτὴν εὐεργετουμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λογικῶ⟨ς⟩ καὶ τελειουμένων, οἵτινες προσφεύγοντες αὐτῷ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, κενόν πως ὂν ὅτε λείπει τῶν εὐεργετουμένων. διὸ πληροῦται ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ὁ Χριστός, λείπων τούτοις πρὶν προσέλθωσιν.

[ii 1–5] Καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἐν αἷς ποτε περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐν οἷς καὶ ⟨ἡ⟩μεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν, καὶ ἦμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει διὰ πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ.

τὸ ἑξῆς ἐστι· καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρ-
135 τίαις ὑμῶν συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ Θεός, πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς· καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, ἐν οἷς ποτε περιεπατήσαμεν κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν, καὶ ἦμεν φύσει τέκνα ὀργῆς, συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ. τὸν δὲ

125. Rom. xiii 10, *cf* Matt. v 17

130–137 : 570 A B   146–156 : 570 C–571 A

123. *ἀλλὰ τοῦ πληρουμένου* Turner : *ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ πληρουμένου* MS   132, 133. *ἐν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν δὲ* MS : Cramer punctuates *ἐν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις τοῦτου τοῦ βασιλέως. οὐδὲν δὲ*, but the words *ἐν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις* bring the first sentence to its proper conclusion (unless indeed we read *αὐτοῦ* for *τούτου*), and therefore *τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως* must commence the other sentence; perhaps we should read *τοιούτου βασιλέως οὐδὲν δὲ* (Turner)   133. *ὅλως* Swete : *οὕτως* MS   135. *λογικῶς* (*cf* XVIII 21, 22 *τυχόντας βοηθείας λογικῆς*) Turner : *λογικῶν* MS   141. *ἡμεῖς* (Eph. ii 3) : *ὑμεῖς* MS

σύνδεσμον το⟨ῦ τ⟩όπου ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει ἡγούμεθα ἤτοι παρεμβεβλῆσθαι μάτην ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις ἢ ὡς ὑπ' ἰδιώτου τῷ λόγῳ Παύλου μὴ τεθεωρῆσθαι παρέλκοντα.

σαφῶς δὲ θάνατος τῆς ψυχῆς εἶναι λέγεται τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἴδιόν ἐστι τῆς γραφῆς ὄνομα τὸ 'παράπτωμα,' ἐξεταστέον εἰ διαφέρει τῆς 'ἁμαρτίας,' καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ ἐνθάδε συμπεπλεγμένως εἴρηται τὸ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. καὶ ζητοῦμεν εἰ τὰ κακῶς ἡμῖν ἤδη τετελεσμένα 'ἁμαρτίαι' ἡμῶν λέγονται, αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ τούτων, οἱονεὶ μηδέπω πτώματα οὖσαι ἀλλ' ὁδεύουσαι ἐπὶ τὸ καὶ πεσεῖν ἡμᾶς, 'παραπτώματα.' καὶ τάχα διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ λέγεται ψαλμῷ παραπτώματα τίς συνήσει; τῷ τὸν συνιέντα τὰς ῥίζας καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἁμαρτημάτων οὔσας 'παραπτώματα' δύνασθαι ἂν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπεσεῖν καὶ ταῖς 'ἁμαρτίαις.'

τί ἐστι κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου περιπατεῖν, καὶ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κρείττονος κόσμου ἐφ' ὃν οἱ ἅγιοι σπεύδουσιν; ὁ μὲν οὖν τις ἁπλούστερον αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἡγήσεται τὸν συμπαρεκτεινόμενον χρόνον τῇ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μεχρὶ τέλους κατασκευῇ. ἄλλος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἑξῆς ὑπονοήσει μὴ ἄρα ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας καὶ ὁ αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἐπείπερ ὡς καθ' ἑνὸς τέτακται ταῦτα πάντα, λέγοντος Παύλου ἐν αἷς ποτε περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας δὲ τὸ ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ νομίσει δηλοῦν ὅτι ζῷον πονηρόν ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεστὼς αἰών, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος (πλὴν ἔχει ἀντεπιχείρησιν τὸ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολῆς ῥητόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἡμερῶν λέγεται, τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ὡς οὐκ οὐσῶν ἐμψύχων, τοιοῦτό τι ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραί εἰσι, καὶ μικραὶ καὶ πονηραί εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέραι ἃς παρῴκηκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φησὶν ὁ Ἰακώβ). καὶ τὸ δι' οὗ ἐποίησε τοὺς αἰῶνας κείμενον δόξει κτίσμα λέγειν τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὧν δύναται εἷς ἀποστατικῶς πονηρὸς γεγονέναι καὶ λέγεσθαι αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου καὶ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε.

καὶ παρατηρητέον γε ὅτι οὐκ εἶπε κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἀέρος ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος· οὐκοῦν ζητητέον τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἐξουσίαν, ἵνα οὕτως ἴδωμεν τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης. δύναται δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ τοιοῦτό τι δηλοῦν κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ πνεῦμα ἀέρος ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, τοῦ

155. 2 Cor. xi 6 165. Ps. xviii (xix) 13 177. Gal. i 4 181. Eph. v 16
182. Gen. xlvii 9 183. Heb. i 3

157–167 : 571 A–C 168–187 : 571 C–E 188–202 : 572 AB

154. τοῦ τόπου Robinson : τὸν ὅπου MS

νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ ἄρχων τινός ἐστιν ἄρχων, ἐπιστήσεις μήποτε πάσης ἐξουσίας ἄρχων ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀέρα ὁ νῦν λεγόμενος, ἥτις ἐνεργεῖ διατρίβουσα περὶ τὸν ἀέρα εἰς τοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας υἱούς (καὶ πᾶς δὲ ὁ καταγγελλομένων θείων δογμάτων ἀπειθῶν αὐτοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπειθεῖν υἱὸς ἀπειθείας ἀναφαίνεται)· καὶ μήποτε πρός ταύτας ἡμῖν τὰς ἐξουσίας ἡ πάλη, ἀνθισταμένοις ταῖς ἐνεργείαις αἷς βούλονται ἐμποιεῖν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, θέλουσαι ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι υἱοὺς ἀπειθείας. οὐ θαυμαστὸν δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις εἶναι λέγεσθαι (ὥσπερ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας καὶ τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις),τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀέρος κατά τινα συνήθειαν τῆς γραφῆς 'οὐρανοῦ' ὀνομαζομένου· λέγεται γὰρ πετεινὰ οὐρανοῦ, σαφὲς δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα λέγεται.

τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν οἷς ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε, τίσιν ἢ τοῖς παραπτώμασι; καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπέδωκέ τι πρὸς τὰ παραπτώματα ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνας τὰς ἁμαρτίας· εἰπὼν γοῦν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἐπιφέρει τὸ ἐν ⟨α⟩ἷς ποτε περιεπατήσατε· νῦν δὲ ἀποδίδωσι
137 πρὸς τὸ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν ὑμῶν τὸ καὶ ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ, εἰπὼν τὸ ἐν ⟨α⟩ἷς ποτε περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀποσιωπῶν, οἷον ἀλαζονεύεσθαι δοκεῖν. οἶδε δέ τινα αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πνεύματος, λέγων ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός.

ἀναστραφέντες δὲ ἐν τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, ἐπεὶ ἤμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, ἐποιοῦμεν οὐχ ἕν τι ἀλλὰ πλείονα θελήματα, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῆς σαρκὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν· ζητοῦμεν δὲ τίνα τὰ θελήματα τῶν διανοιῶν ἕτερα ὄντα τῶν θελημάτων τῆς σαρκός· καὶ στοχαζόμεθά γε ⟨ὅτι⟩ τῷ μὲν ποιεῖν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ φιληδονεῖν ποιεῖ τις τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκός, τῷ δὲ ἀποπεπτωκέναι τῆς ὑγιοῦς δόξης καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς διανοίας ποιοῦμεν τὰ θελήματα τῶν διανοιῶν.

εἰς δὲ τὸ ἤμεθα φύσει τέκνα ὀργῆς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί, οὐκ οἴδαμεν ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐροῦσιν οἱ τὰς πνευματικὰς ἀρχῆθεν φύσεις εἰσάγοντες· πῶς γὰρ ὁ φύσει υἱὸς Θεοῦ φύσει εἶναι λέγεται υἱὸς ὀργῆς, ἀποκρινέσθωσαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἰόμεθα διὰ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως γεγονέναι τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, ὅτε ἐνέκειτο ἡμῶν ἡ διάνοια ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκ νεότητος· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Σολομῶντα οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὃς ποιήσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται.

196, 199. Eph. vi 12 201. *e.g.* Dan. iv 18 (21), Matt. vi 26, Luc. viii 5, xiii 19
211. Gal. v 17 222. Phil. iii 21 ; Gen. viii 21 223. Eccl. vii 20 (21)

203–211 : 572 B–D 212–218 : 572 E 573 A 219–224 : 573 B C

203. *καὶ ἐν οἷς* MS : perhaps *ἐν οἷς καί* Gregg 206, 208. *αἷς* Turner : *οἷς* MS : the point of Origen's argument is that the masculine *ἐν οἷς* of *v.* 3 answers to the *παραπτώματα*, while the feminine *ἐν αἷς* of *v.* 2 had already answered to the *ἁμαρτίαι*
215. *ὅτι* Gregg : om MS

§ X.

Eph. ii 6 [καὶ συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.]

[Ὠριγένης δέ φησι] 141

τὸ συνήγειρε καὶ συνεκάθισεν ὁ μὲν ἁπλούστερον ἐκλαμβάνων κατὰ πρό- νωσιν καὶ προορισμὸν Θεοῦ φήσει εἰρῆσθαι, ὡς ἤδη γενόμενον τὸ ἐσόμενον· δὲ νοητὴν θεωρῶν τὴν Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν οὐκ ὀκνήσει λέγειν τὸν ἤδη ἅγιον, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἶναι ἐν σαρκὶ κἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁπλουστέρων λέγηται εἶναι ἐν σαρκί, ὕτως οὐκ εἶναι ἐπὶ γῆς κἂν κατὰ τὸ αἰσθητὸν βλέπηται ἐπὶ γῆς τυγχάνων. γὰρ ἐν πνεύματι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐστὶν ν σαρκὶ ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐν πνεύματι. αἱ γοῦν τοιαίδε διαθέσεις καὶ ἡ τῶν τηλίκων τ⟩ε καὶ τοιῶνδε κατάληψις οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος ἀλλ' ἐπουράνιος, πάντων τῶν ἤδη ὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐχόντων συγκαθισάντων τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρα- ίοις, εἴπερ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντός ἡμῶν ἐστιν, ἵν' οὕτως ὦμεν κεκαθικότες ἐν οῖς ἐπουρανίοις συγκαθήμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ συνιδρυμένοι τῇ Σοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ ιόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

§ XI.

Eph. ii 12 [ὅτι ἦτε ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χωρὶς Χριστοῦ, ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι ῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἐλπίδα ὴ ἔχοντες καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.]

[Ὠριγένης φησί] 144

πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας μὴ τὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πολιτείαν πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς εἰς ριστὸν πεπιστευκότας ἀλλὰ ἄλλην τινὰ καινὴν καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνην κοινὸν χουσαν, καλὸν παρατήρημα ἐντεῦθεν ἔστι λαβεῖν. ἦτε γάρ, φησίν, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ κείνῳ χωρὶς Χριστοῦ, ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ὡς νῦν ὐκέτι αὐτῶν ὄντων χωρὶς Χριστοῦ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τῆς πολι- είας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· τοῖς γὰρ νοοῦσι τὸν πνευματικὸν νόμον καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν βιοῦσι ᾶσιν ὑπάρχει τὸ ⟨ᾠ⟩κειῶσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν σωμα- ικῶν Ἰουδαίων· ἀκόλουθον δέ ἐστι τὸν χωρὶς Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀπηλλοτριωμένον τῆς ολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ξένον νομίζειν εἶναι τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. ζητήσεις δὲ μήποτε διὰ τοῦτο εἴρηται ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτ⟨ῳ⟩· ἐπεὶ τον ἐπὶ τῇ προγνώσει τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἦσαν ἄθεοι οἷς γράφεται ἡ ἐπιστολή.

[ii 13] νυνὶ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὑμεῖς οἵ ποτε ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 145

X 8. Rom. viii 9 10. Phil. iii 20 11. Luc. xvii 21 XI 7. Rom. vii 14

X 2–13: 575 A, C XI 11, 12: 580 C

X 9. τε Turner: γε MS 10. συγκαθισάντων Turner: τῶν συγκαθισάντων MS
I 8. ᾠκειῶσθαι: οἰκειῶσθαι MS 11. τούτῳ: τοῦτο MS 13. ἐγενήθητε: εννήθητε MS

τὸ μακρὰν καὶ τὸ ἐγγὺς ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ τῶν τοπικῶς μακρὰν ἢ ἐγγύς, εἰς παράστασιν τῆς πόρρω τοῦ Θεοῦ προαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐγγιζούσης τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· γινόμεθα δὲ ἐγγὺς καθαρθέντες τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἀγορασθέντες.

[ii 14 *a*] αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν.

τηρητέον ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ λόγος ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ σοφία καὶ δύναμις καὶ ζωή, οὕτως καὶ εἰρήνη· καὶ συνακτέον γε πάντα ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς ἃ ὀνομάζεται, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀκριβέστερον νοήσωμεν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἔχει λόγον, ὅτε αὐτὸν ζητήσας εὗρεν ὡς λόγον (τὸ δὲ ἀνάλογον καὶ ἐπὶ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔχει), οὕτως ζητήσωμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς εἰρήνην, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἔχωμεν καθώς ἐστιν Εἰρήνη καὶ εἰρήνη πάντων τῶν λογικῶν· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων τὴν εἰρήνην οὐκ ἔχει τὸν Χριστόν.

§ XII.

Eph. ii 14 *b*, 15, 17 [ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἓν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν καταλύσας, ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐγγύς.]

150 [Ὠριγένης δέ φησι]

ταῦτα λέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν θειοτέρων δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων σωζομένων, τῶν μὲν θειοτέρων δυνάμεων οὐσῶν καὶ πρότερον ἐγγὺς τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων μακράν (ἐφαρμόσει δὲ τούτοις ὁ ταῦτα λέγων τὸ εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὅλα τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον οὕτω διηγήσεται), τῶν μὲν κρειττόνων δυνάμεων ὅτι ἐν φιλίᾳ ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τῶν δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ἦν πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἔχθρα τὸ μεσότοιχον ἦν τοῦ φραγμοῦ κωλῦον τοῦ ἑνοῦσθαι τὴν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν τῇ μακαριότητι τῶν κρειττόνων. τοῦτο οὖν τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, ἔχθρα τυγχάνον, ἐλύθη διὰ τοῦ ἐνηνθρωπηκέναι τὸν σωτῆρα ἡμῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται λελύσθαι ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πρόσχες γε τῷ ἑξῆς, εἰ δύναται πληκτικώτερον λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ οὕτως ἑρμηνεύοντος· κατά γε τὸν ἀληθῆ νόμον, οὗ σκιὰ καὶ ὑπόδειγμα τὸ γράμμα Μωσέως ἦν, ἐλάτρευόν τινες ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις· καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὁ νόμος δόγματά ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος ἐντολῶν, ἅπερ δόγματα ὁ ἀξιωθεὶς νοῆσαι, τ⟨ῷ⟩ καταλελύσθαι τὸ διατειχῖζον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, οὐκέτι

18. 1 Cor. vi 20, vii 23 20. Jo. i 1; 1 Cor. i 24; Col. iii 4 23. Matt. vii 7; 1 Cor. i 30 XII 4. Col. i 20 13, 14. Heb. viii 5

20–25: 580 E 581 A XII 4–15: 582 B C

22. ὅτε MS: perhaps ὅτι, Turner XII 7, 8. ἦν . . . ἦν: perhaps ἦσαν . . . ἦσαν, Turner 9. κωλῦον τοῦ: κωλύον τοῦ MS: perhaps κωλύοντος (τὸ rather than τοῦ would be wanted), Turner 15. τῷ: τό MS

τῷ νόμῳ τῶν ἐντολῶν ζῇ· τὸν γὰρ νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι καταργεῖ Χριστός, ἵνα, νοηθέντων τῶν δηλουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῶν ἐντολῶν δογμάτων, καταφρονηθῇ ὡς ἀποκτέννον τὸ γράμμα τοῦ νόμου τῶν ἐντολῶν.

καταργηθεὶς τοίνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ νόμος τῶν ἐντολῶν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δογμάτων φανερώσεως συνήγαγεν ἀμφοτέρους, λέγω δὴ τὰς θειοτέρας δυνάμεις καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πιστεύοντας, εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὁ δὲ καινὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ὁσημέραι ἀνακαινοῦσθαι νοεῖται, καὶ κατοικισθήσεται ἐν καινῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι ἔσται ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινή.

δόξει δὲ τὸ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ.

[ii 19–22] ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι, ἀλλὰ συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων 151
καὶ προφητῶν, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι.

πρὸς τὸ προειρημένον ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας νῦν λέγεται ἄρα οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ νῦν τὸ ἀλλὰ συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ.

τὰ δὲ ῥήματα ταῦτα προσακτέον τοῖς εἰσάγουσι τὰς φύσεις· πῶς γὰρ ξένοι οἱ φύσει πολῖται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πῶς οἱ φύσει ξένοι οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ;

τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν δόξει συνᾴδειν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἐγγὺς μὲν εἶναι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, πόρρω δὲ τὰ ἔθνη.

δεήσει δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ῥητοῖς χρήσασθαι κατὰ τῶν διακοπτόντων τὴν θεότητα καὶ οἰομένων ἑτέρου εἶναι Θεοῦ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἄλλου τοὺς ἀποστόλους. εἰ γὰρ οἱ μηκέτι ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι ἀλλὰ συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐποικοδομοῦνται ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ, ⟨ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι συνοικοδομοῦνται εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι, εἷς ἐστιν Θεὸς μιᾶς οἰκοδομῆς καὶ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐποικοδομηθέντος ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν. εἰ δὲ πᾶσα

19. 2 Cor. iii 6 23. 2 Cor. iv 16 24. Is. lxv 17

22–25: 582 D–583 A 31–38: 583 E 584 A 39–50: 584 A–C

35. πολῖται MS: perhaps συμπολῖται, Gregg 44–47. ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι . . . ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ Turner: om MS: the words inserted are necessary for the sense, and are re-translated from Jerome 584 A–C, who is very literal just here, 'hoc testimonio et contra Marcionem ceterosque ueteres hereticos qui alium legis alium euangelii praedicant deum uti possumus. si enim nequaquam *peregrini et accolae* sed *ciues sanctorum et domestici Dei* superaedificati sunt *fundamento apostolorum et prophetarum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu, in quo omnis aedificatio compaginata crescit in templum sanctum in Domino, in quo et* Ephesii coaedificantur *in tabernaculum Dei in Spiritu*, unus est Deus unius aedificationis et templi quod superaedificatum est *fundamento apostolorum et prophetarum.* quod si *uniuersa*

ἡ οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ,⟩ φιλοτιμητέον ἁρμονίους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι ΖΩ͂ΝΤΑΣ ΛΊΘΟΥΣ τῇ πάσῃ οἰκοδομῇ, ἵνα συνοικοδομηθέντες κατοικητήριον γενώμεθα τῷ Θεῷ χωροῦντες εἰς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν θεολογίαν αὐτοῦ.

§ XIII.

Eph. iii 1–3 [τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν—εἴγε ἠκούσατε τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὅτι κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνωρίσθη μοι τὸ μυστήριον, καθὼς προέγραψα ἐν ὀλίγῳ.]

153 [Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν]

ὡς πρὸς τὴν φράσιν, κα⟨τὰ⟩ τὸ δυνατόν ζητήσαντες ἀποκαταστῆσαι αὐτὴν φα-
μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἀνταποδέδωκε πρὸς τὸ τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος, τὸ τί
τούτου γὰρ χάριν πεποίηκα ἢ τί μοι γεγένηται οὐ πάνυ τι παρέστησεν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα
τοῦ μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὴν φράσιν ἀκολούθου ὡς ἸΔΙΏΤΗΣ ΤΩ͂ ΛΌΓΩ ἀποπέπτωκε τὸν δὲ
ὀφειλόμενον νοῦν οὐκ εὐφραδῶς ἀποδέδωκεν, οὕτως λέξοντα ἂν τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ
Παῦλος δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ δέσμιος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐγνώρισα τὸ
μυστήριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ ὑμῖν μεταδοῦναι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων δι'
ὀλίγων ἔγραψα, ὀφείλετε δὲ ἀκηκοέναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς
δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν δέσμιος γέγονα Ἰησοῦ
154 Χριστοῦ. σολοικισμὸν δὲ νομίζω γεγονέναι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ· δέον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι
τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος δέσμιος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγνώρισα τὸ μυστήριον, ὁ δέ
φησι τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος δέσμιος, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνωρίσθη μοι τὸ
μυστήριον. εἰ δέ τις δύναται παραστῆσαι πρὸς τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τὴν φράσιν
αὐτῷ ἐπιτετευγμένην, ἐκείνου μάλιστα ἀκουστέον.

ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἔστιν ἀληθῶς εὑρεῖν τὸν ἐπιμελῶς ἐντυγχάνοντα ἀποκάλυψιν ἘΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΈΝΗΝ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΊΟΥ ἁγίου τῷ Παύλῳ.

§ XIV.

Eph. iii 12 [ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ.]

48. 1 Pet. ii 5 XIII 5. 2 Cor. xi 6 17. Eph. i 9

XIII 2–11 : 585 B–587 A 11–15 : 587 C D 16, 17 : 588 B

aedificatio compaginata crescit in templum sanctum in Domino, omni labore nitendum est ut,' etc. : the omission is due to homoeoteleuton, a new page beginning after Κυρίῳ 49. χωροῦντες εἰς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν θεολογίαν αὐτοῦ : Cramer's text adds after this the words ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν ἀμφότεροι ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι, but this is only the *lemma* (from Eph. ii 18) for the comment from Chrysostom which follows. XIII 2. κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν : καὶ τὸ δυνατόν MS 3. τὸ τί τούτου γὰρ χάριν MS : perhaps τὸ γὰρ τί τούτου χάριν or τὸ τί γὰρ τούτου χάριν 7. ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν MS : perhaps ὑμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, comparing Jerome 586 B (who is translating literally in this sentence) 'pro uobis qui estis ex gentibus,' and also l. 10 below (Turner)

[Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν] 157

ἐὰν ἡ συνείδησις ἡμῶν μὴ καταγινώσκῃ, παρρησίαν ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. μέγα δέ ἐστιν οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἔχειν παρρησίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν πεποιθήσει παρρησίαν· καὶ προσαγωγὴν διὰ τὸ βέβαιον πάλιν ἐν παρρησίᾳ. ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ἐν πεποιθήσει παρρησίας ἐστὶ καὶ προσαγωγῆς ἡ πίστις ἡ εἰς τὸν Χριστόν. πολλάκις δὲ εἴπομεν ὅτι ὁ πάντα λόγῳ ποιῶν πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν Λόγον, καὶ ὁ τὴν σοφίαν καταλαμβάνων πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τὴν Σοφίαν, καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τρανῶν πεπίστευκεν εἰς Χριστὸν τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ὁ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην βιοὺς πεπίστευκεν εἰς Χριστὸν τὴν Δικαιοσύνην.

[iii 13] διὸ αἰτοῦμαι μὴ ἐκκακεῖν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσί μου ὑπὲρ ⟨ὑ⟩μ⟨ῶν⟩, ἥτις ἐστὶν δόξα ὑμῶν.

ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστῷ μαθητευομένων πολλὰ εἶχε τὰ θλίβοντα· διὸ αἰτοῦμαι φησὶ μὴ ἐκκακεῖν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· αἰσθανομένου γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐστιν οἷον κινδυνεύοντος ἐκκακεῖν τ⟨ὸ⟩ ταῦτα λέγειν.

μετὰ ταῦτα ζητοῦμεν τίνι ἐφαρμόσομεν τὸ ἥτις ἐστὶ δόξα ὑμῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τις ἐρεῖ ὅτι πρὸς τὰς θλίψεις ἀποδέδωκε τὸ ἥτις ἐστὶ δόξα ὑμῶν, ὡσεὶ ἔλεγεν 'αἵτινές εἰσι δόξα ὑμῶν,' διὰ δὲ τὸ ἑνικὸν τῆς δόξης, ὡς ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀποδέδωκεν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'αἵτινες' τὸ ἥτις. ἄλλος δὲ τὸ ἥτις ἐστὶ δόξα ὑμῶν ἤτοι πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἢ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἢ τὴν πίστιν ἀποδώσει· καὶ γὰρ ἡ παρρησία δόξα τοῦ ἔχοντός ἐστι, καὶ ἡ προσαγωγὴ δόξα τοῦ προσαγομένου Θεῷ, καὶ ἡ πίστις δόξα τοῦ πιστεύοντος ἂν εἶναι λέγοιτο.

δύναται δὲ τὸ διὸ αἰτοῦμαι μὴ ἐκκακεῖν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τοιοῦτο 158
εἶναι, 'διὸ αἰτοῦμαι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τὸ μὴ ἐκκακεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσί μου, αἵτινές εἰσιν ὑμετέρα δόξα.' καὶ δόξει γε τὰ ἑξῆς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τῇ ἐκδοχῇ συνᾴδειν· τούτου γὰρ χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἵνα δῷ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι· χρεία γὰρ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι τὸν μὴ ἐκκακήσοντα ἐπὶ θλίψεσιν.

ἐρεῖ δέ τις πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον, λόγον μὲν εἶχεν θλιβομένων τῶν Ἐφεσίων αἰτεῖν τὸν Παῦλον περὶ αὐτ⟨ῶ⟩ν μὴ ἐκκακεῖν, γελοῖον δὲ εἶναι δόξει τὸ Παύλου θλιβομένου εὐχῆς δεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἵνα μὴ ἐκκακῶσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνου θλίψεσιν. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο παραθετέον τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκί

XIV 2. 1 Jo. iii 21 12. Col. iv 12 31. Gal. iv 14

XIV 2 : 595 E 3–9 : 596 AB 12–14 : 596 CD 15–21 : 596 E 22–27 : 597 AB 28–36 : 597 BC

XIV 4. *ἐν παρρησίᾳ* MS (apparently Origen's text of this verse ran *τὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει παρρησίαν καὶ προσαγωγήν*, compare the Latins *d e* 'fiduciam in confidentia et libertatem,' Turner): perhaps *ἐν πεποιθήσει* (compare Jerome 596 A 'nec tantum habere accessum, sed ut ipse firmior sit accessus habere illum in confidentia') Gregg 10. *ὑμῶν* (Eph. iii 13) Gregg : *ἐμοῦ* MS 14. *τὸ ταῦτα λέγειν* : *τῷ ταῦτα λέγειν* MS 29. *περὶ αὐτῶν*, with Jerome 597 B 'pro eis' : *περὶ αὐτόν* MS

μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε οὔτε ἐξεπτύσατε· ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ διὰ τούτων ὅτι ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ Παύλου πειρασμὸς ἑτέροις ἐγίνετο. ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήσωμεν εἰ μὴ τὸ μάλιστα το⟨ὺς⟩ πολλοὺς ταράττον ἐν τοῖς περὶ προνοίας λόγοις ἔστιν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἁγιωτάτοις καὶ δικαιοτάτοις ὁρῶσιν θλίψεις μυρίας καὶ περιστάσεις συμβαινούσας τοῖς δὲ ἀνομωτάτοις τὰ νομιζόμενα καλὰ γινόμενα.

ὅτι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλὰ πέπονθεν ὁ Παῦλος, γέγραπται μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεσιν, ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν λέγοντος εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται; καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους, οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν κατὰ δύναμιν ἐβαρήθημεν, ὥστε ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὸ ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θανάτου ἐσχήκαμεν, ἵνα μὴ πεποιθότες ὦμεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ἐγείροντι τοὺς νεκρούς, ὃς ἐκ τηλικούτων θανάτων ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς καὶ ῥύεται, ἠλπίκαμεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ῥύσεται. ὅρα γὰρ ὅσα ἦν τὰ τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ, ὡς λέγειν ὃς ἐκ τηλικούτων θανάτων ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς καὶ ῥύεται.

§ XV.

Eph. iii 14 [**τούτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.**]

160 [Ὠριγένης φησι]

τὸ κάμπτειν **τὰ γόνατα** σύμβολόν ἐστιν ἄλλης γονυκλισίας τῆς γινομένης ἐν τῷ ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ὑποπεπτωκέναι αὐτῷ. τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολός φησιν ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμπτῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ λέγομεν μὴ πάντως τὰ ἐπουράνια ἔχειν σώματα γεγονατωμένα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ καταχθόνια ὁμοίως, πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲ τὰς ἀπηλλαγμένας τούτου τοῦ σώματος ψυχάς.

⟦Eph. iii 15 **πατριά** [Marginal note].
ὁ Χρυσόστομος, **πατριαί** οἱονεὶ φυλαί. Ὠριγένης ὁμοίως.
πατριὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς [*scilicet* Ὠριγένης] ἐξέδωκεν, οὐ φατρίας κατὰ Θεόδωρον.⟧

[iii 16, 17 *a*] **ἵνα δῴη ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον κατοικῆσαι ⟨τὸν⟩ Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν.**

ἔοικεν ἡ θειότης αὐτοῦ ἰδίως κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν 'δόξα' αὐτοῦ ὀνομάζεσθαι.

39. 1 Cor. xv 32 40. 2 Cor. i 8–10 XV 4. Phil. ii 10

37–46 : 597 E–598 B XV 3–7 : 598 D E

34. *τοὺς πολλούς* Gregg : *τὸ πολλούς* MS 42. *κατά* MS : but the only known readings in 2 Cor. i 8 are *ὑπέρ* (ℵ A B) and *παρά* (D* F G) XV 6. *ὁμοίως πρὸς τούτοις* MS : perhaps *ὁμοίως, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ* (Swete) or *ὁμοίως, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις* (Turner) 13. *τόν* : om MS

πλουτεῖ δὲ θε⟨ι⟩ότητι πολλῇ καὶ δυσκαταλήπτῳ οὔσῃ τῇ γεννητῇ φύσει ὁ Θεός· ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου δὴ τούτου τῆς θειότητος καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ μεταδιδούς, οἷς κρίνει μεταδιδόναι δεῖν, δυνάμεως καὶ κραταιότητος, δυνάμει κραταιοῖ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ· κραταιοῖ δὲ κατοικίζων εἰς τὸν χωροῦντα ἔσω ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν. καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὅλος ὢν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ζῶν κατοικεῖ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσιν αὐτοῦ, κατοικεῖ δὲ διὰ τῆς πίστεως εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, τουτέστι τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ· ἐπάγει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν.

Eph. iii 17*b*–19 [ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις τί τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ βάθος καὶ ὕψος, γνῶναί τε τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ.]

[Ὠριγένης φησί] 161

δοκεῖ μοι σαφῶς τὰ ἑξῆς ἐν σολοικίᾳ εἰρῆσθαι ὡς πρὸς τὴν φράσιν. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ δῴη ὑμῖν ἀκόλουθον ἦν εἰπεῖν 'ἐρριζωμένοις καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοις,' ὥστε εἶναι τὸ ἑξῆς ἵνα δῷ ὑμῖν ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοις καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοις κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, ὥστε εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως· εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, λέγω κατὰ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, τουτέστιν τὰ ἡγεμονικά.

ὁ δὲ θέλων ἀποκαταστῆσαι τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον χωρὶς σολοικίας, σκέψαι εἰ μὴ βιάσεται οὕτως τὴν φράσιν ἀποκαταστάς· τούτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται, 162
ἵνα δῷ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις, τί τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ὥστε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐκδοχὴν μεταθετέον τὸ ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε ἐπὶ τὸ ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι.

ἐν ἀγάπῃ δὲ ἐρριζωμένοις καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοις τῇ πρὸς Θεόν, δηλονότι ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης ἰσχύος καὶ ἐξ ὅλης διανοίας, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κατοικίζεται Χριστός. καὶ ὡς φυτὰ μὲν ἐρρίζωνται ἐν ἀγάπῃ οἱ ἐρριζωμένοι ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς δὲ οἰκοδομὴ τεθεμελίωνται ἐν ἀγάπῃ· ἔφη δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος Θεοῦ γεώργιον, Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε.

ἔργον δὲ ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τίνος νῦν εἴρηται τὸ πλάτος, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνος τὸ μῆκος, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνος τὸ βάθος, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνος τὸ ὕψος. ἔχει δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὰ

39. Marc. xii 30, 31 43. 1 Cor. iii 9 46. Eph. iv 8, 9

21, 22 : 602 E 41–43 : 603 A 45–50 : 603 E–604 B

16. θειότητι : θεότητι MS 17. δή : perhaps δέ, Gregg τῆς θειότητος Turner : ἀπὸ τῆς θειότητος MS 21. τουτέστιν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ MS : perhaps τουτέστιν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν (Robinson), or τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ (Gregg)

ΚΑΤΏΤΑΤΑ ΤΗ͂Ϲ ΓΗ͂Ϲ, εἶχεν γὰρ καὶ ὕψος καὶ βάθος· καὶ ΕἸϹ ΠΆϹΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΓΗ͂Ν αὐτὸς διέδραμεν, ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος αὐτῆς φθάσας. καὶ ὁ Χριϲτῷ γε ϹΥΝΕϹΤΑΥΡΩΜΈΝΟϹ καὶ συνεκτεινόμενος αὐτῷ καταλαμβάνει τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ βάθος καὶ ὕψος.

ἔργον δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τὸ γνῶναι τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ. οὐδεὶς δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀγάπην ἔχων γνώσεως δύναταί τι ἀγαπῆσαι τῶν περισπώντων καὶ περιελκόντων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλήψεως τῆς περὶ τῆς ὑπερβαλ⟨λ⟩όντως ἀγαπωμένης γνώσεως.

§ XVI.

Eph. iv 3 [ἐν ἀγάπῃ σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης.]

165 ['Ωριγένης φησί]

τηρεῖ τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος ὁ ΚΑΤΗΡΤΙϹΜΈΝΟϹ Τῷ ΑΥ̓Τῷ ΝΟῚ ΚΑῚ Τῌ͂ ΑΥ̓Τῌ͂ ΓΝΏΜῌ τῆς 'Αληθείας καὶ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς Σοφίας πρὸς τὸν πλησίον. ὅταν δὲ μὴ ΤῸ ΑΥ̓ΤῸ ΛΈΓΩΜΕΝ ΠΆΝΤΕϹ, ΚΑῚ διὰ τοῦτο ΜῊ ῌ͂ ἘΝ ἩΜΙ͂Ν ϹΧΊϹΜΑΤΑ, οὐ σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος διακόπτομεν αὐτὴν εἰς πλείονα. εἰ μέντοιγε ὁ Θεὸς δίδωσι ΔΙΑΙΡΈϹΕΙϹ ΧΑΡΙϹΜΆΤΩΝ, ἀλλὰ τηρεῖ ΤῸ ΑΥ̓ΤῸ ΠΝΕΥ͂ΜΑ· καὶ εἰ χαρίζεται ΔΙΑΙΡΈϹΕΙϹ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΩ͂Ν, ἀλλὰ φυλάττει ΤῸΝ ΑΥ̓ΤῸΝ ΚΎΡΙΟΝ· καὶ εἰ δωρεῖται ΔΙΑΙΡΈϹΕΙϹ ἘΝΕΡΓΗΜΆΤΩΝ, ἀλλ' ὁ ΑΥ̓ΤῸϹ μένει Θεὸς ὁ ἘΝΕΡΓΩ͂Ν ΤᾺ ΠΆΝΤΑ ἘΝ ΠΑ͂ϹΙΝ.

'Εφεσίοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἤδη ἐσχηκόσι τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ δεομένοις τηρεῖν ταύτην λέγεται ἐν ἀγάπῃ σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος· τοῖς δὲ μηδέπω ἔχουσι τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος λέγοιτο ⟨ἂν⟩ 'σπουδάζοντες ΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ͂Ν ἘΠῚ ΤῊΝ ἙΝΌΤΗΤΑ τοῦ πνεύματος' ἢ 'ποιεῖν τὰ τῆς ἑνότητος τοῦ πνεύματος.' τηρεῖται δὲ ἡ ἑνότης τοῦ πνεύματος, τῆς ἀγάπης συνδεούσης τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα ἑνουμένους καὶ εἰς ἓν σῶμα αὐτοὺς συναγούσης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

§ XVII.

Eph. iv 5, 6 [εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα· εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν. ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.]

169 ['Ωριγένης δέ φησι]

διὰ τοὺς συγχέοντας πατέρα καὶ υἱόν τὸ μὲν κύριος τέτακται ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ

47. Ps. xviii (xix) 4 48. Gal. ii 20 XVI 2–4. 1 Cor. i 10 6–8. 1 Cor. xii 4–6 13. Eph. iv 13

51–54: 604 C D XVI 2–9: 608 C D 10–15: 608 B C

54. ὑπερβαλλόντως: ὑπερβαλόντως MS XVI 4. διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ᾖ ἐν ἡμῖν σχίσματα MS : omit μή Cramer, perhaps rightly 12. λέγοιτο ἄν Gregg: λέγοιτο MS

τὸ δὲ εἷς Θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου δὲ δύο διδόντας βαπτίσματα χρηστέον τῷ ῥητῷ ἓν βάπτισμα.

πάντων δέ ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, τ⟨ῷ⟩ τινῶν μὲν εἶναι Θεὸς καὶ μὴ πατήρ, τινῶν δὲ Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ὡς εἴ τις δείξας δέκα τινὰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπους, ὧν οἱ μὲν πέντε τοῦδέ τινος υἱοί εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ πέντε δοῦλοι, ἔλεγεν 'οὗτος τῶν δέκα κύριός ἐστι καὶ πατήρ.'

πρὸς τούτοις ἐξεταστέον τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν προθέσεων, τῆς ἐπὶ καὶ τῆς διὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν. καὶ σωματικῇ γε εἰκόνι χρηστέον τοιαύτῃ· τόπ⟨ῳ⟩ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ πάντων ἐστι φέρ' εἰπεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, ταῖς δὲ αὐγαῖς λέγοιτο ἂν εἶναι διὰ 170 πάντων, εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ βάθος ἑκάστου ἔφθανεν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐλέγετο ἂν εἶναι καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν· οὕτως τοίνυν καὶ κατὰ τὰ νοητὰ τὴν μὲν ὑπεροχὴν οἰόμεθα δηλοῦσθαι διὰ το⟨ῦ⟩ ἐπὶ πάντων, τὸ δὲ διαρκὲς πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐν τῷ διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ καὶ φθάνειν ἐν πᾶσι τῆς δυνάμεώς ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥστε μηδένα εἶναι κενὸν πάντῃ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν.

καὶ τ⟨ὸ⟩ ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὕτω νενοῆσθαι νομίζομεν. ΟΥΚ ἘΚ ΜΈΤΡΟΥ μὲν ΔΙΔΩΣΙ ΤῸ ΠΝΕΥ͂ΜΑ καὶ τὴν χάριν ὁ Θεός, οὗ ΤΗ͂Σ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΣΎΝΗΣ ΑΥ̓ΤΟΥ͂ ΟΥ̓Κ ἜΣΤΙ ΠΈΡΑΣ· μέτρον δὲ δίδωσι φειδόμενος τῶν λαμβανόντων, μὴ χωροῦντος ἑκάστου πλέον οὗ συμφερόντως λαμβάνει. πλὴν ἐπεὶ χάρις ἐστὶν ἡ διδομένη—καὶ οὐκ ἘΞ ἜΡΓΩΝ ἐστίν, ΕΠΕῚ Ἡ ΧΆΡΙΣ ΟΥ̓ΚΈΤΙ ΓΊΝΕΤΑΙ ΧΆΡΙΣ—δίδοται ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ· εἰ καὶ μὴ ἘΞ ἜΡΓΩΝ δέ, ἀλλ' ἐπί τινός γε τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν. ἘΚ ΠΊΣΤΕΩΣ γὰρ δίδοται ἡ χάρις, ἐπὶ τῷ συνεργούσης αὐτῆς τὴν πίστιν κατακοσμηθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν λαμβάνοντα τὴν χάριν ΚΑῚ Ἡ ΧΆΡΙΣ ΑΥ̓ΤΟΥ͂ Ἡ ΕἸΣ ἘΜῈ ΟΥ̓Κ εἰς κενὸν ἘΓΕΝΉΘΗ ἈΛΛᾺ τοσόνδε ἘΚΟΠΊΑΣΑ.

[iv 11, 12] καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστόλους τοὺς δὲ προφήτας, τοὺς δὲ εὐαγγελιστάς, τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ἐχομένως τῶν προκειμένων καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιφέρει. εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσίν ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἁγίων ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥστε τοὺς μέν τινας εἶναι ἀποστόλους τοὺς δὲ προφήτας καὶ ἄλλους εὐαγγελιστὰς καὶ μετὰ τούτους ποιμένας καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διδασκάλους.

XVII 18. Jo. iii 34 19. Ps. cxliv (cxlv) 3 21. Rom. xi 6 24. Rom. iv 16 26. 1 Cor. xv 10

XVII 2, 3: 609 D E 3, 4: 610 D 5–8: 611 A 17–21: 611 D E

XVII 5. τῷ: τὸ MS 10. τόπῳ Turner: τὸ πῶς MS 14. τοῦ Gregg: τό MS 17. καὶ τὸ ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ Turner: καὶ τῷ ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ MS 26. ἐκοπίασα: the words that follow in MS (and Cramer) Παῦλος δὲ ἔλεγεν τὸ 'Αλλὰ καὶ περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα appear to be a correction of Origen by the Catenist (Gregg) 27. The *lemma* from Eph. iv 11, 12 is probably Origen's, and should therefore have been included in the numeration of lines in the text

171 εἴπερ οὖν διδάσκαλον εἶναι χάρισμά ἐστι διδόμενον κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δηλονότι καὶ ποιμένα ποιμαίνοντα μετ᾽ ἐπιστήμης χρὴ χάρισμα ἔχοντα ποιμαίνειν· πῶς δὲ καὶ εὐαγγελιστής τις ἔσται, οὗ μὴ εἰσὶν ὡραῖοι, ἵν᾽ οὕτως εἴπω, οἱ πόδες τῆς ψυχῆς; ἵνα δὲ γένωνται, Θεὸν δεῖ ὡραιότητα αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ προφήτην ἀπίστους ἐλέγχοντα καὶ ἀνακρίνοντα (τοιοῦτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης προφήτης), ὃν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ καθίστασθαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ νομιστέον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα δυνατὸν ἀεὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μήποτε καὶ ἀποστόλους, οἷς δίδοται τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου κατεργάζεσθαι, δυνατὸν εὑρεθῆναι καὶ νῦν.

χρεία δὲ ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς εἰς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα καταρτίζωνται κατὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς Χριστοῦ διακονίας, ὅπως οἰκοδομῆται ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐνεργῆται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ τῶν ζώντων λίθων.

[iv 13–15] μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης, ἀληθεύοντες δὲ ἐν ἀγάπῃ αὐξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλή, Χριστός.

τίνες πάντες καταντήσομεν εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως ζητητέον, πότερον πάντες ἁπαξαπλῶς ἄνθρωποι, ἢ ἡμεῖς οἱ κληρωθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ. δόξει δὲ πρὸς τὸ πρότερον ἀποδεδόσθαι, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας τοὺς κλυδωνίζοντας καὶ περιφέροντας ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης, σχεδὸν τοὺς πάντας ἢ τοὺς πλείστους.

πλὴν φιλοτιμητέον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καταντῆσαι· καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἑνότητι τῆς πίστεως, γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ὧν ἐ⟨γ⟩γενομένων, πᾶσαν νηπιότητα ἀποθέμενοι ἄνδρες χρηματίσ⟨ο⟩μεν τέλειοι, τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἐν κρυπτῷ ἡλικίας ἄκρως ἀπειληφότες· ὅπερ μέτρον ἡλικίας πληρώματος μέτρον ἐστὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον τῆς προειρημένης ἡλικίας ἐφθακότων τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ κεχωρηκότων, ὅτε
172 οὐκέτι ἔσονται νήπιοι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἀνερμάτιστον καὶ ἀμφίβολον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν νηπίων ἕξει περιπατοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κλύδωνος τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου ψεύδους πιθανῶν περιφερόμενοι καὶ παντὶ ἀνέμῳ διδασκαλίας

35. Rom. x 15 36, 37. 1 Cor. xiv 24 38. 1 Cor. xii 28 39. 2 Cor. xii 12 43. 1 Pet. ii 5 58. Rom. ii 29

34–38: 615 B 38–40: 615 D 50–54: 616 D 55–70: 616 D–617 A

37. ὃν ἀπὸ θεοῦ MS: perhaps omit ὅν, Turner 42. οἰκοδομῆται καὶ ἐνεργῆται Gregg: οἰκοδομῆται ἐνεργῆται MS 57. ὧν ἐγγενομένων, cf. IX 56, 57, Gregg: ὧν ἐν γενομένων MS χρηματίσομεν: χρηματίσωμεν MS 62. περιπατοῦσιν MS: the word seems hardly emphatic enough to form a climax to οὐκέτι ἔσονται νήπιοι οὐδέ, nor in spite of Jerome's habitual amplifications and exaggerations does it quite account for the Latin (616 E) 'ad instar paruulorum gurgite infidelitatis feratur':

ιδόντες ἑαυτούς· τινῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐ ⟨πρὸς τὸ ψεύδεσθαι⟩ διακειμένων
ὶ κυβευτικῶς διδασκόντων, ἄλλων δὲ μετὰ πάσης πανουργίας καὶ ἐντρεχείας
τώντων, τ⟨ῷ⟩ τὴν πλάνην μεθόδοις χρῆσθαι μυρίαις καθ' ἡμῶν. καὶ ὅταν
αταντήσωσιν οἱ ἅγιοι εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τέλειον ἄνδρα, τότε τῷ νενοηκέναι
ἀγάπην ἀληθεύοντες ἐν αὐτῇ αὐξήσ⟨ουσιν⟩ εἰς τὸν Χρίστον πάντα τὰ
ντα αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας σπέρματα, χρώμενοι ὡς σῶμα κεφαλῇ τῷ
ντῷ.
τειδὴ δέ φησιν ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι, ζητοῦμεν πότερον ταῦτα κατὰ
ιότητα εἶπε, συμπεριλαμβάνων ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ὄντα νήπιον, ἢ ὁρῶν ὅσον
λείπεται ὁ ἐκ μέρους γινώσκων καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύων τῆς τελειότητος
θῶς φησιν εἶναι νήπιος. πλὴν ὁ λέγων αὐτὸν κατὰ ⟨μετρ⟩ιότητα ταῦτα
κέναι, χρήσεται τ⟨ῷ⟩ ὅτε ἤμην ὡς νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς
ος· ὅτε δὲ γέγονα ἀνήρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πρὸς τοῦτο
κρινε⟨ῖ⟩ται, ὅτι συγκρίσει μὲν τῶν πολλῶν ἐγεγόνει μὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἀνήρ,
δὲ τὰ ἀποκείμενα τοῖς ἁγίοις τέλη ἔτι νήπιος ἦν· καὶ πάντας γὰρ ὁ
φητικὸς λόγος παιδία ὀνομάζει λέγων ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν
ός.
ετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστήσεις εἰ μὴ κατὰ μετριότητα ὁ Παῦλος οὐ μόνον νήπιος
φησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος καὶ περιφερόμενος παντὶ ἀνέμῳ διδα-
λίας καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ὁ μέντοιγε καὶ τοῦτο λέγων μὴ ἀπὸ μετριότητος αὐτ⟨ῷ⟩
σθαι, φήσει ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὀξὺς καὶ εὐεπήβολος καὶ ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ
ερα ἐπιχειρουμένους λόγους ἱκανοὺς ὄντας περισπάσαι καὶ ἐν κλύδωνι
σαι γενέσθαι τὸν θεωροῦντα τὰς πιθανότητας· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος
εφέρετο παντὶ ἀνέμῳ διδασκαλίας, οὐ κατασπώμενος μὲν οὐδὲ ναυαγῶν,
ερ δὲ ναῦς παλαίων ποικίλοις πνεύμασιν· ἑώρα δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀντικει-
ν λόγους οἱονεὶ ἐν κυβείᾳ διδασκόντ⟨ων⟩ οὐκ ὄντας εὐκαταφρονήτους ἀλλὰ
υργότατα λεγομένους, ὥστε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πλανῆσαι· καὶ ἤλπιζε τεύξεσθαί
τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας πρὸς τὸ ἀποθέσθαι πάντα περισπασμὸν καὶ **173**
εῦσαι ἀπερισπάστως καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ αὐξῆσαι εἰς τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν ᾔδει αὐτοῦ
κεφαλὴν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σώματος.

1 Cor. xiii 9   75. 1 Cor. xiii 11   79. Is. viii 18   91. Heb. xii 1
Cor. vii 35

-80 : 617 B C   81–93 : 617 D–618 B

g without ballast they cannot steady themselves but are driven round and
d' appears to be the thought, but it is not easy to find the right word: possibly
πάσουσιν, compare lines 85 περισπάσαι, 91 περισπασμόν, though it would still
re an object such as ἑαυτούς or τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν (Turner)   64. οὐ πρὸς τὸ
σθαι διακειμένων Swete (cf. Jerome 617 A 'alii absque uoluntate fallaciae
men quae falsa sunt praedicant'): οὐ διακειμένων MS: perhaps οὐ κυβευτικῶς,
κακῶς, διακειμένων (Turner)   66. τῷ Robinson: τῶν MS   68. αὐξήσουσιν
g: αὐξήσωμεν MS   74. μετριότητα Turner: νηπιότητα MS   75. τῷ:
S   77. ἀποκρινεῖται: ἀποκρίνεται MS   ἐγεγόνει: γεγόνει MS   83. αὐτῷ
by Paul') Turner: αὐτό MS   89. διδασκόντων Turner: διδάσκοντας MS

§ XVIII.

Eph. iv 17–19 τοῦτο οὖν λέγω καὶ μαρτύρομαι ἐν Κυρίῳ, μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν, ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ὄντες, ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὴν π⟨ώ⟩ρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, οἵτινες ἀπηλγηκότες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ.

175 [Ὠριγένης φησίν]

ὅτε μὲν ὁ νοῦς ἤτοι πρὸς τοῖς βιωτικοῖς ἐστι, τῇ δυνάμει ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα καταχρώμενος, ἢ πρός τισι δόγμασιν ἀναπεπλασμένοις ὡς ἀληθέσιν, οὐκ οὖσιν ἀληθέσιν, ἐν ματαιότητί ἐστιν· ματαία γὰρ καὶ πᾶσα φροντὶς βιωτικὴ καὶ πάντες οἱ προσποιούμενοι εἶναι ἀλήθεια ψευδεῖς λόγοι· ὅτε δὲ ἡ διάνοια, ἥτις ἐστὶν διέξοδος λογική, ὑποσυγκέχυται, οὔτε τὴν φύσιν τῶν λεγομένων θεωροῦσα οὔτε ἐφέπεσθαι τοῖς ποικίλοις τῶν λεγομένων δυναμένη, τότε ἐσκοτῶσθαι εὐλόγως ἂν λέγοιτο. οὔτε οὖν ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς εἶναι δεῖ οὔτε ἐσκοτισμένους τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τυγχάνωμεν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀγνοίας ἐνυπαρχούσης ἡμῖν καὶ π⟨ω⟩ρώσεως καρδίας.

ταῦτα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπίπλεον νεμηθῇ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν—λέγω δὲ ματαιότης νοὺς καὶ σκότωσις διανοίας, τὰ ἀλλοτριοῦντα τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ παρείσδυσιν διδόντα ἀγνοίᾳ π⟨ώ⟩ρωσίν τε τῆς καρδίας ἐπιτρέποντα—τότε εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἐμπεσούμεθα, συνωθοῦντες ἡμῶν τὸ συνειδὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις, καὶ παραδώσομεν ἑαυτούς, οὐδὲ κατά ποσον ἀνθιστάμενοι ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας ἁπάσης, μετὰ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐκείνους δέ, ὧν τοὺς γάμους νοθεύομεν.

εἰ δὲ θέλομεν νοῆσαι τὸ οἵτινες ἀπηλγηκότες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ, συγκρίν⟨ω⟩μεν τοὺς δυσσυνειδητοῦντας καὶ βασανιζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ συνεγνωκέναι τι ἑαυτοῖς φαῦλον τοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας πολλαπλασίονα πταίουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέπω ἀπηλγήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀλγοῦσιν· διόπερ δυνατόν ἐστιν τυχόντας

XVIII 15. 1 Pet. ii 11

XVIII 2–5 : 621 A 18–25 : 621 D

XVIII Eph. iv 18. πώρωσιν : πόρωσιν MS 6. διέξοδος λογική : whence did Origen derive this definition of διάνοια, which is apparently the original of 'discursus rationis,' familiar in the later Latin philosophic writings? Philo *de congressu eruditionis gratia* § 6 (ed. Cohn and Wendland iii 78, 79) may perhaps be compared (he is allegorizing the meaning of Jacob's wives and handmaids) : ἡ μὲν οὖν Ζέλφα μεταληφθεῖσα πορευόμενον καλεῖται στόμα, τῆς ἑρμηνευτικῆς καὶ διεξοδικῆς σύμβολον δυνάμεως . . . χρῄζει δε [ὁ ἀσκητής] καὶ Ζέλφας, διεξοδικῆς ἑρμηνείας, ἵνα τὸ λογικὸν αὐτῷ διχόθεν συνεπανίζηται πρὸς τελείωσιν, ἔκ τε τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν πηγῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον ἀπορροῆς 10. πωρώσεως : πορρώσεως MS 13. πώρωσιν : πόρωσιν MS τε MS : perhaps δέ 14. συνωθοῦντες ἡμῶν τὸ συνειδός MS : it looks as if this ought to be parallel to εἰς ἀναισθησίαν and opposed to δυσσυνειδητοῦντας of l. 19, so that the sense wanted would be 'lulling our conscience' or 'careless in conscience,' rather than 'forcing our conscience' (Turner) 19. συγκρίνωμεν : συγκρίνομεν MS

αὐτοὺς βοηθείας λογικῆς θεραπευθῆναι, ὥστε τὸν ἑξῆς βιῶσαι ἀνεπιλήπτως χρόνον. οἱ δὲ οὐκέτι ἀλγοῦσιν ἁμαρτάνοντες· διόπερ μηδὲ ἐπί ποσον ἀντιτείνοντες μηδὲ ἐγκρατευόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἔργον ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ. πλὴν εἰς ταῦτα πάντα κίνδυνος ἐμπεσεῖν παντὶ τῷ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς τυγχάνοντι καὶ ἐσκοτισμένῳ τῇ διανοίᾳ· ὅθεν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἡμῖν ἐπιμελητέον, ἵνα ἡ μὲν διάνοια ᾖ πεφωτισμένη, λυομένου τοῦ 178
σκότους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτός, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ μάταια προσπαθείας ἀνατρεπόμενος προάγοιτο τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς σοφίας.

εἰ μέντοιγε διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ π⟨ώ⟩ρωσιν τῆς καρδίας ἀπαλλοτριοῦνται τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι αὐτῆς, τῷ ἐν ματαιότητι γεγονέναι αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ ἐν σκοτισμῷ τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως ἀλλ' ἐξ αἰτιῶν τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀλλοτριοῦνται τῆς ζωῆς ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἀλλοτριούμενοι αὐτῆς.

ἀκαθαρσίαν δὲ ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ τὴν μοιχείαν οἴομαι εἶναι· ἀλλαχοῦ γὰρ τοῦτό φησιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς προτέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας· εἰδέναι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ, μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Θεόν, τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, διότι ἔκδικος ὁ Κύριος περὶ πάντων τούτων, καθὼς προείπομεν ὑμῖν καὶ διεμαρτυράμεθα· οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ. τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς. παρατήρει δὲ ὅτι προτρεπόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγνείαν ἡμᾶς πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφόν φησιν εἴ τις τὴν ἀδελφοῦ λαμβάνοι γυναῖκα· πλὴν ἔκδικος Κύριος περὶ πάντων τούτων τῶν πεπλεονεκτημένων, εἴτε ἀδελφῶν εἴτε καὶ ἀπίστων.

§ XIX.

Eph. iv 20–22 [**ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν, εἴγε αὐτὸν ἠκούσατε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδιδάχθητε, καθώς ἐστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης.**]

[Ὠριγένης φησίν] 180

τὸ μαθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν ταὐτόν ἐστι τ⟨ῷ⟩ μαθεῖν τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν οὐ διαφέρει τοῦ συν⟨ιέ⟩ναι τὸν λόγον τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐπινοιῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. εἴ τις οὖν ἔμαθε τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἤκουσεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ ἔμαθεν αὐτὸν ὄντα Σοφίαν καὶ ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ὡς Θεοῦ Λόγον, παραδεξάμενος ἃ μεμάθηκε

28. Jo. i 9 30. 1 Cor. xii 8 37. 1 Thess. iv 3–8

31–35 : 621 36–47 : 622 A–C XIX 2–7 : 622 E 623 A

31. *πώρωσιν* : *πόρωσιν* MS XIX 2. *τῷ* Cramer : *τὸ* MS 3. *συνιέναι* Swete : *συνεῖναι* MS

καὶ ἤκουσεν, οὐ περιπατήσει ἐν τῇ ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἔσται τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐσκοτισμένος, οὐδὲ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπηλλοτριωμένος. μάθωμεν τοίνυν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀκούσωμεν αὐτόν· οὐκ ἀπογνωστέον μέντοιγε καὶ τὸ διδαχθῆναι θείᾳ δυνάμει ὑποβαλλούσῃ τῷ νῷ ἡμῶν κεκαθαρμέν⟨ῳ⟩ λόγον τὸν περὶ Χριστοῦ τέλειον καὶ ἀληθινόν,

καθώς ἐστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

ἐδίδαξε τί τὸ μαθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ διδαχθῆναι, εἰπὼν καθώς ἐστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀληθείας πρωτότυπος οὐσία ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ μόνῳ λέγοντι ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια.

τὸ δὲ ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀσυνάρτητον ὄν, ὅρα εἰ δυνάμεθα οὕτως ἀποκαταστῆσαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν, εἴγε αὐτὸν ἠκούσατε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδιδάχθητε ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης, καθώς ἐστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἵνα ὁ νοῦς ᾖ, ὅτι ὡς ἐστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν μαθοῦσι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀκούσασι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ διδαχθεῖσιν, ἀποθεμένοις τε κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης.

παλαιὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ὃν δεῖ ἤδη ἀποθέσθαι τὸν πεπαλαιωμένον ὑπὸ τῆς
ἁμαρτίας λέγεσθαι νομιστέον· οὗτος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ
181 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης, διὰ τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν καὶ μηδέποτε ἀφθαρσίας τι
ποιεῖν ἀλλ' ὅλα τὰ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀεὶ φθείρεται. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίαι
τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ ἡ προτέρα ἀναστροφὴ ἐνεργοῦσι τὸ φθείρεσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ
οὐδέπω πάντῃ ἔφθαρται ὅσον ταῦτα ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φθείρεται· ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ
Θεοῦ οὐ φθείρει ἀλλὰ ἀποκτένει τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῷ ζωοποιῆσαι,
ἐγὼ γάρ, φησίν, ἀποκτένω καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω, καὶ ὅταν ἀπέκτενεν αὐτοὺς τότε
ἐξεζήτουν αὐτόν.

ἔτι ζητήσεις πῶς ὁ κατὰ τὴν κακίαν πεπαλαιωμένος παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος λέγεται. καὶ μήποτε ὥσπερ ἀνακαινοῖ καὶ ἀνακτίζει ἡ ἀρετή, οὕτως ἡ ἐναντία αὐτῇ κακία παλαιοῖ, ὡς καὶ τῆς παλαιότητος σημεῖα γίνεσθαι περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οἱονεὶ τὰς ῥυτίδας, ὥσπερ γίνεται ἐπὶ τῶν γηρασκόντων σωμάτων. διὰ τοῦτο ἔνδοξον αὐτῷ παρίστησι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστός, μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ

XIX 14. Jo. xiv 6 31. Deut. xxxii 39; Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii) 34 37. Eph. v 27

7–9: 623 B C 13, 14: 624 B 15–23: 624 D E 24–32: 624 E–625 B

7. *μάθωμεν τοίνυν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀκούσωμεν αὐτόν· οὐκ ἀπογνωστέον μέντοιγε καὶ τὸ διδαχθῆναι* (cf. Jerome 623 B C 'discamus igitur Christum et audiamus illum, si quis est qui . . . sed nec illud est desperandum quod aliquando ipse . . . nos doceat') Turner: MS after *ἀκούσωμεν αὐτόν* adds *καὶ διδαχθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῷ* 9. *κεκαθαρμένῳ* (cf. line 48): *κεκαθαρμένον* MS 30, 31. *ἀποκτένει, ἀπέκτενεν*: so MS (with B in Ps. lxxvii 34) 37. *αὐτῷ* MS with ℵ* in Eph. v 27: perhaps *ἑαυτῷ* (Gregg)

ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ἔχει σημεῖα τῆς παλαιότητος, ἔχει καὶ τὴν ῥυτίδα· ὅταν δὲ ἀπόθηται τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἅπαντα ἀκμάζει καὶ πᾶσα ῥυτὶς ἐξαφανίζεται.

ἀπάτης δέ ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία ἡ μοχθηρὰ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ φαύλη.

[iv 23] **ἀνανεοῦσθε δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν.**

εἰ χρὴ **ἀνανεοῦσθαι** κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ταύτην οὔτε ἁπλῶς ἐν τῷ πνεύματι οὔτε ἐν τῷ νοΐ, ἀλλ' **ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν**, ζητητέον ἰδίᾳ τίς ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν καὶ τί τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ. πρόσχες δὲ καὶ τῷ ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοΐ, προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι προσεύξομαι καὶ τῷ νοΐ. ἐπιστήσεις οὖν εἰ, ὥσπερ ἔστι πολλὰ πνεύματα καὶ ἕκαστόν τινι ᾤκείωται, οὕτως ἔστιν τι **πνεῦμα** ᾠκειωμένον **ἡμῶν τῷ νοΐ**, ὅπερ τοῦ νοὸς ἡμῶν ἀποκαθαιρομένου καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποβαλόντος ἀχλὺν ᾠκειωμένον αὐτῷ **ἀνανεοῖ** ἡμᾶς.

[iv 24 *a*. **καὶ ἐνδύσασθε τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα.**]

εἰ θέλομεν **ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα**, νοήσωμεν τὸ μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς μορφωθέντα τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ὅλον καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν δείξομεν.

[iv 25 *a*] **διὸ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ.**

οἱ μὲν ἁπλούστεροι πλέον τοῦ ἠθικοῦ οὐδὲν οἰήσονται λέγεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ
λεγομένου· ἡμεῖς δέ, ἐναντίον εἶναι πειθόμενοι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ **τὸ ψεῦδος**, τὸ 182
ἐναντίον τῇ καθηκόντως **λαλουμένῃ ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς** μόνον **τὸν πλησίον** ζητοῦμεν **ψεῦδος ἀποθέσθαι** ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψευδοδοξία (ἔργον δὲ οὐ τὸ τυχόν ἐστι πρὸς τ⟨ῷ⟩ **ἀποθέσθαι** ἐκεῖνο **τὸ ψεῦδος** καὶ τὸ οὕτως **ψεῦδος ἀποθέσθαι**, καὶ γὰρ δόκιμον δεῖ εἶναι τραπεζίτην καὶ πάντα δοκιμάζειν ἱκανόν, ἵνα μόνον κατέχωμεν τὸ καλὸν ἀπὸ δὲ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπεχώμεθα)· ἐναντίον δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὰς ψευδοδοξίας ψεύδει ἐστὶν ἡ σωτήριος **ἀλήθεια**.

τὸ δὲ **λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ** εἴληπται ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζαχαρίου.

[iv 26 *a*] **ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε.**

ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου ψαλμοῦ τοῦτο εἴληπται δῆλόν ἐστιν.

45. 1 Cor. xiv 15 51. 1 Cor. xi 1; Gal. ii 20 52. Gal. iv 19 61. *γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται* (so below, XXII 37, XXV 47); 1 Thess. v 21, 22 65. Zech. viii 16 67. Ps. iv 5

43-46: 625 E 626 A 50-53: 626 D 56: 627 B 64, 65: 628 C 67: 628 C

42. *ἀνανεοῦσθε* MS, and so Jerome 625 E 'renouamini' (with the Latin, Egyptian, and Syriac versions): *ἀνανεοῦσθαι* Cramer 59. *πρὸς τῷ ἀποθέσθαι*: *πρὸς τὸ ἀποθέσθαι* MS

δύο δὲ σημαίνεται ἐκ τῆς ὀργίζεσθαι φωνῆς· ἢ τὸ ἀπροαίρετον, ὅπερ τινὲς ἐκάλεσαν προ⟨σ⟩πάθειαν, ἥτις συμβήσεται καὶ τοῖς τελείοις ἀπροαίρετόν τι πάσχουσι κατὰ τὰ τοιάδε εἰς ὀργὴν προκαλούμενα συμπτώματα· ἕτερον δέ, ὅταν ἤδη ἡ συγκατάθεσις παραδέχηται τὸ καθήκειν τιμωρεῖσθαι τὸν ἠδικη⟨κ⟩έν⟨αι⟩ νομιζόμενον, ὅπερ ὡς ἐφ' ἡμῖν τυγχάνον κελεύει ἀποθέσθαι ὁ ἀπόστολος ἡμᾶς. τὸ πρότερον οὖν τῶν σημαινομένων δηλοῦται ἐν τῷ ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε ἀντὶ τοῦ 'εἰ καὶ παρεδέξασθέ ποτε τὴν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ ἄπρακτον καταλείψατε.'

[iv 26 *b*] **ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.**

ἐὰν τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἥλιον ἀκούσωμεν λέγεσθαι, ἁμαρτησόμεθα ὅτε ὀργιζόμεθα καὶ τηροῦμεν τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ ἡλίου δύνοντος, ὅπερ ἄτοπον εἶναι νομίζω. μήποτ' οὖν ὁ ἀληθινὸς **ἥλιος**, ὥσπερ δύσεται ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς προφήτας κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ΔΥΣΕΤΑΙ Ὁ ἭΛΙΟΣ ἘΠῚ ΤΟῪΣ ΠΡΟΦΉΤΑΣ ὙΜΩ͂Ν ΜΕΣΗΜΒΡΊΑΣ, οὕτως καὶ δύει ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, οὐ χαριζόμενος αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἁμαρτάνουσι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνατολήν. ἐντέλλεται οὖν ἡμῖν ὁ Παῦλος μὴ ποιῆσαι τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ὡς ἐπιδῦναι ἡμῖν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ γενέσθαι ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν νύκτα.

J. A. F. GREGG.

80. Mic. iii 6, Am. viii 9

68–75 : 628 D E   77–84 : 629 A–C

69. *προσπάθειαν* Webb (cf. XVIII 29 ; Marcus Aurelius xii 3 has in the same context and of the same kind of emotions both *ὅσα . . . ἀπροαίρετα πρόσεστιν* and *τὰ προσηρτημένα ἐκ προσπαθείας*) : *προπάθειαν* MS   70. *κατὰ τὰ τοιάδε* : perhaps *καὶ τὰ τοιάδε*, Swete   71. *καθήκειν* : *καθήκειν δεῖν* MS, but *δεῖν* is perhaps a gloss on the technical stoic term *καθήκειν* (Webb)   *ἠδικηκέναι* (cf. XXII 21) : *ἠδικημένον* MS

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE MSS AND TEXT OF THE *ORATIO CATECHETICA* OF ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA.

AMONG the *desiderata* of the student of patristic theology is a satisfactory edition of the works of St. Gregory of Nyssa. While the place of St. Gregory in the history of Christian thought has been, in an increasing degree, attracting the attention of the students of Christian doctrine, this interest has not been met with corresponding efforts to produce a really satisfactory edition of the text of the author. For the greater number of Gregory's treatises we are dependent on the Paris editions of 1615 and 1638, of the latter of which Migne's text (*P. G.* voll. xliv–xlvi) is a reprint. But the text in these editions is sadly corrupt, and contains considerable lacunae. The contemplated editions of G. H. Forbes, Burntisland[1], and of Fr. Oehler, Halle, 1865, did not reach in either case beyond a single volume. To the labours of Krabinger we are indebted for editions of a few treatises[2], including the *Oratio Catechetica* which is especially the subject of the present article. But Krabinger too diverted his attention to other work, and for many of the more important theological treatises we are still left at the mercy of corrupt and mutilated texts.

With regard to the *Oratio Catechetica*, indeed, we are somewhat better off. Krabinger's edition, 1838, was a valuable piece of work, and by the help of three MSS in the library at Munich he was able to fill up the lacunae which occur in the Paris editions. But his text was not based upon any extended collation of MSS or study of their history. The materials for such a study are considerable, though there are scarcely any MSS of a very early date, the earliest (except a ninth-century fragment of a few lines) dating from the tenth or eleventh century. By the generosity of the Committee of the Hort Memorial Fund the present writer has been enabled during the last two years to

[1] Tom. I fasc. i (1855) *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, *De Conditione Hominis* (as far as chap. xii): fasc. ii (1861) *De Conditione Hominis* (chap. xii to end), *De Vita Moysis* (as far as chap. xlix).

[2] *De Anima et Resurrectione*, Leipzig, 1837; *Oratio Catechetica* and *Oratio Funebris in Meletium*, Munich, 1838; *De Precatione Orationes V*, Landshut, 1840.

make collations of the more important MSS of the treatise. He has also to express his obligations to Mr. C. H. Turner for some valuable information about the Italian MSS, and for many suggestions and criticisms. The following list comprises those MSS which have been collated or examined:—

a = Cod. Monac. 23, cent. xvi, Munich [Krab. A, Forbes *a*].
b = Cod. Monac. 84, cent. xvi, Munich [Krab. B].
c = Cod. Monac. 538 (olim Augustanus 77), cent. xvi, Munich [Krab. C].
d = Trinity Coll., Cambridge, B. 9. 1, cent. xii.
e = Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1268 (Omont 294), cent. xii [Forbes *g*].
f = British Museum, Add. 22509, cent. x or xi.
g = Bodleian Library, Cod. Cromw. IX, 'saec. xiii et xii ineuntis.'
h = Imperial Library, Vienna, Gr. suppl. 10 (Kollarii suppl. xviii, Fabricius, ix 112), cent. xv.
l = British Museum, Royal 16 D. i, early xiii^th^ century [Forbes *c*].
m = British Museum, Royal 16 D. xi, cent. xiv.
n = Vatican Library, Pii ii cod. gr. 4, cent. xi.
p = Library of St. Mark, Venice, cod. lxvii (Zanetti, p. 45) 'saec. circiter xi.'
q = Cod. Vat. gr. 2066 (a fragment of chap. 10), cent. ix.
r = Cod. Coislin. cxx, olim ccix (a fragment of chap. 10), Paris, Bibl. Nat. (Montfaucon, p. 193), 'x saec. ineuntis.'

The following are MSS of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus, which quotes extensively from the *Or. Cat.*:—

1 = Cod. Monac. 55, cent. xvi, Munich.
2 = Cod. Monac. 367 (olim Augustanus 10), cent. xiii, Munich.
3 = Cod. Monac. 551 (olim Augustanus 55), cent. xv, Munich.
4 = Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1230 (Omont 171), cent. xiii.
5 = Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1231 (Omont 170), cent. xiii.
6 = Imperial Library, Vienna, 76 (Nessel), cent. xii.
7 = Imperial Library, Vienna, 40 (Nessel), cent. xv.

Of these MSS *a*, *b*, *c* and 1, 2, 3 of Euthymius were employed by Krabinger in his edition. The remainder have not as yet been used for the purpose of a critical edition of the text.

An examination of the text of these MSS leads to their classification into two main groups.

The first group contains *a*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *n*, *p*. The second contains *c*, *f*, *l*, *m*.

The two MSS *e* and *b* (which is closely connected with *e*) contain a mixed text, and borrow in turn certain distinctive readings found in one or the other of the two groups[1].

[1] The facts which point to mixture in *e* are: (1) in a number of distinctive readings

I. 1. The first group may be again subdivided. The MSS *a*, *g*, *p* are closely associated: *a* is, in fact, apparently a direct descendant of *p*. The evidence for this is as follows [the references are to the pages and lines of Krabinger's text]:—

(i) lv 2. In the margin of *p* opposite the words *σωματικῆς* [vl for *Σοδομιτικῆς*] *παρανομίας* there is the gloss *τὰ Γόμορρα λέγει*. In *a* these last words have been incorporated into the text.

(ii) lxxvi 28. *p* has *λελου . . . μένου*. In *a* this lacuna is reproduced, and we find *λολου . . . μένου*.

There are other instances in which *a* follows *p* in reproducing obvious blunders.

Similarly *g* is closely allied to the text found in *p*. Thus in xlvii 28 the words *καὶ ἡ πλάνη θεραπευθείη* are omitted by all three MSS *a*, *g*, *p*. Other instances are the readings:—

xviii 17. *ὑποβαλών* *a* g^* *p*; *ἀποβαλών* *d h n*; *ἐπιβαλών* *e f* g^1 *l*.

xxi 24. *ὑποβάλοι* g^* (*ὑποβάλλοι a p*); *ἀποβάλοι d* (*ἀποβάλλοι h n*); *ἐπιβάλοι e f* g^1 (*ἐπιβάλλοι l*).

xxii 23. *φέρειν a g p*; *φέρων d e f h l n*.

xlii 23. *τῷ . . . εἰδώλῳ a g p*; *τὸ . . . εἴδωλον d e f h n*.

l 15. *ἔλθοι νῦν· καὶ γάρ a g p*; *εἰ γάρ d* l^1 *n* (om. *γάρ e*, *οἱ γάρ h*); *ἔλθοι. Νυνὶ γάρ f* l^*.

lxiv 13. *παιδευομένων a* g^* *p*; *πεπαιδευμένων d e f* g^1 *h n*.

lxix 34. *ἐφ' ἑαυτό a* g^* *p*; *ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ d e f* g^1 *h l n*; *ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ euth.*

lxxiv 24. *ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος a* g^* *p*; *ἀγαθοῦ ὄντως d*; *ἀγαθύναντος f*; *ἀγαθύνοντος e* g^1 *h l n*.

lxxvii 3. *οὐ γέγονας a g p*; *μὴ γέγονας d e f h l n*.

2. A second subdivision contains the two MSS *h* and *n*. With these is associated, where it is available, the text of Gregory found in the MSS of Euthymius. The text of *e*, where it borrows from this group, is closely connected with this subdivision to which *n* belongs. Thus we have a distinctive class of readings supported by the MSS *e*, *h*, *n*, and, where available, the text of Euthymius (cited as *euth.*).

it agrees with *h n* (see below); (2) in at least twenty readings it agrees with *f* against the group *d g h n p*, while its system of chapters and colophons bears a general resemblance to that of *f*; (3) there are not more than two cases where the peculiar readings of *e* have any appearance of originality. These are discussed below.

The following facts show the dependence of *b* on *e*: (1) a number of omissions and blunders peculiar to these two MSS; (2) the presence of the same scholium on the word *μυρμηκία* in xxiv 35; (3) the enumeration of the chapters and the colophons in which *b* and *e* agree more closely than either agrees with *f*. On the other hand in a certain number of readings *b* sides with some representative of the group *c f l* against *e*. This shows that the scribe had access to some other sources as well.

The more important of these readings are :—

(i) iv 17. δεικνυμένην *e h n euth.*; διαδεικ. *d f l p* (*g* deest).

(ii) xx 16. οὗ *e h n*; ᾧ *d f g l*; ὃ *p*.

(iii) xxviii 2. παραλαμβάνεται *e h n*; καταλαμβάνεται *d f g l p*.

(iv) xliv 15. καὶ τὴν τῶν καταδίκων ἀνάρρυσιν *h n* (ἀνάρρησιν *e*); om. *al. omn.*

(v) xlvi 11. ἡγήσοιτο *e h n*; ἡγοῖτο *f g*[1] *l*; ἡγήσαιτο *d g* p*.

(vi) lxii 25. καὶ διὰ τῶν γινομένων θαυμάτων *e h n euth.*; τοῖς διὰ τῶν γινομένων θαύμασι *d g l p* (θαυμασίων *f*).

(vii) lxxiii 6. αὐτὰ γεννώντων *e h n*; αὐτὸ γεννώντων *d p*; ἀπογεννώντων *f g l*.

(viii) lxxiv 28. ἑαυτὸν οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον *e n* (om. οὐκ *h*); ἑ. καὶ οὐκ ε. τ. θ. *d g l p*; εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ε. τ. θ. *f l*.

Of these readings (i) (ii) (iii) are apparently corrections;

(v) is a corruption of the reading of *d g* p*;

(vii) is an attempt to set right the reading found in *d p*, which is a corruption of the reading found in *f g l*;

(viii) is an attempt to set right a passage which is corrupt in all the MSS, and of which Krabinger has suggested a solution by reading εἰς αὐτὸ (i. e. τὸ κτιστόν) καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον.

(vi) is difficult. The reading of *e h n euth.* undoubtedly makes the passage run smoothly, but it is quite possible that here too the reading of *d f g l p* covers some corruption, and that the reading of *e h n euth.* is an attempt to emend the text.

The only reading now left is (iv).

The Latin translation of P. Morel contains the words 'damnatorum absolutio,' from which it is clear that his text had the reading καὶ τὴν τῶν καταδίκων ἀνάρρυσιν. Krabinger, who inserts the words into his text, gives the same rendering, and thinks that the passage contains an allusion to the Origenistic denial of the eternity of punishment. But such a meaning is ill-suited to the context. Gregory is stating Satan's reasons for choosing Christ as a ransom. It was the signs of supernatural power displayed by Christ in His earthly life which appealed to the adversary. Gr. instances the circumstances of His birth, the voices from the unseen world testifying to His surpassing worth, the healing of disease, the restoration of the dead to life (τὴν . . . τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἀνάλυσιν) and (according to *e h n*) τὴν τῶν καταδίκων ἀνάρρυσιν. Then follow other instances, the fear inspired in demons, the power over the tempest, the walking on the sea, and the feeding of the multitudes. The words found in *e h n* must accordingly (if genuine) refer to some event or events before the Crucifixion. Moore (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. v, p. 493) suggests an allusion to our Lord's forgiveness of sinners. This is possible, but the words are somewhat difficult to fit into the context. On the other hand, it is difficult to account for their

insertion in the text, if spurious, while the resemblance of ἀνάλυσιν and ἀνάρρυσιν may have occasioned their omission.

With this possible exception, the readings of *e h n euth.* do not commend themselves as original. Taken as a whole they appear to be due to an attempt to emend the text. We find the same tendency in certain readings peculiar to individual MSS of this group and in the text of Euthymius. Thus in the following passages *euth.* stands alone in readings which undoubtedly remove difficulties of grammatical construction or make the sense clearer, but none the less from their isolated support are plainly not original.

(i) ix 3–4. ἀγαθότητα . . . δύναμιν . . . σοφίαν *euth.*; ἀγαθότης . . . δύναμις . . . σοφία *al. omn.*

Here the reading of *euth.* is an attempt to set right a sentence, of which the construction is imperfect.

(ii) xxvii 17–21. γένεσιν ἀνθρωπίνην λέγω καὶ τὴν ἐκ νηπίου πρὸς τελείωσιν αὔξησιν, βρῶσίν τε καὶ πόσιν, καὶ κόπον, καὶ ὕπνον, καὶ λύπην, καὶ δάκρυον, συκοφαντίαν τε καὶ δικαστήριον, καὶ σταυρόν, καὶ θάνατον, καὶ τὴν ἐν μνημείῳ θέσιν *euth.*; γένεσις ἀνθρωπίνη (om. λέγω) καὶ ἡ . . . αὔξησις, βρῶσις . . . πόσις . . . κόπος . . . ὕπνος . . . λύπη . . . συκοφαντία . . . σταυρός . . . θάνατος . . . ἡ . . . θέσις *al. omn.*

Here, again, the construction is broken. The series of nouns was intended to form the subject of a verb, but instead of this Gregory starts a fresh sentence, ταῦτα γὰρ συμπαραλαμβανόμενα τῷ μυστηρίῳ ἀμβλύνει κ.τ.λ., and leaves the construction with which he has begun incomplete. The text of *euth.* is an attempt to set this right.

(iii) xxix 10. τῆς θείας φύσεως *euth.*; *om.* τῆς *al. omn.*

The θείας is emphatic, and is therefore anarthrous, but the reviser has endeavoured to remove the apparent harshness of the phrase.

(iv) lxxi 15. ἐκεῖνος γενόμενος *euth.* 3 4 5; ἐκεῖνο *d e f g h l n p euth.* 7; γινόμενον *e f l*; γενόμενον *d g h n p euth.* 7.

Here ἐκεῖνο has been changed into ἐκεῖνος in order to make more apparent its reference to the preceding ἄρτον.

There are two passages in which the same desire to emend the text on the part of the scribe of *e* (and of *h* as well in one of the passages), has resulted in restoring what seems at first sight to be the original reading. They are as follows:—

(i) xxxiv 28. πορευόμενον *e h*; πορευομένῃ *d g n p euth.*; πορευομένης *f l.*

Here πορευόμενον seems at first sight preferable to πορευομένῃ, but a more careful examination of the passage and a comparison of Gr.'s language elsewhere tends to justify πορευομένῃ. Gr. is answering the objection that a human birth involves πάθος. He distinguishes between a right and a wrong use of the word. Properly πάθος can only be used of moral declension, not of natural processes. It is of these natural

processes that he says τὸ δ' ὅσον ἐν τῇ φύσει κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον εἱρμὸν πορευομένῃ διεξοδικῶς θεωρεῖται, τοῦτο κυριώτερον ἔργον ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ πάθος προσαγορεύοιτο. The word διεξοδικῶς must be taken with θεωρεῖται, and the sentence finds a parallel in viii 6–8 ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα σοφῶς τε καὶ τεχνικῶς θεωρούμενα. The explanatory clause κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον εἱρμὸν πορευομένῃ, attached to φύσει without the article τῇ, may also be paralleled by liii 20 οἱ ἐπισκεφθῆναι μὲν παρὰ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀσθενήσασαν ἐν κακίᾳ τὴν φύσιν εὔλογον κρίνοντες, and by lxix 18 ὡς γὰρ τῷ φθοροποιῷ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀναμιχθέντι ἅπαν τὸ ἀνακραθὲν συνηχρείωται. The text of *e* is an attempt to simplify the construction.

(ii) lxiii 20. ἑαυτοῖς *e*; αὐτοῖς *dfghlnp*.

Here ἑαυτοῖς or αὑτοῖς might seem to be wanted, but its place in the text of *e* is certainly due to conjectural restoration. Similarly the late MS *c* reads αὑτοῖς, which is also certainly an emendation of the reading of *fl*.

3. The remaining MS of this group, *d*, presents no distinctive features that call for notice. It alternately sides with *n* and *p*, and appears to contain a mixed text, incorporating elements from both of the previous subdivisions.

II. Passing now to the MSS of the second main group we have to discuss the relations of *c*, *f*, *l*, *m*.

1. The text of *c*, *l*, *m* is closely related to that of the Paris editors, and exhibits the same series of lacunae which are found in the common text. These passages are seven in number, and are as follows:—

x 22. ἄλλο . . . λόγος, om. *c l* m* edd.
xi 31. τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ῥήματα, om. *c l* m* edd.
xiv 34. τοῦτον . . . πεποιηκότος, om. *c l* m* edd.
xxi 28–30. καὶ τοῦτο . . . σβέννυσθαι, om. *c l* m* edd.
xxiii 9. κατ' αἴσθησιν . . . διὰ τοῦτο, om. *c l* m* edd.
xxviii 10. τοῦ πάσης . . . ἀπηλλαγμένου, om. *c l* m* edd.
lv 5. οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν 'Ιουδ. . . . μιαιφονία, om. *c l* m* edd.[1]

These MSS also agree with the text of the Paris editions in a considerable number of distinctive readings, many of them obviously blunders. As *c* and *m* are only late forms of the text exhibited in *l* they may be ignored, the only interest of *m* being that, of all the MSS contained in the list previously given, it alone contains the spurious additions to the last chapter of the *Or. Cat.* found in the Paris editions, and beginning ὁ Χριστὸς βούλεται κ.τ.λ.

[1] The reading in xxii 15 εἴ γε . . . διεσώσατο, which is adopted by Krab., but is absent from *cfl*m* edd., is almost certainly a gloss. The words ignore Gr.'s usual distinction between εἰκών and ὁμοίωσις, and appear to have been added to guard against a universalistic interpretation of the passage.

Paraphrase has largely operated in producing the distinctive readings of the text represented by *l* and the Paris editions. This accounts for changes of order, the substitution of more obvious for technical words, the smoothing down of harsh expressions, the improvement of the sense, changes of grammar, and the like. Instances are the substitution of ὑπολήψεις for προλήψεις in iv 5; of ψευδοποιόν for δευσοποιόν in xx 18; of προορατικῇ for γνωστικῇ in xxv 21; the addition of ἀνοίκειον καί before ἀπεμφαῖνον in xxix 7; the substitution of ἀνθρωπίνῳ συγκρίματι for ἀνθρώπῳ in xxxvi 30; the correction of ἐπετηδεύετο into ἐπιτετήδευτο in xxxviii 23, and of ὑπολείπεται into ὑπολέλειπται in xxxix 17; the substitution of δυναμένοις for ἐπισταμένοις in xxxix 7; of τῷ καθαιρομένῳ for τοῦ καθαιρομένου after ὠφέλεια in xlix 33, and of δυνάμεως for κινήσεως in the phrase τῆς ζωτικῆς κινήσεως in lv 23–4. Similarly in xxxii 15 we find that *l* and the Paris editors read εὐτελεῖ ἐλύτρῳ, where *f* and the MSS of the other group read simply λύθρῳ. Gregory has been stating an objection to the Virgin-Birth. The objector asks why God condescended to such humiliation, and says that faith wavers before the thought that God, the incomprehensible and ineffable reality, τῷ λύθρῳ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καταμίγνυται. In place of the strong expression λύθρῳ, 'defilement,' which recalls the 'non horruisti' of the Te Deum, some scribe has substituted the comparatively feeble expression τῷ εὐτελεῖ ἐλύτρῳ, 'the mean covering.' The word εὐτελεῖ was probably suggested by the verb εὐτελίζεσθαι in the next line but one.

To this tendency to revision may be attributed the gloss found in lvii 12, the words καὶ καθ' εἱμαρμένην χωρεῖ ὁ λόγος, which are found in *l* and the Paris editions, being plainly an attempt to give expression to an idea suggested, though not actually expressed, in the sentence.

In one passage (lx 19) where *f* and the MSS of the other group are plainly corrupt, *l* and the Paris editions appear at first sight to have the correct reading. Gregory is speaking of the Divine power manifested in Christ's Passion and Resurrection, and dwells upon the fact that He did not continue in death, and that τὰς διὰ τοῦ σιδήρου κατὰ τοῦ σώματος γενομένας πληγὰς μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὸ ἀναστῆναι ποιήσασθαι κατ' ἐξουσίαν τε φαίνεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῖς μαθηταῖς. Here the reading ἀναστῆναι is supported by *l* and the Paris editions, *f* and the MSS of the other group reading εἶναι. The reading ἀναστῆναι must be due to conjectural restoration by the scribe, and as a conjecture it is possibly correct, but its position in such a late group gives it no documentary authority.

2. The class of readings which we have been considering represents a later recension of the text of this group, while *f* represents that text at an earlier and purer stage of its existence. Hence we find a large class of readings supported by *f l*, which carry us back by a separate line of ancestry from that of the group *d g h n p* to the original text.

We are thus brought face to face in the final resort with two groups of MSS, represented by *d g h n p* on the one hand, and *f l* on the other. In estimating the relative value of these two groups we must take account of two facts. On the one hand the readings of *d g h n p* not unfrequently point to the existence of corruption in the text which is their common source. Instances of this are :—

v 14. μίαν θεότητος ὁμολογίαν, *d e h n p euth.*; μιᾶς θ. ὁμ. *f l vulg.*
xxxviii 7. αὐτῶν πραγμάτων, *d e g h n p*; πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, *f l vulg.*
xlii 13. ἑαυτὴν, *d e g* h n p*; αὐτὴν g^1 (αὐτῇ *f*) *l*.
xlv 33. δογμάτων, *d e g h n p*; θαυμάτων, *f l vulg.*
xlvi 25. ἀκροτάτῳ, *d e g* h n p*; ἀκράτῳ, *f* g^1 *l vulg.*
lxii 32. om. ἂν *d e g h n p euth.*; insert ἂν *f l vulg.*

On the other hand the text of *f l* shows at times a tendency to paraphrase and revision. Instances of this are :—

iv 26. ἔννοιαν for ἐπίνοιαν.
31. add ἡμῖν after δοθέντος.
v 3. καταλάβοι for καταλαμβάνοι.
9. insert τις after ὑπόληψιν.
ix 10. ἀναλογικῶς for ἀναγωγικῶς.
29. προφερόμενον for προφαινόμενον.
x 17. λαβεῖν for λαμβάνειν.
ibid. διασαφῆσαι for διασαφεῖν.
21. μεμέρισται for διώρισται.
xi 17. φιλοπονωτέροις for φιλοτιμοτέροις.
xii 27. ὀρεκτικὴν for προεκτικήν.

Allowing for this occasional tendency, however, the text of *f l* generally gives a good, vigorous sense, and its readings are often superior to those of the other group. The effect of this conclusion is to reverse Krabinger's judgement on a number of readings, and to vindicate those of the Paris edition as represented in Migne. Krabinger's access to the group *f l* was only obtained through the late and corrupt MS *c*. He had accordingly no means of distinguishing the earlier and purer stage in its history from the later and more corrupt form. This genuine element in the text of the Paris editions we are now able to rescue with the help of the early MS *f*.

We may now summarize the results which have been attained. The primary authorities for the text of the *Oratio Catechetica* are: in Group I, *p* and *n*: in Group II, *f* and *l*. Attention should also be paid to the readings of g^1, which frequently supports *f*. An edition of the treatise, with a revised text, embodying the above results, is in preparation.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

ENGLISH MASS-BOOKS IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Among the contents of a collection of notes and documents edited by Mr. T. O. Cockayne, under the title of *The Shrine*, of which the first part was published in 1864, there is to be found an Anglo-Saxon martyrology, of which Mr. Cockayne says that it 'was at least in use in Ælfred's time and was probably then composed.' This opinion as to the date of the text is confirmed by the Rev. C. Plummer, to whose kindness I owe my acquaintance with the document, and with the portions of its contents with which this note is concerned. Mr. Plummer some time ago drew my attention to the fact that in some of the notices of festivals supplied by the compiler there appear instructions as to the mass to be said on the days in question, in the form of a statement that the mass is to be found 'in the old sacramentary,' 'in the older mass-books,' or 'in the newer sacramentary,' 'in the newer mass-books.'

These instructions seem to be important as indicating the existence in England, or at least in some locality in England, in the latter part of the ninth century, of a state of things similar to that which we find elsewhere at an earlier date, as the result of the introduction and adoption, in the dominion of Charles the Great, of the sacramentary of Hadrian I. Two types of sacramentary are found side by side. The 'newer,' though perhaps in general use, has not yet entirely taken the place of the 'older.' The one is supplemented by the other; before long, it may be, the parts of the two which are in use will be incorporated in a single book: but meanwhile the two classes of books are in concurrent use. In such a case, where both types of book contained each its own mass for a particular day, the newer forms would probably, as a general rule, be preferred to the old: and though there may have been cases where, both having a mass, it was thought good to retain the older form, it seems reasonable to suppose that in the majority of cases where reference is made to the 'older' books those of the 'newer' type contained no mass for the day in question. Where the 'newer' books are referred to, it is likely either that the forms which they supplied differed from those provided for the day in the 'older' books, or that the 'older' books contained no mass for the day.

It may be of some interest to consider how the festivals thus annotated in the martyrology are dealt with in some typical sacramentaries, and in some of the more notable of the later English missals. The sacramentaries which I have selected for this purpose are the following:—

1. The Gelasian sacramentary[1]. (G.)

[1] In Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* tom. i; or Oxford, 1894.

2. The later Gelasian or mixed sacramentary of St. Gallen[1]. (S.)
3. The Gregorian sacramentary edited by Muratori[2]. (Mur.)
4. The Gregorian sacramentary edited by Ménard[3]. (Men.)
5. The Leofric Missal[4]. (Leofr.)
6. The Missal of St. Augustine's, Canterbury[5]. (Aug.)
7. The Missal of Robert of Jumièges[6]. (Jum.)

Of these the first and second are chosen as examples of sacramentaries in use in the eighth century; the third as representing the Roman sacramentary sent to Charles the Great, from which, most probably, its *sanctorale* is derived. The fourth and fifth represent different types of the books produced on the Continent by combination of Gelasian and Gregorian material. The sixth and seventh represent the results of a similar process in England.

The festivals for which the martyrology refers to the 'older' books are eight in number. They are as follows:—

June 1.	St. Priscus.	Sept. 1.	St. Priscus.
June 17.	St. Nicander.	Sept. 5.	St. Quintus.
Aug. 19.	St. Magnus.	Sept. 7.	St. Synotus.
Aug. 27.	St. Rufus.	Oct. 15.	St. Lupulus.

Of these, only three find a place in any of the sacramentaries or missals named above—St. Magnus, St. Rufus, and St. Priscus (Sept. 1). The remainder are known only by entries in martyrologies, or in one or two cases by *acta*, or by forms in service-books belonging to the locality to which the saints themselves belonged. This locality was probably the same in all five cases—the region of Capua and Beneventum. St. Nicander belongs to Venafrum or Atina; St. Quintus (or Quinctius), St. Synotus, and St. Lupulus are Capuan; and so, most likely, is St. Priscus on June 1. The last name certainly occurs in a list of many martyrs belonging, apparently, to Thessalonica: but the festival does not seem to be known elsewhere; it is probably, in its origin, a second festival of the same Capuan saint for whom the 'older' books provided a mass on Sept. 1. That these local festivals of middle Italy should not have appeared in the 'newer' books is perhaps less surprising than their recognition by special masses in the 'older' books. Mr. Cockayne suggests that the 'older' books were derived

[1] MS S. Gall. 348. The contents are tabulated in an appendix to the Oxford edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary.
[2] In Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* tom. ii.
[3] Reprinted in Migne, *P. L.* tom. lxxviii.
[4] Edited by Mr. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883.
[5] Edited by Mr. M. Rule, Cambridge, 1896.
[6] Edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896.

from the region of Capua, and may have come to England by the agency of Benedictines, perhaps in the time of Theodore and the abbot Hadrian. But it may be that this local element in their *sanctorale* is due to the same cause which gave, at a very early date, a distinct though unexplained Beneventan colouring to the Anglo-Saxon 'diplomatic.'

These five festivals have left no trace on the later English missals. With the other three the case is different. For the feast of St. Magnus on Aug. 19, G. and S. both provide a mass. The secret is different in the two, and S. (as is not unfrequently the case) differs from G. in providing a preface where G. has none. Mur., Men. and Leofr. have no mass. Aug. and Jum. agree with S., except in the preface, which Aug. omits, while Jum. substitutes another. The York missal gives the same collect, secret and post-communion as S.; the Sarum, Hereford, and Westminster missals agree with S. and G. in the collect and post-communion, but differ from both in the secret, in which Hereford again differs from Sarum and Westminster.

For St. Rufus G. and S. each provide a mass: but the collect only is common to both. S. again adds a preface. Again there is no mass in Mur., Men. or Leofr., while Aug. and Jum. again have the same collect, secret and post-communion as S., Aug. omitting and Jum. retaining the preface. The missals of Hereford and York also agree with S., omitting the preface. Westminster and Sarum have the collect of S., but each of them has a different secret and post-communion.

For St. Priscus (Sept. 1) the case, as regards the sacramentaries, is practically the same. G. and S. both provide a mass, differing only in the presence of a preface in S.; Aug. and Jum. have the same mass, Aug. omitting the preface. Mur., Men. and Leofr. have no mass. The Hereford and Westminster missals (and also, according to one MS used by Dr. Henderson, the York missal) give the same forms as G. The Sarum missal agrees in the collect, but differs in the secret and post-communion.

In regard to these three festivals, then, it would appear that while the 'newer' books probably agreed with Mur., the 'older' books may have agreed with G. or S., and the tradition represented by S. seems to have left a strong trace in the English books of later time.

Turning to the masses for which the martyrology refers to the 'newer' books, the first of three with which we have to deal is that of St. Nicomede on June 1. This day is apparently regarded in the martyrology as the festival of the saint's martyrdom. The earliest sacramentaries which recognise it treat it as the dedication festival

of his church[1]. In the MS edited by Muratori, there is apparently some uncertainty as to the character of the day: and in Leofr. it is *Natale S. Nicomedis*. G. gives no mass for this day. S., Mur., Men., and Leofr. all have one, and agree as to the forms. Aug. and Jum. have none, and the Westminster and Hereford missals have none; all these place the *Natale S. Nicomedis* on Sept. 15. The Sarum and York missals have the feast of S. Nicomede on June 1, with the same forms as S., Mur., Men. and Leofr., Sarum having also a *memoria* of the saint on Sept. 15.

The second festival for which the 'newer' books are cited is that of St. Agapitus on Aug. 18. Here all the sacramentaries provide a mass, but the constituents differ. The collect of the mass in G. appears in S. and Men., while in Mur. the mass is completely different from that in G., and agrees with that in S. and Men. only in the secret. Leofr., Aug. and Jum. agree with Mur. save that Jum. provides a proper preface. The York and Hereford missals agree with Mur., while those of Sarum and Westminster have the collect of Mur. with a different secret and post-communion[2].

For the festival of St. Sabina, Aug. 29, G. has no mass. S. and Men. have one, which differs throughout from that given in Mur. This appears also in Aug., while Leofr. and Jum. agree with Mur., Jum. adding a preface. The York missal agrees with Mur.; the Hereford differs only in the collect. Sarum and Westminster have an entirely different set of prayers, agreeing together in the secret and post-communion, but differing in the collect.

Thus, in all the cases where the martyrology refers to the 'newer' books, the forms which have left the strongest trace in the English books of later date are those contained in Mur. and Leofr. rather than those contained in G. or S. In two cases out of the three G. supplies no mass for the festival, in the third a mass differing from that in Mur.; while S. supplies in two cases a mass differing from that in Mur. In the case where S. and Mur. agree in the prayers of the mass, the question is complicated by the variation observable in its title. It may be that if the 'older' books agreed with S. in marking the festival as *Dedicatio Basilicae S. Nicomedis* while the 'newer' agreed with Leofr. in entitling it *Natale S. Nicomedis*, the compiler of the mar-

[1] Probably the anniversary of the dedication of the church of St. Nicomede, built by Boniface V. See Duchesne, *Lib. Pontificalis* i 322. It is to be noted that most of the sacramentaries under consideration (the exceptions being G. and Men.) have another mass of St. Nicomede on Sept. 15, on which day the martyrology makes no mention of him. The Leofric missal thus has two festivals entitled *Natale S. Nicomedis*.

[2] One MS of the York Missal cited by Dr. Henderson in his edition gives the same forms as Sarum and Westminster.

tyrology may have chosen to refer to the 'newer' books simply on the ground of this difference, though 'older' and 'newer' books agreed in the text of the prayers. But it is perhaps more likely that the 'older' books in this case differed from S. and agreed with G. in not recognising the festival of St. Nicomede on June 1.

So far as it goes, the evidence seems consistent with the hypothesis that the 'newer' books were allied to Mur. and Leofr., the 'older' to G. and S.[1] But the number of cases is too small to warrant any decided inference as to the degree, or even as to the reality, of the relationship.

H. A. WILSON.

A SYNOD AT CAESAREA IN PALESTINE IN 393.

FROM Ambrose ep. 57 we know that a Synod was held at Capua, in which among other things an attempt was made to put an end to the Antiochene schism; but, since Flavian insisted on appealing to the Emperor, the matter was then referred to Theophilus of Alexandria and the Egyptian bishops for final decision. As this took place while Theodosius was in the East, but apparently before the communication between East and West had been disturbed by the usurpation of Eugenius, it must be placed in 391–2[2]. Of the sequel we know nothing from this or any other published source. In a letter of Severus of Antioch, however (ii 3 in the Syriac version of Athanasius of Nisibis)[3], we are told that Theophilus, being occupied with the destruction of the heathen temples, was unable to accept the commission, and the matter was therefore investigated in an Eastern Synod at Caesarea in Palestine, which decided in favour of Flavian and sent its decree, of which the text is given, to the Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius. This last fact fixes the date to some time between the elevation of Honorius (Jan. 10, 393) and the time when the news of Theodosius' death at Milan on Jan. 17, 395, reached Caesarea. The destruction of

[1] Unless Mone was mistaken as to the date of his Reichenau MS 112, it would seem that the first formation of the type represented by S. must have taken place before the end of the seventh century. The fragments which he prints from this palimpsest (*Lat. und Griech. Messen*, pp. 119–122) show an almost exact agreement with the corresponding parts of S. in the composition of the masses; the text of the prayers agrees closely with the original text of S.

[2] Theodosius was at Aquileia on June 16, 391 (Cod. Th. XVI x 11), but apparently at Constantinople on July 18 (*id.* XIII ix 4). See however Socr. v 18, who places his entry into Constantinople on Nov. 10, 'in the consulship of Tatianus and Symmachus' = A. D. 391.

[3] Brit. Mus. Add. MS 12,181, f. 68 *b*; 14,600, f. 76 *b*: see *J. T. S.* ii p. 612.

the temple of Serapis appears indeed from a comparison of Soz. vii 15 with Cod. Th. XVI x 11 to have taken place in 391, and, since Theodosius was then still at Aquileia, before the Synod of Capua; but the destruction of the temples may well have continued for some years, and in any case this statement, which depends only on Severus' own authority, cannot outweigh the names of the Emperors, which must have been taken from the superscription of the synodal letter. This fact however, as well as the connexion with the Synod of Capua[1], makes it probable that the Synod of Caesarea should be placed not later than 393. On comparing the letter of Ambrose with that of the Synod there appears to be a discrepancy; for, while it clearly follows from the words of Ambrose that the Western Synod decided against Flavian, the Synod of Caesarea in its letter to the Emperors represents Siricius as pronouncing in his favour[2]. Probably however the Synod has not quite accurately reproduced the Pope's words, and he in fact declared against both claimants; against Flavian because he was appointed in the lifetime of Paulinus, who was always recognised in the West, and against Evagrius because he had been ordained by one bishop only. That he did not accept Flavian is, I think, certain both from Theodoret's statement that Flavian was not recognised at Rome till the papacy of Innocent[3], and from the fact that the matter was referred to Theophilus, who was known to be an enemy of Flavian. Perhaps the omission of Theophilus to carry out the commission was owing really not to the attacks upon the heathen but to the Emperor's prohibition. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that, as follows from Theodoret *H. E.* v 23, the Synod of Caesarea did not succeed in ending the schism, and that it was at least nine years before Flavian was accepted at Rome.

In the letter of which an extract is given below Severus is attacking a certain Isaiah who had been ordained to the episcopal office by one bishop only, and in this passage is repeating the words which he had

[1] Mr. Turner suggests to me that the connexion, as here stated, may be a mere conjecture of Severus. The Eastern bishops state however in their own letter that they had received a letter from the Capuan Synod, so that the chronological inference remains the same.

[2] At least, if we take the most obvious interpretation of a somewhat ambiguous phrase.

[3] *H. E.* v 23. Sozomen indeed says (*H. E.* viii 3) that Chrysostom interested himself for the recognition of Flavian at Rome immediately on his own elevation to the episcopate: and as he was consecrated bishop on Feb. 26, 398, Sozomen's account would imply that the recognition came about before the accession of Innocent at the end of 401, in the pontificate of Innocent's predecessor Anastasius. But the negotiations may well have taken some time: and Theodoret's close relations with Antioch seem decisive in favour of his chronology.

used to some Egyptian monks who informed him of an offer of the Alexandrine patriarchate which had been made to one of them by Isaiah. Only the synodal letter is here given in the Syriac, the words of Severus himself being given in a translation only.

There is only one MS variation which affects the sense; the other variants, which are merely verbal or orthographic, I do not record.

ܡܙܡܢܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܒܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܩܢܝ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ: ܗܘ̇ ܕܒܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܘܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܠܐܘܦܣܢܝܘܬܗ܆ ܘܒܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܦܩܕܬ ܒܟܠܝ ܕܡܢ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ
ܕܡܬܒܚܪ ܡܢ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܐܬܪܗܘܢ܆ ܘܒܗܘܢ ܕܕܢܚܐ ܐܟܘܬ ܗܘܐ ܚܣܝܢܘܬܗ[1]
ܗܘ̇ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܢܩܘܒ. ܕܕܘܟ ܒܗ ܕܩܕܝܡ ܡܟܘܡ ܗܘ̇ ܢܣܒ: ܗܘܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ
ܢܚܠܐ ܒܡܥܘܠܐ ܗܘ̇ ܕܒܫܡܐ ܕܗܘܪܐܡܐ ܡܪܝܡ: ܕܠܐ ܡܚܠܦܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܕ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ
ܠܗܘܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ. ܗܟܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ̇ ܕܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܕܕܢܚܐ ܐܟܘܬ
ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܫܪܝܪܘܬܗ܆ ܐܘ ܦܘܠܝܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܢܘܫܝܐ. ܗܘ̇
ܕܡܬܠܡܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ܆ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܕܘܟ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܐܘܓܪܝܣ. ܗܘ̇ ܕܐܦ ܩܘܕܡ
ܕܡܘܢܕܘܣ ܗܘ̇ ܕܢܩܐ ܢܦܩܘܕܬܗ ܘܡܬܝܒܬܗ ܐܠܟܣܢ܆ ܘܕܗܘܢܬܗ ܠܐܢܛ ܕܠܐ
ܢܩܘܦܬܗ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܒܠܢܘܬܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܗܘ̇ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ. ܡܢ ܚܕܬܐ[2]
ܗܟܢ ܦܩܕܢ ܒܡܬܩܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܚܣܝܢܘܬܗ ܗܘ̇ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܩܢܐ
ܒܕܝܢܐ. ܢܩܦܘܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܩܢܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܢ ܠܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܒܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ.
ܡܢ ܐܪܡܠܝܢ ܩܢܘܢ ܢܩܦܘܢ ܘܕܝܢܐ. ܕܐܝܟ ܒܟܠܗ ܚܕܝܢ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ
ܕܐܬܦܩܕ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܟܘܬ ܡܢ ܦܠܚܢܘܬܗ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ܀

'Therefore your devoutnesses should know that afterwards[3] also, when Paulinus was patriarch of the city of the Antiochenes, and at the end of his life himself alone ordained Evagrius and appointed him to succeed him, while the orthodox bishops in the East lawfully ordained Flavian archbishop of the same Antioch[4], a synod met on account of this question, in the West in the city of Capua, and in the East at Caesarea in Palestine, inasmuch as Siricius, who was then archbishop of Rome, had after the inquiry at Capua thought fit that the task of making a closer investigation concerning the same question should be referred to the East, Theophilus the archbishop of the great city of the Alexandrines having been invited to preside over those who assembled; who on account of the destruction of the heathen temples and statues

[1] MSS ܚܣܝܢܘܬܗ. [2] 12,181 ܚܕܬܐ.

[3] i. e. after the Synod of Nicaea, to the canon of which they had referred.

[4] Severus here seems to place the ordination of Flavian after Paulinus' death, but it is perhaps only an aorist with a pluperfect meaning. In v 6 he gives the right account.

in the city of Alexander was occupied, and abstained from assembling with them. And thereupon the synod of holy bishops which assembled at Caesarea in Palestine itself sent up its decree to the God-loving kings of pious memory, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, and made it known to them in these words:—

'"For we have read the letter of our reverend brothers to our reverend brother and bishop[1] Theophilus, and that which was written to us ourselves, the bishops of the East, by the bishops at Capua, and that of the religious Siricius, the bishop of Rome, saying that before all things we ought to look to this point, that is, not to disturb the canon of Nicaea which clearly asserts that it is not permissible for the ordination of a bishop to be performed by one only. And there was further contained also in the epistle of the religious bishop Siricius a delimitation[2] of the hearing that was to be, in which it was asserted that there ought to be one bishop of Antioch, he who was lawfully and ecclesiastically appointed according to the canon of the Synod of Nicaea, and which clearly defined that the ordination which was performed by one is unlawful and not to be received. Having gladly[3] therefore received the exact teaching of bishop Siricius about the ecclesiastical canons, we have followed this letter and determined that these things be ratified, inasmuch as we have laid down lawful and just decisions, that we know one bishop of Antioch only, the religious lord Flavian the bishop."'

E. W. Brooks.

ORIGEN AND THE DATE OF PSEUDO-CLEMENT.

Two quotations of Pseudo-Clement by Origen have commonly been supposed to constitute the *terminus ad quem* in the settlement of his date. Canon Armitage Robinson has thrown doubt on one of these quotations[4]—the earlier in date, the longer and the more important. I wish to show that considerable doubt attaches also to the other. It occurs in Origen's Commentary on St. Matthew, *series* 77.

[1] The Greek must have been *συνεπίσκοπον*.

[2] Lit. 'division.' But perhaps we should render 'portion.'

[3] v. l. 'recently.'

[4] See the preface to his edition of the *Philocalia* [1893] p. l. Dr. Bigg (in *Studia Biblica*, ii 186 [1890], had still earlier said of the concluding passages of the chapter of the *Philocalia* which contain the supposed quotation: 'Doubtless they were added by the editors, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen.' But he spoilt this suggestion by an unfortunate confusion: for he goes on to speak of the quotation of Pseudo-Clement in Origen's comm. on Genesis as if it were certainly authentic, and not the very passage in the *Philocalia* which he has just rejected!

1. *A priori*, it is strange that Origen should even once have quoted 'Petrus apud Clementem' without Eusebius having noticed the fact.

2. The passage in question of Origen is only known to us in an old Latin translation of extremely free character, in which sentences are transposed or adjusted, lengthened or curtailed, added or omitted, without apparent reason[1]. Nothing could be more likely than that an apt quotation should be inserted by the translator.

3. The same passage of Pseudo-Clement is quoted in a slightly different form by the Arian author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, which is printed among the *spuria* of St. Chrysostom. The two quotations are not independent; for (*a*) Dr. Hort has pointed out that they both follow a not at all obvious quotation from Daniel. This could scarcely be a mere coincidence. (*b*) Both use the same formula *Petrus apud Clementem*. (*c*) Both are in a Commentary on St. Matthew, so that borrowing was quite a natural occurrence.

But which was the borrower?

This is only one out of five places in which the *Opus Imp.* quotes Pseudo-Clement[2]. Dr. Hort has therefore tried to show that it may have derived all these passages from Origen *In Matthaeum*. He says, 'Since *Op. Imp.* certainly used Origen here, its use of the Clementine work is not likely to have been independent.' This is certainly a correct argument, but the antecedent is by no means so certain. It is impossible to show that *Op. Imp.* did in fact borrow all these from Origen, and there is no improbability in his possessing a copy of Pseudo-Clement at the time he wrote, c. 400; indeed, the reference to the miracles of Simon (unless that too comes from Origen) implies that he did possess one.

But that Origen should have made five distinct quotations from Pseudo-Clement, together with some remarks about the miracles of Simon, without their attracting the notice of Eusebius, seems to be totally impossible. The words with which the quotations are introduced are *Petrus apud Clementem exposuit* twice; *Petrus apud Clementem exponit*; *in historia Clementis Petrus exponit*; *Petrus dicit apud Clementem*. This would seem to imply belief in the authenticity of the

[1] The Old Latin begins *tom*. xii. 9 (the Greek is extant from tom. x to tom. xvii). In its first chapter it omits several sentences of the Greek, and inserts a curious remark that 'disciples of bishops should be taught, by the example of the Apostles, to repeat whatever opinions they may have heard about their bishops outside.' The inference is that the paraphrast was a bishop himself. The second chapter is wholly remodelled. At the beginning of the third chapter 'What of John, the son of thunder?' becomes 'What of James and John?' and so on throughout.

[2] These are quoted by Harnack, *Altchr. Litt.* i 224, and discussed by Dr. Hort, *Clem. Recogn.* 43–9. Dr. Hort points out also a reference to the miracles of Simon.

work cited; the writer appears to take the words to which he refers as the words of St. Peter himself reported by Clement. The quotation in Origen is similarly introduced: *Tale aliquid dicit Petrus apud Clementem.* It is inconceivable that the careful bishop of Caesarea should have passed over a series of some five or six of such phrases, if they had really occurred in his favourite Origen. It is also *prima facie* unlikely that Origen, writing in 245 or later, at the age of 60 or more, should have been wholly taken in by a work at most twenty or thirty or forty years old, and probably full of nonsense, unless it was wholly different from the Homilies and Recognitions as we know them.

Since then Origen cannot have been the source of all these quotations and references in the *Op. Imp.*, it follows that the Arian author had himself a copy of Pseudo-Clement. But if so, it seems most unnatural to suppose that he quoted four times from the original and once from Origen's solitary extract.

4. A comparison of the quotations leads us to the same result:—

Origen; *in Matt.* ser. 77 (on Matt. xxvi 13). Delarue iii 894. P.G. xiii 1725.	Ps. Chrys. *Op. Imp. in Matt.* xxvi (P.G. lvi 770, Chrys. vol. vi p. cxv) on Matt. x 41.
1. Tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem.	1. Sed audi mysterium quod Petrus apud Clementem exposuit.
2. quoniam opera bona quae fiunt ab infidelibus in hoc saeculo iis prosunt, non et in illo ad consequendam uitam aeternam.	4. si fidelis fecerit opus bonum, et hic ei prodest liberans eum a malis et in illo saeculo ad percipiendum regnum caeleste, magis autem ibi quam hic.
3. et conuenienter, quia nec illi propter deum faciunt sed propter ipsam naturam humanam.	2. si autem infidelis fecerit opus bonum, hic ei prodest opus ipsius, et hic ei reddet deus bona pro opere suo. in illo autem saeculo nihil ei prodest opus ipsius.
4. qui autem propter deum faciunt, id est fideles, non solum in hoc saeculo proficit iis sed in illo, magis autem in illo.	5. nec enim collocatur inter caeteros fideles propter opus suum.
	3. et iuste, quia naturali bono motus fecit bonum, non propter deum.
	6. ideo in corpus suum recipit mercedem operis sui, non in anima sua.

The resemblance with the supposed original passage in *Hom.* xiii 13 and *Recog.* vii 38 is so slight, that some will suppose that it is a lost original which is quoted.

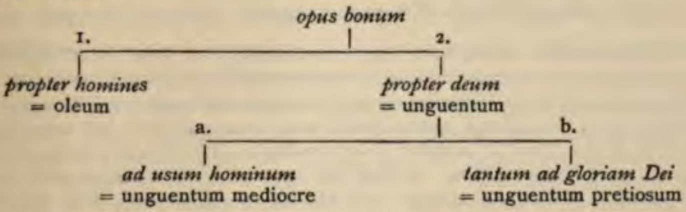
a. If so, it is possible that *Op. Imp.* quotes verbally, while this is impossible in the case of *Orig. trans.*, which relates an opinion of Peter, and does not profess to quote the words. In any case, if the quotations be assumed to be fairly accurate, the longer, fuller and direct one is more likely than the shorter and oblique version to be the prior of the two.

β. If, on the other hand, one of the two authors made up this elaborate doctrine out of the hints in *Ps. Clem.*, we must notice that the order of the paragraphs has been altered, as may be seen by the numbers I have attached to them. Now where Origen's Greek is still extant, it is observable that the old Latin translator habitually dislocates his order in just this manner. It is natural to suppose that he found the passage in *Op. Imp.*, and observed its likeness to the doctrine of Origen in a particular passage; he inserted it there, together with the text of Daniel, turning it inside out, in the same way that he was accustomed to treat Origen.

γ. *Op. Imp.* actually gives two details which are not in *Orig. tr.*; I have numbered them 5 and 6.

δ. We have seen that *Petrus apud Clementem* is the ordinary formula of quotation in *Op. Imp.*, and that it cannot have borrowed from Origen in the other cases. If *Orig. tr.* is not here the borrower, the identity of expression is a most remarkable coincidence.

5. An examination of the whole passage in Origen shows that the omission of the quotations from Daniel and from Clement makes the sense clearer[1]. An examination of the passage, as given in the footnote with numbers introduced for clearness, shows that Origen divides good actions thus:—



He then proceeds to give illustrations of each kind. The quotations from Daniel and Clement are given to illustrate (1); (2 *a*) and (2 *b*) have

[1] Origen, 'What is oil and unguent? Difficult to say . . . Sicut ergo generaliter omne quo quis ungitur oleum appellatur, olei autem aliud est unguentum, [aliud non]; item unguenti aliud est mediocre unguentum, aliud pretiosum; sic omnis actus iustus opus dicitur bonum. operis autem boni, (1) aliud est quod facimus propter homines, uel secundum homines, (2) aliud autem quod propter deum et secundum deum. item hoc ipsum quod facimus propter deum, (2 *a*) aliud est quod proficit ad usum hominum, (2 *b*) aliud quod non proficit ad usum hominum, sed tantum ad gloriam dei. utputa (1) bene quis facit homini naturali iustitia motus, non propter deum, quomodo faciebant interdum et gentes et multi faciunt homines; opus illud oleum est uulgare, non magni odoris, et ipsum tamen acceptabile apud deum; [sicut Daniel significat, dicens ad Balthasar deum non cognoscentem: Audi consilium meum rex, peccata tua eleēmosynis redime. tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem, quoniam opera bona . . . magis autem in illo.] (2) quod autem fideles faciunt propter deum, hoc est unguentum boni odoris. hoc ipsum autem

no other illustration than the unction of the Feet and the Head of Christ, which Origen is explaining. The long interruption seems to make the second division hang fire too long, while the fourth sentence of the quotation from Clement uncomfortably anticipates what Origen is just going to say.

But the quotations are not even pertinent, in so far as they speak of Belshazzar redeeming his sins, and of infidels who are rewarded in this world but not in the next. For there is nothing outside the quotations which has reference to reward for good actions, whether in this life or in the life to come. I believe that, if we had the original Greek, we should find Origen was solely interested in the comparison of the actions of Christians with oil and ointment, and that he said nothing about what is gained by those actions.

6. A general comparison of the whole context shows that if *Op. Imp.* borrowed from Origen, as Dr. Hort supposed, it borrowed the quotations and nothing else whatever. Yet on that hypothesis we should certainly have expected some further similarity. If, on the other hand, the translator of Origen was the borrower, we should expect that, apart from the passage actually quoted, there would be no likeness of detail or of general presentment. And in fact there is none [1].

If it is thus established that there is no solid ground for supposing that Origen knew Pseudo-Clement, several matters become much

opus fidelium propter deum, quod est unguentum, (2 *a*) aliud fit ad utilitatem hominum, utputa eleēmosynae, infirmorum uisitationes, peregrinorum susceptiones, humilitas, mansuetudo, indulgentia, et caetera huius modi quae hominibus prosunt. haec qui facit in Christianos pedes domini ungit unguento, quia ipsi sunt domini pedes cum quibus ambulat semper; quod praecipue solent facere poenitentes pro remissione peccatorum suorum. et illud est opus quod dicitur unguentum odoriferum quidem, non autem summum. (2 *b*) qui autem castitati studet, in ieiuniis et orationibus permanet, in aduersis patientiam habet sicut Iob, in tentationibus ueritatem dei non timet confiteri; quae omnia caeteris hominibus nihil prosunt, sed tantum ad gloriam dei proficiunt; hoc est unguentum quod ungit caput domini Christi, et exinde per totum corpus Christi, id est per totam decurrit ecclesiam; et hoc est unguentum ualde pretiosum, ex cuius odore tota repletur domus, hoc est ecclesia Christi. et hoc opus est proprium non poenitentium, sed perfectorum sanctorum. aut certe doctrina quae necessaria est hominibus, per quam nutriuntur animae pauperes in spiritalibus bonis, aut forte et debiles in peccatis, hoc est unguentum mediocre, quo pedes domini unguntur. agnitio autem fidei uerae quae ad solum pertinet deum, unguentum est pretiosum quo ungitur caput Christi deus.'

[1] There are two points only to be noticed. First, while *Op. Imp.* speaks continually of works *propter Christum* and *in Christianos*, Origen has once only *in Christianos*, and this is presumably due to the translator. Secondly, the words in Origen 'naturali iustitia motus,' though they precede the quotation, are probably not an exact translation of any words of Origen, but are taken from the quotation as we find it in *Op. Imp.* 'naturali bono motus.' In paraphrasing the quotation itself, *Orig. tr.*, for the sake of variety, gives 'propter ipsam naturam humanam.'

clearer. Harnack has shown that the Pseudo-Clementine literature is of no importance in the history of Catholic dogma (*History of Dogma*, E.T. 1894, I, 316). Mr. Headlam says it is outside the current of Church life (*J. T. S.* iii p. 58). Dr. Hort complains that it has left no traces in the eighty years between Origen and Eusebius (*Clem. Recog.*, 1901, pp. 31–2). If it did not exist till the end of the third century there is nothing surprising in these phenomena.

Again, in spite of the points of contact with Bardesanes, and of the doctrinal similarity with the book of Elkesai, we know of no Jewish-Christian community in the early third century with which to connect these strange writings, while in the fourth century we know from Epiphanius of their use by a definite community of heretics. Our other knowledge of these same heretics is from Ambrosiaster (writing under Damasus) and from Victorinus Rhetor (after 360).

The use of *archiepiscopus* in the Recognitions suggests that this book dates from the fourth century in the form in which Rufinus found it: while the discussion of ὁμοούσιος in the Homilies suggests that the present form of the Homilies also is post-Nicene.

Lastly, the important evidence of Eusebius is to be considered:—ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολυεπῆ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Κλήμεντος] ἐχθὲς καὶ πρώην τινὲς προήγαγον, Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα· ὧν οὐδ' ὅλως μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα (iii 38). Eusebius not only says that the wordy and lengthy writings were altogether unknown to the ancients (in which statement it would appear we are not in a position to contradict him), besides being heretical, but he also asserts that they were only brought forward 'the other day.' This is hardly compatible with the date ordinarily assigned to the origin of the Pseudo-Clementine literature; but it tallies exactly with the view which I have ventured to bring forward in this note, that Pseudo-Clement wrote after Origen, and indeed probably not long before Eusebius.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

ON THE MOHAMMEDAN GOSPEL OF BARNABAS.

THAT the Mohammedans have amongst their literature a document called the 'Gospel of Barnabas' is well known, but no complete translation or analysis appears to have been printed. The matter has a twofold interest. The Arabic Barnabas Gospel would show how the facts as to the foundation of Christianity were understood, or misunderstood, by the disciples of the Prophet. The many references to Jesus in the 'Koran' and the identity of certain incidents therein recorded

with those narrated in some of the early apocryphal gospels also makes it possible that the Mohammedan Gospel of Barnabas may include, in however sophisticated a form, some of the elements of the Christian apocryphal gospel bearing the same name which is mentioned in the Gelasian Decree. It may therefore not be without interest to put together the fragmentary notices which show that the Barnabas Gospel existed in Arabic, Italian, and Spanish, and may therefore still possibly be found and subjected to critical examination.

John Toland in his *Nazarenus* (London 1718) gives an account of a MS of an Italian translation of the Barnabas Gospel which he had examined. His description is diffuse without giving a clear idea of the contents. He says that the Gospel of Barnabas is 'mentioned in the 206th manuscript of the Baroccian collection in the Bodleian Library' (p. 7). In the 39th Baroccian MS, he observes (following Grabe, *Spicilegium Patrum*, i 302), there is a fragment of it in the following words: 'The Apostle Barnabas says, he gets the worst of it who overcomes in evil contentions; because he thus comes to have the more sin' (p. 8): and he repeats the Greek text from Grabe. As he found the same sentiment in the Italian translation, he concludes that the gospel in use among the Mohammedans is identical with the ancient apocryphal gospel of Barnabas (p. 20)[1].

According to Toland the first chapter begins: 'The true Gospel of Jesus called Christ, a new prophet sent by God to the world, according to the relation of Barnabas his apostle' (p. 15). He states that Reland (*de religione Mahommedica*, edition of 1718), who at first denied the existence of this work amongst the Mohammedans, afterwards discovered that it did exist both in Arabic and Spanish (p. 14, note). Toland's knowledge of the Italian Barnabas appears to be derived from a communication made to him by J. F. Cramer, who apparently lent him the MS. This is described (pp. 15, 16) as written on Turkish

[1] The Rev. Jeremiah Jones in his *New and Full Method for settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1798) expresses a doubt whether Toland had really seen this sentence in the Italian MS, and suspects that his knowledge was derived from the notice by La Monnoye, mentioned later, and ridicules the idea that the occurrence of this quotation would establish the antiquity of the book. But we now know more of the freedom taken with such writings, and there is nothing improbable in the idea of a Mohammedan retaining the bulk of an apocryphal gospel and making such alterations and additions as would tend to the edification of Islam. Of the composite character of these productions there is a striking instance in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, where three documents are blended into one, and where the earlier Hebrew apocalypse is transformed into a Christian one. (See the excellent edition by Dr. R. H. Charles, published by A. and C. Black in 1900. A note by the present writer appears in the *Antiquary*, May, 1901, vol. xxxvii, p. 145.) Jones translates the passages from Barnabas given by La Monnoye, but he does not refer to the Spanish version described by Sale.

paper delicately gummed and polished, and also bound after the Turkish manner. 'The ink is incomparably fine; and the orthography, as well as the character, plainly show it to be at least three hundred years old[1]. I ever chuse to speak rather under than over in such cases. Any proper name of God, and the appellative word Dio itself, are constantly writ in red letters out of respect, and so are the Arabic notes in transverse lines on the margin. The contents of the chapters are likewise written in red letters, and reach about the twentieth; a void space being left for the rest before each chapter, but nowhere filled up.' The author, Toland says, was a Mussulman, and charges the Christian with falsifying the gospel record, of which this is presented as the true version. Mohammed is claimed as the Paraclete—of this we will speak later. Toland quotes (p. 22) the last words, which he thus translates: 'Jesus being gone, the Disciples scattered themselves into many parts of Israel, and of the rest of the world: and the truth, being hated of Satan, was persecuted by falshood, as it ever happens. For certain wicked men, under pretence of being Disciples, preached that Jesus was dead, and not risen again: others preached that Jesus was truly dead, and risen again: others preached, and still continue to preach, that Jesus is the Son of God, among which persons Paul has been deceived. We therefore, according to the measure of our knowledge, do preach to those who fear God, to the end that they may be saved at the last day of his divine judgment; Amen. The end of the Gospel.'

In an appendix Toland gives a 'further account of the Mahometan Gospel of Barnabas by Monsieur de la Monnoye of the French Academy, out of the *Menagiana*, edit. Amst. tom. 4, p. 321.' La Monnoye describes a manuscript of the Gospel of Barnabas then in the possession of Prince Eugene: it was an octavo volume six inches long, four broad, and one and a half thick, and containing 229 leaves, each of about eighteen or nineteen lines. In the margin are texts from the Koran. As this was given to the Prince by Cramer in 1713, it is evidently the copy which Toland says he saw, though the description varies slightly. Jesus is said to have been translated to the third heaven by Gabriel, Michael, Raphael and Uriel. He did not die, but remains there until the end of the world. Judas was crucified in the place of Jesus, and the miraculous resemblance was so great as to deceive the disciples and even the Mother of Jesus. Afterwards he was permitted to return and comfort them. Barnabas asked how the divine goodness could allow that the Mother and disciples should even for a moment believe that Christ had suffered this ignominous death. The answer is 'O Barnabas, believe me that

[1] That would be circa A.D. 1418, but La Monnoye dates it A.D. 1470–1480 (*Menagiana* [Amsterdam, 1716], t. iv, p. 325).

every sin, how small soever, is punished by God with great torment, because God is offended with sin. My Mother therefore and my faithful disciples, having loved me with a mixture of earthly love, the just God has been pleased to punish this love with their present grief, that they might not be punished for it hereafter in the flames of Hell. And as for me, tho' I have myself been blameless in the World, yet other men having called me God, and the Son of God, therefore God, that I might not be mocked by the Devils at the day of Judgement, has been pleased that in this world I should be mocked by men with the death of Judas, making everybody believe that I died upon the Cross. And hence it is that this mocking is still to continue on till the coming of Mahomet, the Sent of God, who, coming into the World, will from this error undeceive every one, that shall believe the Law of God.' The Italian appears in the *Menagiana* (iv. pp. 321–335), and the spelling is so unusual that La Monnoye has taken the precaution to supply a transcript in the ordinary orthography.

The Spanish translation of the Gospel of Barnabas is several times mentioned by George Sale in his remarkably illuminating 'preliminary discourse' to his translation of the 'Koran' (London, 1734). After mentioning Prince Eugene's Italian copy he says (*Prel. Disc.* p. 74), 'This book appears to be no original forgery of the Mohammedans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it since, the better to serve their purpose; and in particular, instead of the Paraclete or Comforter, they have in this apocryphal gospel inserted the word Periclyte, that is, the *famous* or *illustrious*, by which they pretend their Prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Mohammed in Arabic: and this they say to justify that passage of the *Koran* where Jesus Christ is formally asserted to have foretold his coming under his other name of Ahmed, which is derived from the same root as Mohammed and of the same import.' The Spanish MS was lent to Sale by the Rev. Dr. Holme, rector of Hedley (Preface, p. viii). It is described as a moderate quarto of 420 pages, legibly written but damaged towards the end. There were 222 chapters of unequal length. The Spanish translation is said to have been made from the Italian by Mostafa de Aranda, a Moslem of Aragon. The preface contains a curious narrative, according to which 'a Christian monk' called Fra Marino, having read in Irenaeus and others an argument against Paul on the authority of the 'Gospel of Barnabas,' was very desirous of seeing that document. Fra Marino was friendly with Sixtus V, and one day when they were together in the library the Pope fell asleep, and the visitor took down a book to read and found that he had chanced upon the Barnabas gospel! He stole the book, and on reading it became a convert to Islam. This would place the

Spanish translation towards the end of the sixteenth century, but whether the alleged Vatican MS was Italian or Arabic is not clear. Sale says the book contains a complete biography of Christ, and includes most of the incidents of the canonical gospels, but many of them coloured according to Mohammedan ideas. The title of Messiah is given to Mohammed, although in the Koran it is applied to Jesus. This, as Sale suggests, may arise from the 'Gospel' having been prepared for the use of Islam by an ex-Christian still imperfectly instructed in his new faith, or may simply be an error of the translator.

The few passages cited by Sale are curious. The account of the Crucifixion is identical with that already mentioned as in the Italian version. The origin of Circumcision is described as primaeval. Adam the first man, having eaten by the snare of the devil the fruit in Paradise forbidden by God, his flesh rebelled against his spirit. For this reason he swore to God that he would cut it, and breaking a stone he was about to cut his flesh with the sharp edge when Gabriel appeared to dissuade him. He replied that he had made a vow and would not break it. Then the angel taught him how to cut away the superfluity of his flesh. To this narrative is added the deduction that, as all men take their flesh from Adam, all are under obligation to fulfil what their first father had vowed. This story is put into the mouth of Jesus[1]. The ablutions required in Islam are attributed to the patriarchal times, and were taught by Gabriel to Abraham[2]. The functions of the archangels are thus divided: Gabriel reveals the secrets of God, Michael combats his enemies, Raphael receives the souls of those who die, and Uriel will call each to judgement on the last day[3]. Michael executes the command to cut off with the sword of God the feet of the serpent, thus converting that creature into a creeping animal. And Satan was condemned to eat all excrements of the sons of man as a punishment for his deception of Adam[4].

The Rev. Joseph White in his *Bampton Lectures* (Oxford, 1784: pp. xxxiii–xxxvii, lviii–lxv [at the end of the volume]) has transcribed some chapters of the Gospel of Barnabas from a MS which was then in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Monkhouse, of Queen's College, who had the whole of the Spanish version and a considerable part of it in

[1] Chap. 23 of the Spanish version. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 107 (ed. of 1825, p. 147).

[2] Chap. 29 of the Spanish version. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 105 (ed. of 1825, p. 144).

[3] Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 72 (ed. of 1825, p. 99).

[4] Sale, note to chap. 7 of the Koran, p. 118 (ed. of 1825, p. 170). It has not been thought necessary to print the Spanish extracts, which Sale gives in his notes, or those in Italian, printed by La Monnoye and Toland.

literal English[1]. Unless this was the same MS that Sale used there were in the eighteenth century two copies of the Spanish version in England. The passages cited by Dr. White may now be given.

CHAPTER 96.

And when Jesus had ended his prayer, the High Priest cried with a loud voice, 'Stay, Jesus, we want to know who thou art, for the quiet of our people.' He answered, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth, born of Mary, of the stock of David, a mortal man, and fear God, and seek his honour and glory.' The High Priest said, 'It is written in the book of Moses that God is to send the Messias, who will come and declare the truth, and will bring mercy with him, and therefore we desire thee to tell us, if thou art the Messias whom we expect?' Jesus said, 'It is true that God has so promised, but I am not he: for he was created before me.' The High Priest said, 'By thy words and signs we know that thou art a prophet and a saint of God; and therefore I intreat thee in his name and for his sake, that thou tell us how the Messias will come.' Jesus answered, 'As God liveth, I am not that Messias which the tribes of the earth wait for, as God promised by our father Abraham, saying, In thy family I will bless all tribes. But when God shall take me out of the world, Satan will again promote this cursed sedition, making the wicked believe that I am the Son of God. My words and doctrine will be corrupted, insomuch that scarce thirty faithful shall be found. Then will God have mercy on his people, and will send his messenger into the world, by whom he hath created all things: and he will come from the South with power, and will destroy Idolaters, and take away from Satan the empire that he has over men, and will bring the mercy of God and salvation to those that shall believe him. Blessed are those that shall believe him.'

CHAPTER 97.

'I that am unworthy to loose his shoes have had the favour to see him.' The President, High Priest, and Herod said, 'Disturb not thyself, Jesus the saint of God, for in our time there will be no more sedition: for we will write to the holy senate of Rome, that by an imperial decree none may call thee God.' Jesus said, 'I am not comforted with this; for from whence ye hope for light, darkness will come. But my consolation is in the coming of the Messenger of God, who will destroy all false opinions concerning me; and his law shall run through the whole world; for so God promised our father Abraham.

[1] Dr. Monkhouse was Fellow of Queen's College from 1760 to 1780, and Vicar of Monk's Sherborne, near Basingstoke, from 1780 till his death in 1793. The manuscript is not in the possession of the College, and therefore presumably passed to his heirs.

And above all my comfort is, that his faith shall have no end, but shall be inviolable and preserved by God.' The High Priest said, 'Will any more prophets appear after the coming of the Messias?' Jesus answered, 'There will come no more true prophets sent by God: but there will come many false prophets, for which I grieve; because they will be stirred up by Satan, by the just judgement of God, and they will shelter themselves with my Gospel.' Herod said, 'How is it the just judgement of God, that such wicked men should come?' Jesus said, 'It is just that he who believes not the truth to his salvation should believe a lie to his condemnation; for the world despiseth the good and believeth the bad, as is seen in the time of Micheas and Jeremias: for every one loveth his like.' The High Priest said, 'What will the Messias be called, and how shall his coming and manner of life be known?' Jesus answered, 'The name of the Messenger of God is Admirable; for God himself gave it him after he had created his soul and placed it in celestial brightness. God said, Observe Mohammed, for I will for thy sake create paradise and the world with a great number of creatures, of which I make thee a present: so that whosoever shall bless thee shall be blessed, and whosoever shall curse thee shall be cursed. And when I shall send thee into the world I will send thee for my messenger of salvation, and thy words shall be true; so that heaven and earth shall fail, but they shall never fail in thy law. Mohammed is his blessed name.' Then the multitudes lift up their voices and said, 'Send us, O God, thy messenger; come presently, O Mohammed, for the salvation of the world.'

In the following quotations we have the full account of the crucifixion, and of the translation of Jesus.

CHAPTER 216.

Judas came near to the people with whom Jesus was; and when he heard the noise he entered into the house where the disciples slept. And God, seeing the fear and danger of his servant, ordered Gabriel and Michael and Rafael and Azrael to carry him out of the world. And they came in all haste, and bare him out of the window which looks towards the south. And they placed him in the third heaven, where he will remain blessing God, in the company of angels, till near the end of the world.

CHAPTER 217.

And Judas the traitor entered before the rest into the place from which Jesus had just been taken up. And the disciples were sleeping. And the wonderful God acted wonderfully, changing Judas into the same figure and speech with Jesus. We, believing that it was he, said

to him, 'Master, whom seekest thou?' And he said to them, smiling, 'Ye have forgotten yourselves, since ye do not know Judas Iscariot.' At this time the soldiery entered; and seeing Judas so like in every respect to Jesus, laid hands upon him, &c.

CHAPTER 218.

The soldiers afterwards took Judas, and bound him, notwithstanding he said with truth to them that he was not Jesus. And the soldiers mocked him, saying, 'Sir, do not be afraid; for we are come to make thee King of Israel: and we have bound thee, because we know thou hast refused the Kingdom.' And Judas said, 'Ye have lost your senses. I came to show you Jesus, that ye might take him; and ye have bound me, who am your guide.' The soldiers lost their patience, hearing this, and they began to go with him, striking and buffeting him, till they reached Jerusalem, &c., &c.

CHAPTER 219.

They carried him to Mount Calvary, where they executed criminals, and crucified him, stripping him naked for the greater ignominy. Then he did nothing but cry out, 'O my God, why hast thou forsaken me, that I should die unjustly, when the real malefactor hath escaped?'

I say in truth that he was so like in person, figure, and gesture to Jesus, that as many as knew him, believed firmly that it was he, except Peter: for which reason many left his doctrine, believing that it had been false; as he had said that he should not die till the end of the world [1]. But those who stood firm were oppressed with grief, seeing him die whom they understood to be Jesus; not recollecting what he had told them. And in company with his Mother they were present at his death, weeping continually. And by means of Joseph Abarimatheas, they obtained from the President the body of Judas. And they took him down from the cross, burying him with much lamentation in the new sepulchre of Joseph; having wrapped him up in linen and precious ointments.

CHAPTER 220.

They all returned each man to his house: and he who writeth, with James and John, went with the Mother of Jesus to Nazareth. And the

[1] The idea that another was substituted for Jesus on the cross is common to Mohammedans. Tabari gives the name Iosue to the person thus crucified. The Yezidis had a curious tradition that when Christ was on the Cross, the devil, in the form of a dervish, took him down whilst his disciples were absent, and carried him to heaven (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. iii, p. 503). The Gospel of Peter represents him as taken up immediately after saying, 'My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me,' but does not contain the idea of substitution. Both Toland and Sale note this thought among the early 'heretics.'

isciples who did not fear God with truth, went by night and stole ne body of Judas and hid it; spreading a report that he had risen gain, from whence sprung great confusion among the people. And ne High Priest commanded under pain of Anathema, that no one hould talk of him; and on this account raised a great persecution, anishing some, tormenting others, and even stoning some to death; ecause it was not in the power of any one to be silent on this subject. nd then came news to Nazareth, that Jesus had risen again. And he nat writeth desired the Mother of Jesus to leave off her lamentation. nd Mary said, 'Let us go to Jerusalem, to see if it is truth. If I see im, I shall die content.'

CHAPTER 221.

The Virgin returned to Jerusalem with him that writeth, and James nd John, the same day that the decree of the high priest came out. nd as she feared God, though she knew the command was unjust, she ntreated those who talked with her not to speak of her Son. Who an say how we were then affected? God, who knows the heart of nan, knows that between the grief for the death of Judas, whom we nderstood to be Jesus, and the pleasure of seeing him risen again, we lmost expired. And the angels who were the guardians of Mary went p to heaven the third day, and told Jesus what was passing. And he, noved with compassion for his Mother, entreated of God that he might e seen by his disciples. And the compassionate God ordered his four avourite angels to place him within his own house, and to guard him hree days: that they and they only might see him, who believed in his loctrine. Jesus descended, surrounded with light, into the house of is Mother: where were the two sisters, Martha and Mary, and Lazarus, nd he that writeth, and John and James, and Peter. And when they aw him, they fell with their faces on the earth, as if dead. And Jesus fted them up, saying, 'Fear not, for I am your Master. Lament not rom henceforth, for I am alive.' They were astonished at seeing Jesus, ecause they thought him dead. And Mary weeping said, 'Tell me, ny Son, why, if God gave thee power to raise up the dead, did he onsent that thou shouldest die, with so much reproach and shame to hy relations and friends, and so much hurt to thy doctrine, leaving us ll in desolation?' Jesus replied, embracing his Mother, 'Believe me, or I tell thee the truth, I have not been dead: for God has reserved ne for the end of the world.' In saying this he desired the Angels to nanifest themselves, and to tell how he had passed through everything. At the instant they appeared, like four suns: and all present prostrated hemselves on the ground, overcome by the presence of the Angels. And Jesus gave to all of them something to cover themselves with; that

they might be able to hear the Angels speak. And Jesus said to his Mother, 'These are the Ministers of God. Gabriel knows his secrets; Michael fights with his enemies; Asrafiel will cite all to judgement; and Azrael receives the souls.' And the holy Angels told how they had, by the command of God, taken up Jesus, and transformed Judas, that he might suffer the punishment which he wished to bring on Jesus. And he that writeth said, 'Is it lawful for me to ask of thee, in the same manner as when thou wast in the world?' And Jesus answered, 'Speak, Barnabas, what thou wishest.' And he said, 'I wish that thou wouldest tell me, how God, being so compassionate, could afflict us so much, in giving us to understand that thou wast he that suffered, for we have been very near dying. And thou being a prophet, why did he suffer thee to fall under disgrace by [apparently] placing thee on a cross, and between two robbers?' Jesus answered, 'Believe me, Barnabas, let the fault be ever so small, God chastiseth it with much punishment. And as my Mother and faithful disciples loved me with a little earthly love, God chastised that love by this grief: that he might not chastise it in the other world. And though I was innocent, yet as they called me God, and his Son; that the Devils might not mock me on the day of judgement, he has chosen that I should be mocked in this world. And this mocking shall last till the holy messenger of God shall come, who shall undeceive all believers.' And then he said, 'Just art thou, O God! and to thee only belongeth the honour and glory, with worship, for ever.'

CHAPTER 222 and last.

And then he said, 'See, Barnabas, that thou by all means write my Gospel, relating everything which has happened in the world concerning me; and let it be done exactly: in order that the faithful may be undeceived, knowing the truth.' He that writeth said, 'Master, I will do it as thou commandest me, God willing: but I did not see all that happened with Judas.' Jesus answered, 'Here stand Peter and John who saw it, and who will relate it to thee.' And he told James and John to call the seven Apostles who were absent, and Nicodemus, and Joseph Abarimatheas, and some of the seventy-two disciples. When they were come, they did eat with him; and on the third day he commanded them all to go to the Mount of Olives with his Mother: because he was to return to heaven. All the apostles and disciples wept, except twenty-five of the seventy-two, who had fled to Damascus, with fear. And exactly at midday, while they were all in prayer, Jesus came with many Angels (blessing God) with so much brightness that they all bent their faces to the ground. And Jesus raised them up, saying, 'Fear not your Master, who comes to take leave of you, and to recommend you to

God our Lord, by the mercies received from his bounty; and be He with you!' And upon this he disappeared with the Angels; all of us remaining amazed at the great brightness in which he left us.

Mr. B. H. Cowper says that extracts from this Gospel of Barnabas have been printed as important, but he gives no reference and possibly means only that which was given by Toland and La Monnoye. Perhaps he has in mind the inclusion of their extracts in the 'Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti' of J. A. Fabricius (part 3, Hamburg 1743, pp. 365-394).

As to the present whereabouts of the real or supposed Arabic original, and of the Spanish version, or versions, I have no information, but hope that the present note may lead to their discovery. I have ascertained that the Italian MS is now in the Imperial Library of Vienna with other books of Prince Eugene[1]. If a transcript of this MS were made it would be easy to decide as to its suitability for publication. Even if, on examination, it proves not to contain any vestige of ancient tradition, it is at least a curious piece of evidence as to the contact of Mohammedanism and Christianity, and especially for its picture of Jesus as viewed from the standpoint of Islam.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

A SUPPOSED READING OF DEUT. xxxii 39.

'Dominus Armachanus [*i. e.* Fitzralph] in [tractatu] de questionibus Armenorum, libro primo, cap. 12, dicit quod ubi textus noster habet, Ego occidam et ego uiuere faciam, ego percuciam et ego sanabo, quod carta legis Moysi quam Esdras manu sua scripsit, et que est Bononie, habet, Ego occidar et ego uiuere faciam, ego percutiar et ego sanabo; et dicit quod hanc literam corripuerunt Hebrei post passionem Christi nostri. et subdit post dominus Armachanus, "Quod autem uera litera debet esse passiua dixit maximus doctor Hebreorum factus Christianus, et coram multis probauit Bononie." patet igitur quod textus ille scripture Biblie quem nos habemus est defectuosus et corruptus.' *Determinationes Will. Wydforde contra Wiclevistas*, Bodl. MS. Digby 170, fol. 11. The *passive* form in this verse is not found in any MSS collated by Kennicott, nor in the Samaritan or Syriac versions in Walton's Polyglott, which were examined by Dr. Neubauer on my showing him this passage, Feb. 21, 1882. And the context by itself seems to prove it impossible.

W. D. MACRAY.

[1] In reply to my inquiry I received a courteous letter from Dr. Rudolf Beer which leaves no doubt as to the identity of the MS.

THE AGE OF THE BODLEIAN SYRIAC CODEX *DAWKINS* 3.

In the Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the Bodleian Library this MS is described as 'saeculi noni, valde vetustus.' Mr. Burkitt in his note *On the Gospel ῥήματα found in Syriac MSS*[1] expresses his assent to opinions I had quoted in *Studia Biblica* ii, that the MS is much older than the ninth century. He thinks, indeed, that it cannot have been written later than A.D. 550.

A century ago this codex was carefully collated by Richard Jones, of Wadham[2]. By a comparison of the handwriting with a specimen of the hand of the Vatican Tetraeuangelium of A.D. 548, he came to the conclusion that the Bodleian MS was either of the same century, or, at latest, of the seventh. Philip Pusey, who collated the greater part of the codex, has not recorded his opinion of its age, though he noted the unsatisfactory character of the text, which he found to be disfigured by mistakes of various kinds to a far greater extent than other MSS he had collated. As I was able to make use of the two collations, by Pusey and by R. Jones, I have not had occasion to devote much attention to the MS itself, but from my first inspection of it I inclined to an earlier date than that given in the Catalogue[3]. A recent careful examination has, I think, removed all doubt. At my request, Mr. Cowley had photographs of the writing taken, and these, with the assistance of Mr. G. Margoliouth, were compared with pages of a number of Syriac MSS in the British Museum, some dated, others of acknowledged antiquity. Our unanimous decision was in confirmation of Mr. Burkitt's opinion, which he had formed independently. Mr. Cowley was inclined to go a little further, and ascribe the MS to the beginning of the sixth century, in which case it will rival the antiquity of the Phillipps Tetraeuangelium[4]. A facsimile of this MS, which is now in the possession of the Royal Library, Berlin, is given in Sachau's Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in that Library. It is there ascribed to v–vi cent. The hand is certainly finer and better than that of *Dawk.* 3, but I am not prepared to say that there is much difference between them in point of antiquity.

It would be interesting to know where *Dawk.* 3 was copied, exhibiting, as it does, so many errors and unsupported readings. In the present defective state of the codex, colophons are wanting. The

[1] Journal of Theological Studies ii, April 1901, p. 431.

[2] *Textus Euangeliorum iuxta Edit. Schaaf. collatus c. duo. codd. MSS Bodl.* ed. R. Jones, Oxon. 1805.

[3] It is cod. 36 in *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum* ed. Pusey et Gwilliam.

[4] Pusey and Gwilliam's *cod.* 41.

imperfections of the text are not evidence against the early date; they may even be links of connexion with a period anterior to the time when the art of copying Peshitto MSS had reached the perfection displayed in the dated copies of the sixth century. The addition of the Canons and Harmonies does not imply a later period. It is true that, with the exception of the Phillipps MS, these accessories to the text are not found in copies of a date much earlier than A.D. 550; but then these copies are very few in number, and there is no reason why the system should not have been in use before the close of the fifth century.

It is hard to believe that 'saeculi noni' expresses Dr. Payne Smith's real opinion. I would suggest that he wrote '6th cent.' in his first rough notes. This, in transcription, might easily become '9th cent.,' and produce, in the Latin of the printed description, an error which, after the manner of its kind, came to stay. But however that may be, Oxford men may have the satisfaction of believing that the Bodleian possesses one of the oldest Syriac Biblical MSS in existence, and they will thank a distinguished member of the sister University for an opinion which has led to examination and correction of an erroneous date.

G. H. Gwilliam.

REVIEWS

A BOOK ON PRIMERS.

Horae B. Marie Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers, with kindred books and Primers of the reformed Roman use. By EDGAR HOSKINS, M.A., 8vo. (Longmans, 1901. Pp. liv + 577. Price 21*s.* net).

THIS is a monumental work, and Mr. Hoskins, no less than his readers, is to be congratulated on its completion.

Those who remember the chaos which prevailed in the sections headed '*Enchiridion*,' '*Horae*,' '*Orarium*,' and '*Prymers*,' which occupied about seven pages in Mr. F. H. Dickinson and Mr. C. J. Stewart's otherwise invaluable *List of Printed Service Books according to the Ancient Uses of the Anglican Church*, issued by Joseph Masters in 1850, can to some extent appreciate the amount of labour which has resulted in the orderly 'concise list' of *Horae*, &c., of Sarum and York Uses, which occupy pages xli–li of the volume now before us. Mr. Dickinson's list enumerated all the *copies* (315) known to him fifty years ago, while these eleven pages of Mr. Hoskins' book mention no less than 287 separate *editions* of Sarum printed Books of Hours, ranging from *circa* 1478 to 1825; also fifty-six editions of Roman *Horae*, provided for use in England, from 1571 to 1867 (counting those mentioned on pp. xxxi sqq.), and eight of York Use, *circa* 1510–56.

Of course several of the Sarum books are known only from unique copies, or in fragments; but wherever it is possible Mr. Hoskins gives a reference in another portion of his book to three distinct copies of each edition; and these are not always exhaustive of all the known copies, but (where it can be done) he refers to one at the British Museum, another at Oxford, and a third in the Cambridge University Library. Besides this, he gives at length the title-page of each edition, and 187 pages of indices (liturgical forms, hymns and rhythms, names and places, and general matter), besides lists of printers booksellers and place-names connected with the printing of the Books of Hours. Though there are fragments of six or seven of earlier date, the earliest complete copy of a full edition of the *Horae*, as used in England,

is Wynkyn de Worde's quarto, *circa* 1494, preserved at Lambeth and also at both our older universities.

The bulk of the volume is occupied with a detailed summary of the contents of the various editions, so far at least as is required to show the original outline of the book, and then, in successive stages, the accretions, noting the first appearance of any new feature, supplementary to the contents of previous editions. Thus, for instance, we see how early (1494) instruction was provided 'to answer the priest at mass'; how devotions at the tolling of the *Ave*-bell were introduced in the primer of 1511; a weather prognostication, according to the signs of the zodiac for each month, in 1521; the devotion before the 'image of Pity,' or representation of Christ showing His wounds and surrounded by the 'instruments of the Passion,' in 1494—for which devotion Sixtus IV (1471–84) is said to have doubled the already fabulous indulgence of 32,755 years of pardon. This picture, like that of 'the glorious Visage or vernacle of our Lord,' found in the printed book of 1510, and privileged by Pope John XXII (1410–15), may be traced in illuminated MSS anterior to the invention of printing, such as the *Horae* of English work *circa* 1440. Gerson's exhortations to the dying appear in the 16° *Horae*, c. 1528, with questions to be put to the penitent in mortal sickness. It might have been well here to refer to Caxton's *Ars moriendi* (c. 1491 in the Bodleian), which is a forerunner to this section of the *Horae*, just as the xv Oes of 1490–91, mentioned by Mr. Hoskins on p. 116, are the source of part of the larger book of 1494.

It may perhaps not be uninteresting to examine the material brought together by Mr. Hoskins in its bearing on the origin and growth of the emphasis 'on the practice of local reservation, as securing a fixed point of Divine Presence in the sanctuary.'

It is true that in Lydgate's *Merita Missae*, c. 1450, the layman is bidden, on entering church for mass, after taking holy water, to

'look to the High Altare
And pray to Him that hangeth there' (ll. 41–2).

But, so far as we have observed, the other fifteenth-century treatises in prose or verse, while giving other directions to young people or lay folk as to their behaviour, pass this over entirely, though they refer to elementary duties of exterior religion. And the like reticence is observable in the Sarum and York *Horae*, and even in the earliest Roman books provided for use in this country.

In a primer, printed in 1530–31, there are instructions 'to live and die well,' where the good man is bidden to 'abide in the churche the space of a low mass.' There is in these books abundance of directions as to devotion to the Image of Pity, the Image of Christ's Body (*ante imaginem Corporis Christi*, 1495), before the image of the Crucifix, 'on

passing the Crucifix' (York, 1516), and to the vernacle or Holy Face. Also in a primer of 1506 there is a prayer before the image of the Blessed Virgin, with an indulgence granted by Pope Sixtus IV. In that of 1510 there is a devout prayer to be said before the Image of St. Anne, Mary, and Jesus, to which an indulgence was attached (perhaps about 1383–6) by Raymund, the cardinal legate (presumably Raym. Pilgrim, canon of Lincoln and St. Paul's). Other prayers in the *Horae* are addressed 'to the saints in the church' (1530). In the book of 1528, on entering the church, the first ejaculation provided is to the church itself, '*Ave, sancta civitas*'; the next is '*Ave, Rex noster, ave, Fili David*'; the third is '*Avete, omnes sancti et electi Dei, quorum reliquiae*,' &c. The Latin and English primer of 1536 has the comprehensive phrase which had provoked Clement Maydeston's ridicule, '*quorum reliquie continentur in* uniuersali *ecclesia*.' (*Crede Michi*, § 157.) The second of the ejaculations just mentioned may have been connected in thought and practice with the Sacrament reserved in the pyx; but there is no direction to the reader so to connect it, in the manner of any rubric such as in other instances accompanies special prayers. And if it be intended to direct devotion to the reserved Sacrament, it is the only such prayer that we have noticed. A prayer with a somewhat similar opening (which Mr. Hoskins' index ought to have distinguished from it)[1] is in Cardinal Pole's prymer of 1555, without, apparently, any such special intention.

In 1528 we find '*Horae de Sacramento*': in 1536 (Bydell's) there is 'A Prayer to the Sacrament,' which comes first in this edition. But then in 1538 (no. 135) it is assigned for a devotion between the sacring and communion. The editions, generally speaking, provide prayers for use in *mass time*, 'at the levation,' such as '*Anima Christi*' (1494, 1538): '*Ave verum*' (1506, &c., including Marshall's prymer, 1536): '*In presentia sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis tui*' (1506). Even in the 'Hours,' set forth in 1539 by Bishop Hilsey, of Rochester, at the commandment of T. Cromwell, lord privy seal, among 'meditations to be said at the sacring,' the English rendering of '*Ave verum*' appears as 'a prayer to be said at the elevation time.'

Perhaps the earliest approach to later usages is the provision of '*Ave salus*,' in Q. Mary's time (1556). The 'Litany of the Most Antient Sacrament of the Eucharist' occurs first in 1627. We have before us a little Roman book of Hours for use in England, printed in 1633. It contains directions for a layman in 'the Manner how to Serve and Answer the Priest at Masse.' But there is in this book no appearance of the office of 'Benediction.' '*Tantum ergo*' occurs only as one verse

[1] There is yet a third *Ave Rex*, which is an antiphon at the third station in the Palm Sunday procession.

incidentally among others in the hymn for the annual Corpus Christi festival. In 1669 the Little Office of the Blessed Sacrament for Thursdays appears, for the first time, among the primers of the reformed Roman Use issued for this country. It is not until 1687 that 'the Hymn and Prayers that are sung at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament' are noticed in such books. As to Benediction, the remark of Grancolas that it is not so old an institution as one might suppose, should have some weight. See Abbé Pascal's *Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*, published for Migne, Paris, 1844, p. 556. There is a decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated 21 March, 1676, respecting the manner of blessing the people with the reserved Sacrament. Ten years earlier Nic. Pavillon issued in a Ritual for the diocese of Alet a section *De la bénédiction du S. Sacrament, qui se fait au soir, ou au salut* (ii 150–3). See also the commentary of Gavantus and Merati on the rubrics of the Roman Missal, iv, tit. xii 22 § 7. In the *Sacrarum Ceremoniarum Institutio* of Marcellus, Venice, 1582, there is but one representation of a monstrance, viz. for Corpus Christi, fo. 180: in two other places (ff. 157, 160) the Sacrament seems to be in a chalice completely hidden in a veiled *capsula* upon a *feretrum*. It is therefore not surprising that our mediaeval office books in England contain nothing at all corresponding to Benediction: but the monstrance (or 'ooster') 'was used when the Sacrament was carried solemnly in procession, which was done on Palm Sunday, Easter Day, and Corpus Christi Day, and occasionally at other times. It was made in various forms. Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, had "a sonne of silver and gilt for the Sacrament."' (J. T. Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric*, 1897, p. 37, Alcuin Soc.) The stem of the chalice at St. Martin's, Ludgate, has a curious history, as Mr. St. John Hope has shown. It left the silversmith's hands in 1507–8, and in 1535 was bequeathed by a parishioner as 'a pixe or monstre,' and in 1559–60 was converted into a large communion cup. Another form of monstrance was an 'image of our Saviour, silver and gilt, with a cross in hand, and open or void in the breast for the Sacrament for Easter,' such as appears in Lincoln Minster Inventories in the latter part of the fifteenth century and in 1536. There was in the same cathedral also a great silver pyx, and another, for carrying the Host at the Rogation processions, of crystal.

The Order for Procession on Corpus Christi Day appears in the *Roman* books, e.g. *Ordo Baptizandi et alia Sacramenta Administrandi ex Romanae Ecclesiae Ritu*, 8°, Venice, 1603, pp. 224–35, and *Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pont. Max. iussu editum*, 32°, Cologne, 1620, pp. 275–8. But the civil authority at that period would not have tolerated it in England. And I believe that the books printed at Douai

in 1604 and 1610 for the use of 'Popish Recusants' in this country do not contain the services in question. The earlier Processionals of Sarum (1502 &c.) and York (1530) had had Corpus Christi festival processions independent of one another, and of the Roman order, as to the arrangement of their parts, &c.

But to return to the primers. In the (Antwerp) *Horae*, 12°, 1599, are devotions '*In sprinkling of holy water*,' and '*Unto the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.* All hail, true Body,' and then '*A Prayer before Mass.*' So that the second of these may not improbably have been provided for general use (*extra celebrationem missae*); but such a practice is not specially inculcated in the rubrics.

Hymns from the Roman Breviary appear in the Roman books of 1571, 1573, and 1633 (16°, Rouen). The hymns, about thirty-five in number, are not named individually in Mr. Hoskins' book, nor does he give any details of the 'new and approved version of the church hymns throughout the year,' which appears in various editions of the Roman *horae* from about 1701. (See pp. xxxiv, 101–3, 376.) Some remarks by Prebendary H. Leigh Bennett on the hymns of the Roman Primers will be found in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (pp. 910 *b*–912); where also are the observations of Mr. J. C. Earle (*ibid.* 973–6).

Besides the more regular Primers of Sarum, York, and Reformed Roman Uses, Mr. Hoskins enumerates and describes those kindred books of devotion which are connected with the names of W. Marshall, Bishop Hilsey, J. Austin, Theophilus Dorrington, G. Wheler (the 'Protestant Monastery'), N. Spinckes, and T. Deacon, the Nonjuror.

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

THE MONTE CASSINO TEXT OF ST. BENEDICT'S RULE.

Regulae S. Benedicti Traditio Codicum MSS Casinensium a praestantissimo Teste usque repetita Codice Sangallensi 914. Cura et studio Monachorum in Archicoenobio Casinensi degentium. (Monte Cassino, 1900[1].)

From the middle of the eighth century to the close of the ninth, a copy of the Rule believed to be St. Benedict's autograph was preserved

[1] Previous contributions to the textual criticism of St. Benedict's Rule will often be referred to in what follows. The chief are :—

(1) *Regula S. P. Benedicti iuxta antiquissimos codices recognita* (Ratisbon, Pustet, 1880). The first attempt to deal seriously with the MSS. The beginning was made by Abbot Haneberg of St. Bonifaz, Munich, afterwards Bishop of Speyer; but he was unable to carry out the design, and handed over the materials to Dom

at Monte Cassino. In the year 787 Charles the Great visited the abbey and asked for a transcript of this MS. In the letter to Charles accompanying the transcript, Abbot Theodemar says: 'iuxta praeceptionem uestram en uobis regulam beati patris de ipso codice quem ille suis sanctis manibus exarauit transcriptam direximus[1].' This transcript became the normal-exemplar of the Rule for the circle of monasteries influenced by the movement associated with the names of Charles, Lewis the Pious, and Benedict of Aniane; and a definite group of Carolingian MSS can be traced back, directly or indirectly, to it. Thus a Reichenau MS (now St. Gall 914) written in the early years of the ninth century in St. Benedict of Aniane's monastery of Inde, near Aachen, is stated by the scribe to have been 'de illo transscripta exemplare quod ex ipso exemplatum est codice quem beatus pater sacris manibus suis exarare curauit[2].' Another MS (now Vienna 2232) contains a similar statement. Thus St. Gall 914 is separated from the Monte Cassino MS by only a single link—the copy made in 787 for Charles the Great. The scribe claims to have made his copy with extreme accuracy, so as to be 'sensibus et sillabis necnon etiam litteris a supradicto patre [Benedicto], ni fallimur, ordinatis minime carentem'; and he has entered in the margin a number of words and spellings from other copies 'a modernis correctis magistris[3].' Thus the text contains throughout a great number of readings and spellings which the marginal entries show the scribe to have recognised as grammatically incorrect. We may therefore have a well-grounded confidence that (in general) St. Gall 914 reproduces with minute fidelity the copy sent

Edmund Schmidt of Metten, who produced a text with an apparatus recording the readings of fifteen MSS of a date earlier than c. 1000. This was the first critical edition of the Rule; but it can be used only for rough work, the variants in lesser matters of spelling, &c., not being commonly recorded.

(2) *Benedicti Regula Monachorum.* Recensuit Ed. Wölfflin (Leipzig, Teubner, 1895). Wölfflin edited the Rule from three of the oldest MSS. His interests were primarily philological, and he regarded the Rule as a valuable specimen of the Lingua Vulgaris, or Low Latin, that was the vernacular in Italy in the fifth century. Consequently irregularities of grammar and spelling are preserved in the text.

(3) *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti.* Von Ludwig Traube. (From the Proceedings of the Royal Bavarian Academy, Munich, Franz, 1898.) This is not an edition of the Rule, but an attempt to lay down the lines along which the primitive text may be recovered. It would be impossible in a brief space to give any idea of the contents: the present reviewer did this in some measure in an article in the *Downside Review* of Dec., 1899. Here it is enough to say that vast stores of curious knowledge have been brought to bear on St. Benedict's Rule with the ripest and most refined scholarship. And even one who does not agree with all Dr. Traube's positions must feel that he has carried the inquiry far on towards its final settlement, and has laid a deep obligation upon all workers on the text of the Rule.

[1] Traube, 31. (For all such documents I shall merely refer to Traube.)

[2] Traube, 33.

[3] Ibid. 95.

to Charles from Monte Cassino. The marginal readings of the MS are for the most part derived from a type of text contained in some of the oldest of the extant MSS. The scribe declares them to be the handiwork of 'modern masters'; but Traube shows that they belong to a very old and widespread tradition of the text. It was the text known to Donatus of Besançon (c. 650), to Ven. Bede, to Chrodegang of Metz (750), to Paul Warnefrid in North Italy before he retired to Monte Cassino[1], to Theodulf of Orleans (before 800); the Oxford MS, written in England in the seventh or eighth century, contains it, as does the Verona MS, probably written in Burgundy about 800. In short, Traube's summing up is that this was the text in general circulation in Italy, France, England, Germany, up to the time of the Carolingian revival.

The chief MSS of this text are:—

O=Oxford Hatton 42 (see above).

V=Verona 52 (see above).

(S=St. Gall 916, written at St. Gall towards the end of the eighth century. This MS is enclosed in brackets, because a number of readings of the Carolingian type have been introduced.)

The chief descendants of Charles' MS are:—

A=St. Gall 914 (see above).

B=Vienna 2232, dating from the first years of the ninth century.

(T=Tegernsee, now Munich 19408, of same date. But in T there is a mixture of the other type of text.)

It will be convenient to state here that in what follows

C will be used to designate the lost Monte Cassino MS, believed to be St. Benedict's autograph, and

K, the lost copy of C made for Charles in 787.

The great body of MSS hitherto examined, even those dating from the late ninth or the tenth century, present mixed texts, combining in all sorts of proportions the two earliest traditions. It is evident that on the recovery of the two primaeval types of the text, and the correct interpretation of their character, origin, and relationship, will depend the recovery of the primitive text of St. Benedict's Rule.

From A, B (with T, and certain other of the 'mixed' MSS) it would be possible to reconstruct K with considerable surety. And the large *lingua vulgaris* element, which we know through A to have been present in K, shows that K was a careful copy of C; for the mistakes are of a kind that would not have been introduced by any Cassino scribe who, at the end of the eighth century, might have been chosen to execute an order for Charles the Great. Therefore in recovering K

[1] So Traube, 41; though a Salerno scribe writing c. 980 says the Comm. was written at Monte Cassino.

we may, with much confidence, feel that we have come very near to C. But as C was in the possession of the Monte Cassino community for a century and a half—from c. 745 till 896, when it was destroyed by fire at Teano, whither the monks had fled from the Saracens in 883—it is practically certain that K was not the only copy made from C. Nay, rather, as C was believed to be St. Benedict's autograph, many copies must have been made, and its text must have been the one learned by novices and used daily in choir, chapter, and refectory. So that even after its destruction, its text must have lived on both in copies and in the memory and traditions of the house: it is accordingly to be expected *a priori* that for the recovery of C we should have not only the Carolingian tradition derived through K, but also a Cassinese tradition going back to C by independent lines of descent. It is this last evidently important branch of the investigation that is dealt with in the handsome volume issued by the Monte Cassino Press for presentation to the Congress of Black Monk Abbots at Rome in November, 1900.

Dom Amelli, the claustral Prior and Archivist of Monte Cassino, had been collecting the materials for some years; and when Dom Morin was in residence at Monte Cassino in 1900, the immediate task of preparing the edition was entrusted to him. We cannot therefore be wrong in looking on it as a joint work of Morin and Amelli.

From what is to be said just now, it will appear that the Cassinese MSS would have been unintelligible and misleading unless confronted with a specimen of the Carolingian tradition; the text of this volume therefore consists of a diplomatic edition of A, page for page, line for line, punctuation, errors, corrections, marginal entries, all scrupulously reproduced; the only change is that the contractions have been expanded in italics. Thus we have an accurate reproduction of what is certainly the most important single MS of the Rule. In the apparatus are recorded the readings of twelve Monte Cassino MSS, nine of which represent the Cassinese tradition; and though the other three do not, they still are of sufficient interest to justify their presence. I shall follow Morin in speaking of the Cassinese MSS by the numbers they bear in the Catalogue of the Library.

By far the most important is 175. It is a copy of Paul Warnefrid's Commentary on St. Benedict's Rule; the MS was written about 925, while the Community was established in Capua for fear of the Saracens, and the sections of the Rule were intercalated in the Commentary. Although its text had been printed twenty years ago [1], and could be seen to be akin to that of the Carolingian group, still the edition could not be relied on for textual purposes, as the different hands and the cor-

[1] *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, tom. iv; also separately at Monte Cassino, 1880.

rections were not distinguished. Next in importance come two MSS of the Rule itself, written in the eleventh century (179 and 442). Six date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and contain the type of text that became the authorised text at Monte Cassino, edited in 1659 by Dom de Ferrariis, and in use there to this day[1].

The main question that arises for discussion in regard to the Cassinese MSS is whether they are derived from K, or go back independently to C: on this question depends their value for an editor of the Rule. Traube, in regard to 175 (the only one he mentions), maintained its descent from K. He does not base his view on textual considerations, but on the other contents of 175. The Rule and Commentary are followed by a collection of documents ('Capitula Ludovici,' &c.) which are known to have formed a sort of Carolingian monastic Corpus, at the head of which stood the Rule. This Corpus is found in a Benevento MS, and Traube supposes that Cass. 175 is a fusion of the Corpus with Paul Warnefrid's Commentary, and that the Rule intercalated in the latter (the other copies of which have no such accompanying text of the Rule) is the Carolingian text belonging to the Corpus of documents, and not a Cassinese text[2]. There is also a tenth-century Bobbio MS (now Turin G. V. 4, cf. Seebass, *N. Archiv* xix 217), which contained the Commentary and all the other pieces, exactly as in Cass. 175, but not the Rule. Seebass and Traube agree that the two MSS are derived, directly or mediately, from one and the same exemplar. Traube appears to postulate that in this exemplar the Rule stood between the Commentary and the other documents, and that the Bobbio scribe omitted it altogether, while the Cassinese scribe broke it up into sections and intercalated it in the Commentary—surely an unlikely and unnecessary theory. Far more probable is it that the Rule was not in the common ancestor nor in the copy whence 175 was made, and that the Cassinese scribe who, only thirty years after the destruction of C, intercalated the Rule into the Commentary, used one of their own copies. The present reviewer had challenged Traube's position[3], and now Morin arrives at the conclusion that 175 is independent of K[4]. The text of the Rule in the

[1] The text of the edition of 1659 was reprinted at Rome in 1895 (Desclée). It is to be noted that the *Textus Receptus* in general use claims to be 'iuxta exemplar Cassinense'; this must mean the official text of the Italian or Cassinese congregation, and not the special Monte Cassino text, from which it differs notably. The *Textus Receptus* is 'mixed,' modernised, commonplace, and (critically speaking) thoroughly bad. The best manual edition of the Rule is Schmidt's smaller (Ratisbon, 1892), which gives without apparatus the K text; but the Low Latin element has been largely conventionalised.

[2] Traube, 107–9.

[3] *Downside Review*, Dec. 1899, p. 233.

[4] Préface, x, xiv.

Benevento MS (now Barb. XI 64) would probably decide the question. Meanwhile after going through the whole of the apparatus very carefully, I believe Morin to be right, though I do not see that the conclusion can be strictly proved. For whilst 175 on the whole adheres to the type of text represented by A, still the scribe manifests a constant tendency to correct the grammar and spelling, and at times he gives readings characteristic of later types of mixed texts. I give one very clear instance of this. As a preliminary, the general canon may be laid down—that readings of K definitely attested by even one of the primary MSS of the other great group (by O or V) must be accepted as authentic and primitive. Now towards the beginning of c. ii (A f. 9*a*, l. 21), A B T read: 'Tantundem iterum erit ut si inquieto uel inoboedienti gregi,' &c.; this is the reading also of five other MSS used by Schmidt, and it is the reading of O V S, but with the substitution of *tantum* for *tantundem*. I admit that the meaning of the passage as thus read is by no means clear; but that it is what St. Benedict wrote is critically certain. The scribe of A records in the margin, as one of the 'modern' readings, that *liber* was inserted after *erit*; the word is found in four of Schmidt's MSS (another has *securus*), and in the *Textus Receptus*; it gives a perfectly clear and good meaning. But it is certainly a gloss, since it is not found in any one of the six chief MSS of the two primary groups. 'Liber' is, however, in Cass. 175 and in the other representatives of the Cassinese text. Here we have an evident case of a reading from a late type of text finding its way into 175; and numerous instances of the same phenomenon might be cited. Now a large proportion of the alterations and corrections of the later mixed texts are derived from the text represented by O V S; and in cases where any O V S readings appear in 175, there must always be a grave suspicion that they are due to interpolation and are not derived from C. Thus the combination O V S 175, against A B T, must not be taken as proof of an error in K. A still larger number of O V S readings and corrections of all kinds are found in Cass. 179 and 442, and more again in the later group; so that each stage of the Cassinese tradition exhibits progressive infiltrations of the O V S text into the genuine Cassinese text of C.

A second question arises: Are the other Cassinese MSS derived from 175, or from independent derivatives of C? The second hypothesis is intrinsically the more likely; but (if I understand him aright) Morin embraces the first[1]. Arguments may be adduced in support

[1] Préface, xiii. If the curious MS Cass. 449 (xiii–xiv cent.) could be shown to be of Cassinese origin, it would decide the question, and would itself become, in spite of its many corruptions, an invaluable help for reconstructing C. In a small number of cases it is the only known authority that agrees with A; but it must be borne in mind that Morin's apparatus deals only with the Cassinese MSS,

of each hypothesis. The following list of cases in which 175 originally agreed with A, but was corrected, while 179 and the other Cassinese MSS present the reading of 175 as corrected, may point to the supposition that they are derived from 175.

f. 1 *a*. *mihi sermo* A 175 : corr to *meus s*. 175 : *meus s*. 179 &c.
f. 29 *b*. *sabbatorum* A 175 : *rum* ras 175 : *sabbato* 179 &c.
f. 30 *b*. *matutinos* A : *matutinis* 175, *s* ras : *matutini* 179 &c.
f. 37 *b*. *cultellos suos* A 175 : *suos* ras 175 : om 179 &c.
f. 68 *b*. *eis* A 175 : *s* ras 175 : *ei* 179 &c.
f. 78 *a*. (l. 60) *et* A 175 : *et* ras 175 : om 179 &c.
f. 78 *b*. (l. 61) *sit* A 175 : *sit* ras 175 : om 179 &c.
f. 81 *b*. *debebit* A 175 : *bi* ras 175 : *debet* 179 &c.

Moreover, a number of marginal entries in 175 are found in the text of 179 &c. It is to be noted, however, that all such cases, as well as those just cited, are of the nature of obvious correction or of assimilation to other types of text, so that they might very well have been made independently in 175 and 179 &c. The omission of *sit*, however, on f. 78 *b* is, so far as can be judged from available evidence, peculiar to the Cassinese MSS. A curious form *ienua* for *genua*, found in 175, but not in A nor in 179, reappears in 442 ; this seems to suggest that 442 derived it from 175, unless indeed it be a sign that *ienua* stood in C, but was not reproduced by the scribe of K : Wordsworth and White's Cod. C of the Vulgate Gospels, a ninth-century Spanish MS (now Vat. 8484), frequently substitutes *g* for *i*, but I have not observed any instances of the opposite.

On the other hand, there are a number of cases in which 175 has corrected C, while 179 or 442 revert to the Low Latin readings, as found in A.

f. 6 *a*. *ad mensa* A : *ad mensam* 175 : *ad mensa* 179.
f. 29 *b*. *canticum qui* A : *qui* corr to *quod* 1ª m. 175 : *qui* 179, 442 &c.
f. 30 *b*. *a pentecosten* A : *a pentecoste* 175 : *a pentecosten* 179, 442.
f. 30 *b*. *usque caput* A : *usque in caput* 175 : *usque caput* 179, 442.
f. 48 *a*. *seruire* A : *seruiri* 175, 442 : *seruire* 179 [1].
f. 57 *b*. *qui sciat* A : *qui sciant* 175, 179 : *qui sciat* 442 [2].
f. 59 *a*. *usque in hora* A : *usque in horam* 175, 442 : *usque in hora* 179.
f. 68 *a*. *persistere petitionis* A : *petitioni* 175, 442 : *petitionis* 179.
f. 77 *b*. *superexaltet misericordia iudicio* A : *misericordiam* 175, 442 : *misericordia* 179 [2].

and that in the great majority of readings marked as peculiar to A and 449, there are non-Cassinese MSS that give the same reading, often B T O V or S. 449 seems to be an eccentric but interesting derivative of K.

[1] Grammar requires *seruiri* and *sciant*.

[2] I thought at first that a singularly telling instance was supplied by f. 32 *a* l. 13,

Again, 175, 179 and 442 alone of all MSS whose collations have been recorded read, in c. lxiv: 'quem . . . pars congregationis . . . elegerint'; but the first hand in 175 corrected *elegerint* to *elegerit*. The presence of *elegerint* in 179 and 442, in spite of the correction in 175, is most easily explained by the supposition that 179 and 442, as well as 175, go back to some lost copy of C. On the whole I incline to the view that the Cassinese MSS are derived from C by more than one line of descent.

What has been said in these pages will abundantly illustrate the discretion needful in the employment of the Cassinese evidence. Still it makes possible the reconstruction with considerable sureness of nearly all of C. Any reading of K supported by the authentic Cassinese tradition may be accepted with confidence as reproducing C: and, to come to the concrete, striking readings of A, especially peculiarities of spelling and grammar, which receive attestation from 175, 179, or 442, may, as a rule, be accepted. Still, in spite of the care with which it was written, there are mistakes in A: in f. 3 *a* l. 69 we find *iustiam*; and in a number of places interlinear corrections of such mistakes were inserted by the scribe himself.

After the reconstruction of C has been accomplished, the question will still remain: Was it really St. Benedict's autograph? This is evidently a matter of the utmost practical importance for the editor of the Rule. C was presented to Monte Cassino by Pope Zachary (741–752). This we learn from Paul Warnefrid, who was a monk of Monte Cassino from c. 780 to c. 800, during which period he composed his *History of the Lombards*. In that work (vi 40) he writes: 'Petronaci . . . Zacharias plura adiutoria contulit, libros sc. sanctae scripturae et alia quaeque quae ad utilitatem monasterii pertinent, insuper et regulam quam b. pater Benedictus suis sanctis manibus conscripsit paterna pietate concessit[1].' (Petronax was abbot of Monte Cassino from c. 717 to c. 750.) Thus at the middle of the eighth century C was regarded (presumably in the Papal Library) as being St. Benedict's autograph. In the article already referred to, I emphasised the fact that this is all we *know* concerning C, although a history has been constructed for it by recent writers, and with conspicuous care and ability by Traube. As, however, both Amelli in the Dedication and Morin in the Preface to the new work put forward without the slightest reserve or limitation the view that C really was in St. Benedict's handwriting,

where the apparatus means that while 175 and 442 have *kirie*, 179 and the rest preserve the archaic *quirie* of A. This, however, seemed so extraordinary in the case of the later Cass. MSS that I wrote to Dom Amelli. He replied that the apparatus here and in l. 18 is faulty, *quirie* not being found in either place in any of the Cass. MSS.

[1] Traube, 98.

it seems right once again to examine the evidence: for at a time when Benedictines are beginning painfully to divest themselves of certain myths relating to their earliest history, it would be regrettable were a new belief to gain currency that does not establish a solid claim to credence.

Paul Warnefrid, in his *History of the Lombards* (iv 17), tells us that when Monte Cassino was plundered by the Lombards in 581, the monks fled to Rome, 'secum codicem sanctae regulae quam praefatus pater [Ben.] composuerat et quaedam alia scripta . . . deferentes[1].' This statement is very commonly interpreted as meaning that the monks carried to Rome St. Benedict's autograph of the Rule. But the words themselves mean no more than 'a copy of St. Benedict's Rule.' To signify an autograph, we should require *quem* instead of *quam*, and some other word than *composuerat*. The circumstances of the case may make it likely that the codex was an autograph: but our one authority on the subject does not say that it was; and the contrast with his language when he does mean to say that C was an autograph ('suis sanctis manibus conscripsit') is very striking.

The real weak point, however, in the combination is the identification of the MS sent to Monte Cassino by Pope Zachary in c. 745 with the one carried to Rome in 581. It has to be borne in mind that (as is commonly accepted) the Monte Cassino community settled in Rome in a monastery attached to the Lateran Basilica; whereas, according to Paul Warnefrid's account, the restoration of Monte Cassino in 717 was effected by Petronax of Brescia and volunteers from all quarters. The place had been for more than a century a 'vasta solitudo,' uninhabited by man (*Hist. Langob.* vi 2 and 40)[2]. This shows that there can have been no tradition at Monte Cassino itself about an autograph of the Rule, or about anything else: it is to the Lateran community we must look for any primitive Cassinese traditions. It is true that Leo of Ostia in the *Chron. Casin.* says that Gregory II sent to Petronax some of the monks from the Lateran; and Grützmacher in his serviceable tractate *Die Bedeutung Benedikts von Nursia u. seiner Regel* (p. 66) connects this statement with that of the *Liber Pontificalis*, that in the reign of Gregory III (731–41) the Lateran monastery was 'ab omni ordine monastico destitutum,' owing (he suggests) to the monks having migrated to Monte Cassino in the previous pontificate. But when St. Willibald went to Monte Cassino in 729, 'non reperiebat ibi nisi paucos monachos et abbatem nomine Petronacem[3].' Leo's statement, first made after a lapse of four centuries, is very suspicious: the natural hankering after continuity might so easily have taken substantial form

[1] Traube, 98. [2] *Ibid.* 98.
[3] Vita S. Willibaldi 5 *init* (ed. in Mon. Germ. Hist. SS. XV i).

in a spurious tradition of the kind. No definite judgement can be passed until Leo's Chronicle has been investigated, and all its statements not referable to St. Gregory, or Paul Warnefrid, or other known sources have been isolated and their character examined. In any case there is nothing to show that the copy of the Rule came from the Lateran monastery; it was sent by the Pope, presumably from the Papal Library, thirty years after the restoration of Monte Cassino. Thus the Cassinese belief that it was the autograph dated only from c. 750, and was not an unbroken primitive tradition in the community. The only ground for accepting C as St. Benedict's autograph is the belief in the Papal Library at the middle of the eighth century, two hundred years after St. Benedict's death, that it was so.

If we be able to regard C not as the autograph, but merely as the best recoverable text of the Rule, the editor's hands are very much freed, but his responsibilities are increased. He will have to face the questions raised by the existence of the other old and widely attested variety of text, represented by O V S. This is the great outstanding problem. In many ways it is analogous to the problem of the so-called Western Text of the New Testament. For it receives the most numerous early attestation, and was in use in widely separated countries during the second and third centuries after St. Benedict's death: its characteristic feature is a series of trivial additions—single words and small phrases—which smooth the construction and ease the sense as compared with the text of C: it can only be tentatively restored from the extant materials, for (as in the case of Codex Bezae) its representatives contain a number of readings that do not really belong to the type of text itself: lastly, the question has been raised whether it does not represent St. Benedict's first redaction of the Rule, the other type being his later revision. Within certain limits I hold that this view, first put forward by Schmidt, has not been wholly disproved. I readily admit that in nearly all of the readings in the thirty selected passages which Traube discusses, he shows with varying degrees of cogency that the authentic text is on the whole to be found in C. But there are strong reasons for believing that O V S preserve only a very corrupt form of the type of text they represent, and that not nearly all their readings can be taken as really belonging to this branch of the textual tradition; for there are manifest corruptions common to O V S, of a kind that show them to be descended from a single vitiated ancestor[1]. It is my belief that the

[1] The following evidence may be adduced for the common parentage of O V S:

(1) In c. ix the words 'cantentur; duo responsoria sine gloria dicantur' are omitted in O V S.

(2) In c. xi, after 'Post quibus iterum,' O V S omit the words 'legantur aliae quatuor lectiones cum responsoriis suis ordine quo supra. post quibus'; so that though there were lessons in the first and third nocturns, none would be enjoined

problems presented by the dual text can hardly be satisfactorily solved, nor a definitive edition of the Rule produced, until this variety also has been edited in full by itself and confronted with C. But before this can be done the early Latin Rules based on St. Benedict's, and especially the *Regula Magistri*, must themselves be critically edited. Dr. H. Plenkers is preparing for the Vienna *Corpus* a re-edition of Holsten's *Codex Regularum*, which will include all these Rules as well as St. Benedict's. Meanwhile our thanks are due to Morin and Amelli for the valuable preliminary study they have supplied.

E. C. BUTLER.

in the second. (Wölfflin and Schmidt differ as to whether *iterum* is omitted or not.)

(3) In c. xliii O V S omit 'ita tamen ut satisfaciat reus ex hoc. ad mensam autem qui ante uersum non occurrerit.' (This I give on Schmidt's authority; Wölfflin does not record the omission in O or S: he does not use V.)

The list might be prolonged; but what has been adduced suffices to show that O V S are all three the offspring of a single much corrupted exemplar. It suffices also to show how frequently Schmidt and Wölfflin are in contradiction as to the readings of O T and S. Neither of them had seen O, and had to rely on collations which Dom Chapman declares to be sadly inadequate (*Revue Bén.* 1898, p. 504).

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

(1) VERY welcome to students of the Old Testament is the appearance of the first part of the long-expected third edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament.* Much sympathy will be felt for the veteran scholar who was prevented by a stroke from revising the work himself, a task which has fallen to Drs. Zimmern and Winckler. The changes are many and important in this new edition. Not only the Old Testament, but also the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, and the New Testament are taken into account. Moreover the arrangement of the work is altered, on the whole very much for the better. It no longer consists of notes, longer or shorter, attached to particular passages. The present part which represents Winckler's share of the work begins with short studies on the history of (1) Babylonia, (2) Mesopotamia and Assyria, (3) the neo-Babylonian Empire, (4) Hellenism, (5) 'Musri,' under which are collected all necessary notices of Arabia. Chapters entitled 'Staat und Verwaltung,' 'Geographie,' and 'Tel-Amarna' follow. Next comes a review of Israelite history from the 'mythical' period to Hadrian in the light of data supplied by ancient monuments. Here perhaps, as well as elsewhere, Dr. Winckler offers his reconstruction of history too confidently. All reference to Edom disappears from 2 Sam. viii, x, where the Syro-Ammonite War is described. In viii 5, 6 'of Damascus' is a gloss, and the Syrians mentioned are probably Syrians settled *west* of Jordan. Ver. 14 is only a doublet of ver. 6 with 'Edom' miswritten for 'Aram.' The 'Valley of Salt' (ver. 13) is the country west of Huleh (Huleh being the 'Salt Sea' of the O. T.), and the Massoretic Text of this verse is correct in designating the enemy defeated there as the 'Aramaeans' (Syrians). Dr. Winckler holds these views in spite of the fact that 'Edomites' is read by the LXX in 2 Sam. viii 13, by Massorets and LXX in 1 Chron. xviii 12, and by the Massorets in the heading to Ps. lx (the LXX omits the name of the defeated people). Dr. Winckler further believes that Ps. lx stood in illustration of these events 'in den

älteren Königsbüchern.' The new edition as a whole, however, is stimulating and most valuable in affording a compendium of 'monumental' illustration. What is said of Kush and Musri, of the Nabataeans, and of Zerubbabel is new and interesting. The part concludes with two important sections on Chronology and on Weights and Measures.

(2) Dr. Woosung Wade has written an Old Testament History of 530 pages, which is full of recent information and likely to be of use to many students. It begins with a discussion of the story of Creation and of the accounts of the Patriarchs, and ends with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Maccabean period being included in an 'Old Testament History' for the sake of the Book of Daniel. Dr. Wade keeps his eyes open to the evidence of the LXX, and shows himself well acquainted with modern reconstructions of the History of Israel.

(3) Mr. R. L. Ottley, in his *Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman period* (324 pages), has given us a concise narrative written in a good style and with sound judgement. The writer's standpoint as regards the earliest history of Israel may be gathered from a passage of the Preface: 'It is hard to say which is the greater mistake—to maintain, in face of the analogy presented by the early history of other nations, that the vivid narratives of the Pentateuch are literally, and in all their details, true to fact; or to assert that if they are not in the strict sense historical, they are therefore destitute of moral and spiritual value.' There are some blemishes such as the omission of the alternative account of Sisera's death given in Judg. v (pages 108–9), the confident designation of Mount Gilboa as the site of Gideon's camp (pp. 97, 110), and the statement that 'the temple was destroyed' in the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus (p. 248). The book, however, as a whole and for the purpose for which it is intended, is remarkably good.

(4) Part X of the Oxford *Hebrew and English Lexicon* appeared late in 1901, bringing the work as far as קִין. Several interesting roots (קרש—פרע—פסח—פלל—עשה) are included. The fundamental meaning of פלל is said to be 'to interpose,' so that the meaning of the *hithpael* is primarily 'to intercede,' while the sense 'to interpose' exactly suits the *piel* in such a passage as Ps. cvi 30 ('executed judgement,' A.V. and R.V.; 'prayed,' P.-B. V.). The difficult ויצפר of Judg. vii 3 ('Whosoever is fearful and trembling, *let him return and depart from Mount Gilead*,' ישב ויצפר מהר הגלעד) receives no help. Yet it is an obvious expedient in so hard a place to take צפר as a denominative verb from צִפּוֹר 'bird,' and to explain it as equivalent to the חרד כצפור which meets us in Hosea (xi 11 יֶחֶרְדוּ כְצִפּוֹר מִמִּצְרַיִם, 'they shall come trembling as a bird out of Egypt'). The meaning will then be, 'Let him return, taking his flight like a timid bird from Mount Gilead.' The bird (צפור) is a

symbol of readiness to flee (Ps. xi 1). The use of a denominative verb in the Kal need cause no misgiving. Such Kals are not infrequent.

(5) Dr. Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan* is indirectly a not unimportant contribution to the knowledge of the Old Testament. Dalman, in the course of a stay of fifteen months in Syria, devoted himself to collecting popular songs, of the town, of the country, and of the Bedouin. His first idea was to acquire material for the illustration of the Song of Songs, but the final result of his researches has been to give us a valuable 'Beitrag zur Volkskunde Palästinas.' The songs, which are given in transliteration with a German version added, relate to love, war, hunting, thieving, and other occupations of the people. Some are as short and simple as the song of the Well in Numbers (xxi 17, 18), others are thirty or forty lines long, and require some elucidation. This however the editor supplies.

(6) Dr. Kirkpatrick has completed his edition of the Psalms (Cambridge Bible) with a third volume containing Books IV and V.

The Introduction to the Psalter prefixed to volumes I and II has been revised and enlarged by two chapters, on 'The Psalter in the Christian Church' and on the 'Literature' of the Psalms, as well as by smaller additions. In the Commentary may be mentioned specially the interesting treatment of Ps. cix (though Dr. Kirkpatrick is perhaps wrong in refusing to take Dr. Taylor's view of the imprecatory passage), the Introduction to Ps. cx, the note on 'fearers of Jehovah' in cxv 11, and the notes on Ps. cxli.

(7) Friedrich Delitzsch, the Assyriologist, has published a new translation of Job into German with a brief philological commentary. The work was written on Spring evenings during a stay of some weeks at Constantinople, with no helps beyond an Old Testament, a Hebrew lexicon, and the sights of an Oriental city. The text is arranged in three sections, viz. (*a*) The popular tale, chs. i 1–ii 13 with xlii 7–17, (*b*) The poem of Job, chs. iii 1–xxxi 37 (omitting ch. xxviii) with xxxviii 1–xl 14 and xlii 2–6, (*c*) appendices, speeches of Elihu, and the rest of the book. One result, Dr. Delitzsch tells us, of his researches is the conviction that 'der Text des Buches Iob in sehr verlässiger Weise erhalten ist.' Consequently we are spared the re-writing of xix 25, 26, which has become common; we read simply:—

'I know: my avenger liveth,
    and will at the last arise by my dust,
And after I have been thus flayed
    and robbed of my flesh, shall I see God.'

The Philological Commentary is divided into a general and a special part. In the former are collected instances showing how peculiar the phraseology of Job is, and how strongly tinged with Aramaic is the

vocabulary; in the second, notes are attached to passages in their order (i. e. the order in which Delitzsch has re-arranged them). In this latter part many illustrations are given (as might be expected) from Assyrian. שָׁחִין (ii 7) is connected with Ass. *šahânu*, a synonym of *napâḫu* 'to rise' (cf. the sun); cf. זרח in 2 Chron. xxvi 19. יוֹצֵין אָרֶץ (iii 14) is compared with *bêl ṭêmi mati*.

(8) Dr. Holzinger has written on Joshua for the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*. The Introduction gives briefly and well a summary of the most recent views. A clear table accompanied with detailed notes gives Holzinger's scheme of the composition of the book. The Commentary on each chapter is headed by textual notes in which the Peshitta as well as the LXX is fully used. A good deal of attention is paid to Geography; Dr. Holzinger is inclined to accept a site near Dothan for the 'Waters of Merom.'

(9) The first volume of Isaiah (chs. i–xxxix), edited by W. E. Barnes, D.D., has appeared in Messrs. Methuen's *Churchman's Bible*.

(10) The late Dr. A. B. Davidson's Isaiah in the *Temple Bible* was issued a month after his lamented death. The notes are perhaps too brief, but the Introduction though also brief is a noteworthy piece of work. What view Dr. Davidson held as to the existence of a 'Trito-Isaiah' may be gathered from the remark (page xvii), 'Chaps. LVI–LXVI may presuppose a people settled in Judaea, in other words, a people partially returned from Exile.'

Among new editions should be mentioned:—

(*a*) The Old Testament in Greek, edited by H. B. Swete, D.D., vol. I, third edition.

(*b*) The Book of Psalms, with Introduction and Notes, by A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D., complete edition in one volume.

(*c*) Gesenius' hebr. Grammatik, bearb. von Kautzsch, 27te Auflage.

Among recent contributions to Old Testament Literature contained in periodicals the following may be mentioned:—

(*a*) Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

1901. II (pages 225–265). W. R. Arnold, *The Composition of Nahum* i–ii 3. The writer has 'recovered the authentic opening of the oracle of Nahum against Nineveh,' viz. i 11, 14 b with ii 2, 4 [1, 3 E.V.]. He prefixes the מלא of ver. 10 (read as הלא) to ver. 11, and the כה אמר יהוה of ver. 12 to ver. 14 b.

(pages 273–317) P. Kahle, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen Punktation*. This is a study of a third system of pointing resembling the 'Babylonian' in being supralinear, but varying considerably from it in the signs used. The system is found in those Biblical MSS which are written in shorthand, fragments of which were recovered from the

Cairo Genizah and are now deposited in the Bodleian and in the Cambridge University Library. Kahle gives considerable portions of some twenty chapters of Isaiah as a specimen of the newly discovered system.

(pages 337–340) B. Stade writes on the text of 2 Ki. viii 21–24. He conjectures that the passage has been altered so as to bear the opposite sense to that originally intended. His revised text may be translated thus:—'And Joram passed over to Zair (?) and all the chariots with him; and Edom arose by night and smote him and the captains of the chariots, and the people fled to their tents.' According to this Joram fell in battle, and the statement of ver. 24 that he slept with his fathers and was buried in Jerusalem is a later gloss brought in after the original text of ver. 21 has been already corrupted.

1902. I (pages 1–56). E. Liebmann begins a very full discussion of the text of Isa. xxiv–xxvii. The present instalment is taken up with the LXX.

(pages 83–113) B. Jacob writes an important article entitled *Das hebräische Sprachgut im Christlich-Palästinischen.* Twenty-three pages are devoted to a lexical concordance of words of Hebrew origin found in this literature.

(pages 129–158) R. Smend, *Zur Geschichte u. Topographie des Ostjordanlandes.* The writer (*a*) tries to fix the date of Judg. xi 12–28, having first encumbered himself with the theory that it is no part of the original story of Jephthah, (*b*) discusses and rejects the view recently revived by Wellhausen that the Jabbok is to be identified with the Yarmuk, (*c*) pronounces the identification of Ramath-Gilead with Miṣpe-Gilead to be probable, and (if they be distinct) the situation of both in the north-east of 'Ajlun to be certain.

(*b*) Theologische Literaturzeitung.

June 8. Marti, *Jesaja*; review by C. Steuernagel.

Aug. 17. Kraetzschmar, *Hesekiel*; review by C. Steuernagel.

Sept. 14, 28. Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde*; review by Bertholet.

Nov. 9. Benzinger, *Chronik*; review by Löhr.

Nov. 23. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus*; review by Volz.

1902, Jan. 4. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan*; review by Schwally.

Jan. 18. Diettrich, *Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter*; review by Schwally.

Feb. 1. G. A. Smith, *The Preaching of the Old Testament*; review by Volz. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*; review by Schürer.

March 1. Gunkel, *Genesis*; review by Bertholet. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*; review by Schürer.

(*c*) Critical Review.

July. Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde*; full and cautious notice by Dr. Eaton.

September. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (vol. III); review by the late Dr. A. B. Davidson. C. H. Toy, *Proverbs* (Intern. Crit. Comm.); review by Dr. G. A. Smith.

1902, January. Gunkel, *Genesis*; interesting review by Dr. Andrew Harper, of Sydney, N.S.W.

March. *The Present Position of Critical Opinion on the Book of Daniel*; communication by Mr. J. A. Selbie.

P.S. (*a*) Vols. II and III of Mr. C. H. W. Johns' *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* contain incidentally a great deal of firsthand archaeological matter for the elucidation of the Old Testament. His general Introduction (vol. II, pp. 1–291) deals with such matters as the formal and external characteristics of the tablets themselves (dating, witnessing, Aramaic dockets, &c.), the officials mentioned on them (a great variety), and metrology (numeration, measures of length and of weight, money). Mr. Johns does not find evidence in his deeds to prove that in Assyria the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth of the month were observed (as some have thought) as 'Sabbaths' by a marked abstinence from secular business. The nineteenth however does seem to have been a Sabbath of this kind. Among the officers mentioned (to pass over the better known ones) we find *abarakku* (*abrech*, Gen. XLI 43?), *šalšu* (*cf.* שָׁלִישׁ), and *ḫazânu* (*cf.* חזן in Rabbinic). Mr. Johns has an interesting discussion on the question whether the Assyrians had coins; he warns us against answering the question in the negative simply because none have hitherto been found. *Deeds and Documents* is a valuable book, written with true scholarly reserve.

(*b*) *Babel und Bibel* is a lecture (pp. 52) delivered by Friedrich Delitzsch before the Kaiser. It contains fifty illustrations, one of which represents the Fall, if we may accept Dr. Delitzsch's tentative identification.

W. E. B.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) English.

Church Quarterly Review, January 1902 (Vol. liii, No. 106: Spottiswoode & Co.). English Coronations, Part I—The Lay Franchise—The Mediaeval Frankish Monarchy—John Wesley's Journal—The Mycenaean Age—Fouché—Christianity and Humanism—A Wandering Scholar of the Renaissance—Canon Carter of Clewer—The Holy Eucharist: an Historical Inquiry, Part III—The Church and Education—Short notices.

Jewish Quarterly Review, January 1902 (Vol. xiv, No. 54: Macmillan & Co.). S. Schechter Saadyana. Second Article, including also Documents bearing upon other Heads of the School of Sura—H. S. Q. Henriques The Jews and the English Law, III—M. Friedländer The 'Pauline' Emancipation from the Law a Product of the Pre-Christian Jewish Diaspora—G. Margoliouth Some British Museum Genizah Texts—I. Abrahams Recent Criticism of the Letter of Aristeas—J. Marquart The Genealogies of Benjamin—A. Cowley Note on *J.Q.R.*, xiv, pp. 26 sq.—L. Abrahams Two Jews before the Privy Council and an English Law Court in 1614–15—S. Krauss Der Römisch-Persische Krieg in der Jüdischen Elia-Apocalypse—Critical Notices: (1) H. Snowman 'The Jewish Encyclopedia'; (2) H. Hirschfeld Maclean's 'Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac'—H. Hirschfeld Descriptive Catalogue of Hebrew MSS of the Montefiore Library, II.

The Expositor, January 1902 (Sixth Series, No. 25: Hodder & Stoughton). E. C. Selwyn Dialogues on the Christian Prophets—W. M. Ramsay The Jews in the Graeco-Asiatic Cities, I—A. E. Garvie Studies in the 'Inner Life' of Jesus; I. Introductory—J. H. Bernard The Baptismal Formula—W. H. Bennett The New Testament and Jewish Literature—G. A. Chadwick Some Proper Names—G. Milligan The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus, I.

February 1902 (Sixth Series, No. 26). F. W. Farrar The

Minor Prophets—W. M. RAMSAY The Jews in the Graeco-Asiatic Cities, II—E. C. SELWYN Dialogues on the Christian Prophets, II—A. E. GARVIE Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus; II, The Virgin-Birth—W. H. BENNETT The New Testament and Jewish Literature, II—G. MILLIGAN The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus, II—(The late) D. H. WEIR Notes on the Text of the Psalms.

March 1902 (Sixth Series, No. 27). J. Y. SIMPSON Professor A. B. Davidson—(The late) A. B. DAVIDSON Jacob at Peniel—J. RENDEL HARRIS A curious Bezan Reading vindicated—E. C. SELWYN Dialogues on the Christian Prophets, III—A. CARR The Twelve Legions of Angels in the Valley of Jehoshaphat—B. WHITEFOORD The Christian 'Nil Desperandum'—G. BUCHANAN GRAY The Lists of the Twelve Tribes.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1902 (Vol. vi, No. 1: Chicago University Press). G. M. GRANT The Outlook of the Twentieth Century in Theology—A. MILLARD Nathanael Emmons—G. B. STEVENS Horace Bushnell and Albrecht Ritschl: a Comparison—S. K. VATRALSKY Mohammedan Gnosticism in America: the Origin, History, Character, and Esoteric Doctrines of the Truth-knowers—Critical Notes: (1) K. LAKE The Text of the Gospels in Alexandria: (2) H. GOODWIN SMITH The Beliefs of the American Indians—Recent Theological Literature.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, January 1902 (Vol. xiii, No. 49: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co.). G. VOS The Scriptural Doctrine of the Love of God—E. H. GRIFFIN Two Types of Naturalism—B. B. WARFIELD The Printing of the Westminster Confession—W. J. BEECHER Dr. McCurdy's Israel and the Nations—M. LEITCH Prof. G. Adam Smith on Criticism and the Old Testament—K. D. MACMILLAN Gunkel on the Legends of Genesis—H. C. MINTON Ritschl's great Work in English—Recent Theological Literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Biblique, January 1902 (Vol. xi, No. 1: Paris, V. Lecoffre, for the School of the Convent of St. Stephen at Jerusalem). M. J. LAGRANGE Introduction au livre des Juges—H. VINCENT La deuxième enceinte de Jérusalem—L. HACKSPILL Études sur le milieu religieux et intellectuel contemporain du Nouveau Testament—Mélanges: F. THIEN Analyse de l'épître aux Hébreux; A. JAUSSEN Les tribus arabes à l'est du Jourdain; M. J. LAGRANGE Notes d'épigraphie sémitique—

Chronique : Compléments de la mosaïque d'Orphée ; Ossuaires judéo-grecs ; A propos d'une inscription de Mâdaba—Recensions—Bulletin.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, January 1902 (Vol. iii, No. 1 : Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). C. CALLEWAERT Les premiers chrétiens furent-ils persécutés par édits généraux ou par mesures de police ? II. L'origine de la législation persécutrice. Confirmation des données de Tertullien par l'examen des autres sources—L. DUCHESNE Le faux concile de Cologne (346)—Mélanges : G. MORIN Pour l'authenticité du traité sur la Vision d'Isaïe, récemment publié sous le nom de S. Jérôme ; A. C. DE SCHREVEL Remi Drieux, évêque de Bruges, et les troubles des Pays-Bas. Les Conférences de Bréda. La Pacification de Gand. (*suite*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

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Analecta Bollandiana, 1901 (Vol. xx, No. 4 : Brussels, 14 Rue des Ursulines). Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae publicae Duacensis : Appendices. Passio metrica S. Vincentii diaconi ; Miracula S. Theodorici ; Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis ; Miraculum S. Nicolai Leodiense ; Vita S. Killiani confessoris Albiniacensis ; De tribus sollemnitatibus S. Jacobi apostoli ; Miracula S. Rictrudis ; Miracula S. Eusebiae ; De Vita metrica S. Eusebiae ; Carmen Johannis monachi Elnonensis ad Erluinum Cameracensem episcopum ; Inventio sanctorum patriarcharum Abraham, Isaac et Jacob ; Translatio S. Neoti —Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—U. CHEVALIER Supplementum ad Repertorium hymnologicum (*Imbriferis arcus—Insignem Pauli*).

Revue Bénédictine, January 1902 (Vol. xix, No. 1 : Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN L'année liturgique à Aquilée antérieurement à l'époque carolingienne d'après le Codex Evangeliorum Rehdigeranus—J. CHAPMAN La chronologie des premières listes épiscopales de Rome, II—U. BERLIÈRE Les chapitres généraux de l'ordre de St.-Benoît, II : Provinces de Mayence-Bamberg et de Salzbourg, les Écossais d'Allemagne—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—Bibliographie.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, January–February 1902 (Vol. vii, No. 1: Paris, 74, Boulevard saint-Germain). A. BOUDINHON La *Missa Paenitentium* dans l'ancienne discipline d'Occident—H. COCHIN Le frère de Pétrarque et le livre du *Repos des Religieux*, IV—P. FOURNIER Études sur les pénitentiels: (2) Le pénitentiel Vallicellanum secundum—Essais et notices: P. LEJAY Saint-Bénigne de Dijon.

March–April 1902 (Vol. vii, No. 2). J. LABOURT Le christianisme dans l'empire des Perses: (1) Histoire extérieure—P. FOURNIER Etudes sur les pénitentiels: (3) Le pénitentiel Casinense—J. TURMEL Le dogme du péché originel dans saint Augustin; Pendant la controverse pélagienne: (2) Essence et propagation du péché originel—G. MORIN Origine de la formule pseudo-augustinienne 'In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas'—H. COCHIN Le Frère de Pétrarque: Note chronologique—A. LOISY Chronique biblique: (5) Histoire des origines chrétiennes (*suite*); (6) Religion d'Israël et théologie biblique—C. MICHEL Religion des peuples classiques avant le christianisme: (6) Religion romaine, (7) Superstitions des peuples classiques—P. LEJAY Ancienne philologie chrétienne: (16) Les symboles; (17) La liturgie, (*a*) Généralités, (*b*) Liturgies orientales.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift, 1902 (Vol. lxxxiv, No. 1: München, H. Kitz). VAN BEBBER Der Teich Bethesda und die Gottheit Jesu—FUNK Zur Didache, der Frage nach der Grundschrift und ihren Recensionen—SÄGMÜLLER Die Konstantinische Schenkung im Investiturstreit—ROHR Gelasius I und der Primat—Reviews—Analecta.

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, November 1901 (Vol. xi, No. 6: Tübingen and Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr). T. H. STEINMANN Die Frage nach Gott—DREWS Die freien religiösen Gemeinden der Gegenwart.

February 1902 (Vol. xii, No. 1). M. REISCHLE Wissenschaftliche Entwicklungserforschung und evolutionistische Weltanschauung in ihrem Verhältnis zum Christentum—E. TROELTSCH Grundprobleme der Ethik.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, December 1901 (Vol. ii, No. 4: Giessen, J. Ricker). O. HOLTZMANN Der Messiasglaube Jesu—F. C. CONYBEARE The Eusebian Form of the Text Matt. xxviii 19—P. CORSSEN Die Töchter des Philippus—J. A. CRAMER Die Logosstellen in Justins Apologien kritisch untersucht—W. R. PATON Die Kreuzigung Jesu—A. DEISSMANN Anathema—Miscellanea: G. KLEIN Predigt des Johannes. Hillel. Hosanna in der Höhe. '*Kinder*' oder '*Werke*,' Matt. xi 19, Luc. vii 35: E. NESTLE Zum Vaterunser von Megara—Bibliography.

February 1902 (Vol. iii, No. 1). A. DIETERICH Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande—J. KREYENBÜHL Der Ort der Verurteilung Jesu—W. BOUSSET Die Beziehungen der ältesten jüdischen Sibylle zur chaldäischen Sibylle und einige weitere Beobachtungen über den synkretistischen Charakter der spätjüdischen Litteratur—H. HOLTZMANN Unordnungen und Umordnungen im vierten Evangelium—P. CORSSEN Das Todesjahr Polykarps—Miscellanea: A. HARNACK Zu Röm. i 7: E. NESTLE Ein syrisches Bruchstück aus dem Protevangelium Jacobi, Der heilige Geist als Tragöde.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, December 1901 (Vol. xxii, No. 4: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). MARKGRAF Clemens von Alexandrien als asketischer Schriftsteller in seiner Stellung zu den natürlichen Lebensgütern—HESSEL Cluny und Macon. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Exemtionsprivilegien—GOETZ Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi, Part I (*concluded*)—PFLUGK-HARTTUNG Die Wahl des letzten kaiserlichen Gegenpapstes (Nikolaus V. 1328)—WATERSTRAAT Der Caminer Bistumsstreit im Reformationszeitalter, I—Analecta: CLEMEN Ein interessanter Ablassbrief: EICHHORN Amsdorfiana aus dem Codex chartaceus Nr. 43 der Dorpater Universitätsbibliothek: SCHMIDT Ein ungedruckter Brief Luthers.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, January 1902 (Vol. xlv, No. 1: Leipzig, O. R. Reisland). (The late) J. BOEHMER Die Grundgedanken der Predigt Hosea's—G. HOENNICKE Die sittlichen Anschauungen des Hebräerbriefes—F. GÖRRES Das spanisch-westgotische Episkopat und das römische Papsttum (586–680)—J. DRÄSEKE Zu den Sentenzen Peter Abälard's—F. BÜNGER Lehre des Petrus Lombardus vom Werke Christi—A. HILGENFELD Die Verwerfung Jesu in Nazaret—Reviews: A. H(ILGENFELD) Holtzmann, Die Synoptiker: J. DRÄSEKE Pfeilschifter, Die authentische Ausgabe der Evangelien-Homilien Gregors d. Gr.; Heisenberg, Analecta 1901.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1902 (No. 2: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). CLEMEN Die Auffassung des Alten Testaments bei Paulus—WIEGAND Ein Vorläufer des Paulushomiliars—RYSSEL Die neuen hebräischen Fragmente des Buches Jesus Sirach und ihre Herkunft, II—Notes: KOHLER Ueber den Einfluss der Wartburg-Postille Luthers auf die Postille des Antonius Corvinus: Die Auffindung des Thronsaals Nebukadnezars—Reviews: ROTHSTEIN Sellin's Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil: KÖSTLIN Luthers Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung und ihrem inneren Zusammenhange.

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Philosophie—W. Schmidt Ethische Fragen: (7) Die buddhistische und die christliche Ethik—König Mené, mené, tekél upharsin—Couard Die messianische Erwartung in den alttestamentlichen Apokryphen—Winter Der Erfolg der Predigt. Eine Frage erwogen im Lichte ihrer frühesten Beantwortung.

January 1902 (Vol. xiii, No. 1). K. v. Burger Kirchliche Tagesfragen—Klostermann Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs—M. von Nathusius Die kirchliche Aufgabe in Bezug auf die Arbeiterbewegung, I—R. Steinmetz Zusammenhang von Taufe und Wiedergeburt, I.

February 1902 (Vol. xiii, No. 2). Ihmels Die Aufgabe der Dogmatik im Licht ihrer Geschichte—M. von Nathusius Die kirchliche Aufgabe in Bezug auf die Arbeiterbewegung (*concluded*)—Haussleiter Novatians Predigt über die Kundschafter (Num. xiii) in direkter Überlieferung und in einer Bearbeitung des Cäsarius von Arles—R. Steinmetz Zusammenhang von Taufe und Wiedergeburt, II.

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THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

ONE of the most interesting of the problems which still perplex historians of the Creeds is the question of the origin of the *Textus Receptus* of the Apostles' Creed. From the eighth century this form began to supersede all others as the Baptismal Creed of the Western Church. It is familiar as the form which we use in Morning and Evening Prayer. But the Creed of our Baptismal Office has two interesting variant readings which point us back to days when uniformity in such details was unheard of. The term 'only begotten' is probably a translation of *unigenitum* which is found in place of *unicum* in many old forms, though in this case its substitution for 'only' may be a reminiscence of the Nicene Creed. The addition of the words 'after death' to the term 'everlasting life' comes to us through the Salisbury Manual (A. D. 1543) from an ancient source which is still obscure. We shall come upon both of these readings in creeds of the Gallican Sacramentary[1]. For practical purposes, however, we may regard our Baptismal Creed as identical with the form quoted as the *Textus Receptus* of the Western Church.

This *Textus Receptus* is an enlarged form of the Old Roman Creed which has been traced back to the early years of the second century. I will print the two forms side by side, and shall refer to them under the symbols T (= *Textus Receptus*) and R (= Old Roman Creed).

[1] The reading (*shall come*) *again at the end of the world* has a parallel in the creed of the Apostolic Constitutions (vii 41).

R.	T.
1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.	1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem *creatorem caeli et terrae*.
2. Et in Christum Iesum, Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,	2. Et in [Iesum Christum] Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,
3. qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine,	3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
4. qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus,	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus, *descendit ad inferna*,
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,	5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit in caelos,	6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sedet ad dexteram Patris	7. sedet ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*,
8. unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.	8. *inde* uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. Et in Spiritum sanctum,	9. *Credo* in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam,	10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam, sanctorum communionem*,
11. remissionem peccatorum,	11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem.	12. carnis resurrectionem *et uitam aeternam*.

In a recent number of the JOURNAL (Oct. 1901) Dr. Sanday quoted the view of Dr. Kattenbusch that T was in use in the Church of Burgundy (Vienne or Lyons) possibly from the end of the fifth century [1]. Dr. Sanday, however, expressed his agreement with the older view which would connect the origin of T with some literary centre, such as the School of Lérins, among whose disciples Faustus of Riez and Caesarius of Arles quote some of its characteristic peculiarities. Another theory of origin has been put forward by Dr. Hahn [2], who suggests that we should look to some church of North Italy for the completion of the form.

[1] *Das apostolische Symbol*, ii p. 793.

[2] *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 29, n. 20. Prof. Sanday (*J. T. S.* iii p. 13) is mistaken in quoting him as suggesting that T had its origin in Rome.

In my *Introduction to the Creeds* I ventured to put forward yet another theory—that T is the Old Roman Creed revised in Rome itself. I will now endeavour to maintain that theory against the criticism with which it has met. But I am more concerned to state the evidence as fully as possible, since it is difficult to procure, and by so doing I may benefit even those who disagree with me.

The fixed point of our investigation is the occurrence of the Creed in a treatise by Pirminius, a celebrated missionary of the eighth century. His treatise *Dicta Abbatis Pirminii de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*, is only found in one MS (Cod. Einsiedeln 199) of the eighth century. It contains three quotations of the Creed in different contexts, the first narrating the legend of the Apostolic origin and assigning each clause to an Apostle, the second in an account of the service of Baptism, the third in a summary of the teaching given on Faith and Morals.

The second is the most important, and it is not to be denied that Pirminius is here dependent on an earlier work by Martin of Bracara. But he deliberately alters both the form of Renunciation and the form of Creed. He quotes the Roman form of Renunciation, and introduces a reference to the Roman prayer of Unction. Moreover he speaks of the act of Baptism as following immediately after the recitation of the Creed, which was distinctively a Roman custom. In the Gallican services an interval was allowed to elapse. I am willing to admit that Pirminius does not attempt to give a formal account of the service, and that the latter indication of the Roman character of the service which he has in his mind, carrying with it the suggestion that it was the Roman form of creed which he quoted, is not decisive by itself. But I hold that the cumulative argument is strong, and offers an hypothesis which will explain all the known facts about the documents in which the Received Text appears before 800. I will indicate by thick type the words quoted from Martin.

Dicta abbatis Pirminii, c 12[1]:

Ideo, fratres, ad memoriam uestram reducimus **qualem pactum in ipso baptistirio cum deo fecimus, v. g.** cum interrogati **singuli nomen** nostrum **a sacerdote** fuimus, quomodo diciremus[2], **re-**

[1] Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, i p. 160. I have reprinted Caspari's text with the errors of the MS.

[2] The true reading is obviously 'diceremur.'

spondisti aut tu, si iam poteras respondere, aut certe qui pro te fidem fecit, qui te de fontem suscepit, et dixit: Iohannis dicitur, aut aliut nomen. **Et interrogauit sacerdus: Iohannis, abrenuncias diabulo et omnibus operibus eius** *et omnibus pompis eius?* **Respondisti: Abrenuntio,** hoc est despitio et derelinquo omnia opera mala et diabolica. **Post ista abrenuntiatione diabuli** et omnibus operibus eius, et **interrogatus es a sacerdote:** *Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae?* Et respondisti: *Credo.* Et iterum: *Credis et in Iesu Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus mortuos et sepultos, discendit ad inferna, tertia die surrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos, sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuus?* Et respondisti: *Credo.* Et tertio interrogauit sacerdos: *Credis et*[1] *in spiritu sancto, sancta aecclesia catholica, sanctorum communione, remissione peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, uitam eternam.* **Respondisti** aut tu, aut patrinus pro te: **Credo. Ecce pactio qualis** et promissio uel confessio uestra apud deum tenetur. Et credens baptizatus es in nomine patris et filii et spiritui sancto in remissione omnium peccatorum, et unctus es a sacerdote crisma salutis in uitam eternam, et induit corpus tuum ueste candita . . .'

To point the contrast between Martin's form of Renunciation and that of Pirminius, I will quote them in parallel columns with other Gallican forms.

Martin † 580.	Eligius of Noyon † 659.
Promisistis uos abrenuntiare diabolo et angelis eius et omnibus operibus eius malis.	Abrenuntiastis enim diabolo et pompis et operibus eius.
Miss. Gallic.	*Sacr. Gallic.*
Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis saeculi, et uoluptatibus eius?	Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis eius, luxuriis suis, saeculo huic?
Pirminius.	Roman rite (*Sacr. Gelas.* and *Greg.*)
Abrenuntias diabolo et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius?	Abrenuntias Satanae et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius?

[1] I insert *et*, which is omitted by Caspari, from a photograph.

In the Roman rite the newly baptized were presented to a priest who anointed them with perfumed oil, saying:

'Deus omnipotens, Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum, ipse te linit *chrismate salutis in uitam aeternam.*'

It can scarcely be doubted that Pirminius had the words of this prayer which I have printed in italics, when he wrote: *unctus es a sacerdote crisma*[1] *salutis in uitam aeternam.*

The prayer in the Gallican Sacramentary is as follows:

'Deus Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit per aquam et Spiritum sanctum, quique tibi dedit remissionem peccatorum per lauacrum regenerationis et sanguinem, ipse te liniat chrismate suo sancto in uitam aeternam. . . .'

Very little is known about Pirminius. He was probably an Irish monk[2], who came through Neustria into Germany, and is best known as the founder of Reichenau Abbey. Driven thence he founded other monasteries in Bavaria and in Alsace, where he ended his days in the Abbey of Hornbach. He was a friend of Boniface, who is said to have visited him at Hornbach before starting on his last missionary journey. As Kattenbusch has clearly shown, there is no evidence in the writings of Boniface as to the form of Creed which he used. But the following passage from instructions sent to him by Pope Gregory II is important: 'Disciplinam sacramenti, quam ad initiandos deo praeuio credituros tenere studes, ex formula officiorum sanctae nostrae sedis apostolicae instructionis tuae gratia praelibata uolumus ut intendas[3].' This plainly points to the use of an official Roman Order of Baptism, which would carry with it the use of the Roman form of Creed. From the analogy of the creed used by Pirminius we may conjecture that Boniface also used T. I venture to think that we can trace the use of T along the line of the missionary journeys of Pirminius and Boniface[4] before Charles the Great made enquiries as to the forms of Creed used in the Empire.

[1] The form chrisma is found in *Miss. Gallic.* as a noun of the first declension, *ed.* Mabillon, p. 363.

[2] See *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. ii 1, 1894.

[3] *Ep.* i; Migne, P. L. lxxxix 496.

[4] Reichenau, *Cod. Augiensis* cxcv *saec* viii (now at Karlsruhe), and the Freising MS *Cod. Lat. Monacensis* 6298 quoted below.

The king's first set of questions was issued in 789. The replies of the Bishops showed that there was no agreement among them as to the form of Creed. For our present purpose the most important answer was that of Amalarius of Trèves. The form which he quoted was certainly T, though being embedded in a short commentary one or two clauses are inexactly quoted Thus he makes no mention of the Holy Spirit in clause 3, though it is incredible that the words were not found in his Creed. And he stated definitely that he used the Roman Order: 'In scrutinio quippe facimus signum crucis super pueros, sicut inuenimus scriptum in romano ordine, et genuflexionem et adiurationem, et docemus orationem dominicam patrinos etc. Similiter docemus symbolum [1].'

In 813 Charles, who was now Emperor, summoned five Provincial Synods for the country west of the Rhine and the Alps. One of these, that of Mainz, has preserved in its Acts the statement of the Emperor's wish for uniformity. In c. 4 we read: 'Sacramenta baptismatis uolumus, ut sicut sancta uestra fuit admonitio ita concorditer atque uniformiter in singulis parochiis secundum romanum ordinem inter nos celebrentur iugiterque conseruentur, id est scrutinium ad ordinem baptismatis, sicut in decretis Leonis papae sub duobus continetur capitulis [2].' In c. 47 the Council of Mainz gave directions that those who could not learn the Creed in Latin might learn it in their own tongue. From that date we can begin to trace Old German translations of T, and it is a remarkable fact that T is the only complete form which has been translated into the vernacular, showing the wide extension of its use in Anglo-Saxon England as well as on the Continent from the beginning of the ninth century [3].

[1] Alcuini *opp.* ii 521. Cf. Haussleiter *Neue kirchl. Ztschr.*, 1898, p. 341, who has published a new text. I do not think that Amalarius omitted *uitam aeternam* from his Creed, since he wove it into the exposition: *iusti autem in uitam aeternam.*

[2] Mansi *Concilia* xiv 66, Labbe-Coleti ix 330.

[3] This is true of complete forms, but Wiegand, *Die Stellung des ap. Symb.* i 310, n. 4 quotes short vernacular forms: (1) of the year 770 a confession of the Trinity; (2) of the beginning of the eighth century, a shortened form like that quoted by Hrabanus of Mainz *de cleric. inst.* i 27: 'Si credat in deum patrem omnipotentem, In Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, In spiritum sanctum, Unum deum in Trinitate et Unitate. Si confiteatur unam esse ecclesiam catholicam. Si credat remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.'

We now come to the doubtful stage of our enquiry in dealing with documents which contain both Roman and Gallican elements, so that the Creed-forms approximating to T which are found in them might have come from either source. We have to deal also with anonymous sermons which have not yet been traced to any locality and cannot be classified with certainty. It will be convenient to discuss them in the following order: (*a*) The Gallican Sacramentary, and *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243; (*b*) The Gallican Missal, and *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242; (*c*) *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 240, 241; (*d*) *Cod. Sessorianus* 52.

(*The text forms will be found on pp.* 488, 489.)

(*a*) *The Gallican Sacramentary, Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243.

The so called Gallican Sacramentary (*Cod. Paris. Lat.* 13246, saec. vii) is sometimes called the Missal of Bobbio, because the MS undoubtedly came from Bobbio. Opinions vary as to the origin of the liturgical collection contained in it. It contains a mixture of Hispano-Gallic, Roman, and perhaps other elements and rites, and for my present purpose it is immaterial whether these were combined at Bobbio in this MS or in some archetype at Luxeuil. It contains four texts of the Creed which I will distinguish as A, AE, B, C. The first three are Baptismal Creeds, the fourth is an isolated form which does not now concern us as it was apparently used in the hour offices[1].

The first Creed, A (No. 1, p. 488) is a creed interpolated in a sermon used at the *Traditio Symboli*, in a section of the collection which is undeniably of Roman origin. It follows the ceremony known as *apertio aurium*, or delivery of the first words of the four Gospels, which was a Roman custom. Therefore A represents the form used by the monks at Bobbio before 700 or a form derived with this section from Rome. A differs from T only by repetition of *Credo* instead of *Et* (*in Iesum Christum*) and by reading *unigenitum sempiternum* for *unicum*, a variation which we shall meet with again, and which is probably due to the influence of the *Te Deum*[2].

[1] Kattenbusch, i p. 55, ii p. 747 n. 54, p. 881 n. 14.
[2] Kattenbusch, ii p. 776 n. 28.

descendit[3] *ad inferna*,
5. tertia[2] die resurrexit a mortuis
6. ascendit *ad* celos
7. sedit ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*,
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. *Credo* in ⟨sancto Spiritu⟩
10. *sancta* ecclesia catholica[4]

sanctorum communione,
11. remissione peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem[5],
uitam aeternam.

4. 5. *Missale Ga*

A

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae*.
2. *Credo* et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩, Filium eius *unigenitum sempiternum*,

* *

3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto, natus *est de* Maria uirgine,
4. *passus* est sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, *mortuus* et sepultus.
descendit ad inferna,
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*.
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. *Credo* in ⟨sanctum Spiritum⟩,
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam*,
sanctorum commu...

ssale Gallicanum.	8, 9. *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242 [2]	
B [1]	A	E
in Deum Patrem tentem, *creatorem* [3] *terrae* [4].	1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli* [5] *et terrae.*	1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae.*
Iesum Christum⟩ eius, unicum um nostrum,	2. Et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,	2. Credo et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius . . . .
ceptus est de Spiritu natus *ex* Maria uir-	3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto, [natus] [6] *ex* Maria uirgine,	3. qui *conceptus* de Spiritu sancto natus ex Maria uirgine,
sub Pontio Pilato us *mortuus* et sepul-	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato [7] crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus est . . . et sepultus
* * *	*descendit* [8] *ad inferna*	* * *
lie resurrexit a mortuis	5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,	5. tertia die resurrexit * *
it *uictor ad* caelos [10]	6. ascendit in caelo	6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
d dexteram *Dei* Patris *tentis,*	7. sed*it* ad dexteram [*Dei*] [11] Patris *omnipotentis*	7.
nturus iudicare t mortuos.	8. *inde* uenturus est iudicare uiuos *ac* mortuos.	8. *inde* uenturus [12] iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
n sancto Spirit*u*	9. *Credo* et in Spiritum sanctum [13]	9. *Credo* et in Spiritum sanctum
ecclesia [14] catholi- *um communionem*	10. sanctam ecclesiam [15] *catholicam* [16] *sanctorum communionem* [17]	10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam sanctorum communionem* [17]
issione peccatorum	11. remissionem peccatorum.	11. remissionem peccatorum
resurrectionem [18] *ui-ernam*	12. carnis resurrectionem *et uitam aeternam.*	12. carnis resurrectionem *uitam aeternam.*

10, 11. *Sacramentarium Gellonense.*

I (fol. 181 *a*)	II (fol. 191 *b*).
n Deum Patrem omnipotentem *m caeli et terrae.*	1. Cred*is* in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? * * * *
Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius unicum um nostrum,	2. *Credis* et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,
ceptus est de Spiritu sancto r Maria uirgine,	3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus [19] *s* et sepultus. *t* [20] *ad inferna,*	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus, *descendit* [20] *ad inferna,*
ie resurrexit a mortuis,	5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
it *ad* caelos [21]	6. ascendit *ad* caelos [21]
d dexteram *Dei* Patris *tentis*	7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*
nturus iudicare uiuos uos [22].	8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos?
in Spiritum sanctum,	9. Cred*is* in Spiritum sanctum,
um ecclesiam *catholicam,* *um communionem,*	10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam* [23], *sanctorum communionem,*
ionem peccatorum,	11. remissionem peccatorum,
resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam.*	12. carnis resurrectionem, uitam aeternam?

xposition in the *Missale Gallicanum* (= *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242) is defective. The Creed-Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae. Credo* in Filio eius. te the text of *Ps. Aug.* 242 A and E from *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 6298, *saec.* viii.

creatori. [4] terre. [5] celi. [6] natus *supr. lin. man. sec.* [7] philato. idit. [9] tercia. [10] celos. [11] dei *supr. lin.* [12] inde uenturus *supr. lin.* um *supr. lin. man. sec.* [14] eclisia. [15] aeclesiam. [16] *seq. tres. litt. ras. ut uid.* nonionem. [18] resurreccionem. [19] crucefixus. [20] discendit. s. [22] mortuus. [23] chatolicam.

commentators. It
conceptus, *natus*, an
and *ad*, since these
with R.

Further, the sermo
243 (No. 3), which se
that sermon 243 to th
it belongs to Gaul or
fact that its construct
R, so that it forms a
removes most of the
theory of the Roman c
text-form [2]. But 243 c
inferna and has *Et* (*Sp*.

243

Si te triduana domini
tura conturbat, resurrectio
osa confirmet.

[Quod in Christi glorios
surrectione audisti comple
hoc in te omnino in futuro
dicio crede esse complendu
ut carnis tuae resurrectio
reparet in aeternum.

Another point of

Faustus), and in this respect the preface, which is addressed to more than one hearer, shows that it was not part of the original sermon.

It is plainly important that the MSS in which *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243 occurs should be investigated. Any clue to connect the sermon with Italy or Rome itself would be most valuable. The occurrence of a warning against idolatry—'Nihil de idolorum cultu uel superstitionibus Paganorum cogites'—though more probable outside Italy, would not be out of place in a Roman sermon even of the eighth century, since Boniface wrote to Pope Zacharias of the scandal caused by the pagan superstitious usages which were tolerated in Rome on New Year's Day.

From the Roman section of the Gallican Sacramentary we turn now to what is plainly a Gallican section headed *ad Christianum faciendum*, which quotes an Interrogative Creed, B (No. 6), in the service of Baptism for Easter Eve, and quotes a collect for the washing of the feet after Baptism, a purely Gallican custom. The form of renunciation also is Gallican (quoted above, p. 484), and the Baptismal formula has a phrase *unam habentem substantiam*, which finds a parallel in the Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary. B appears to me to be the work of some Irish monk, who, in the archetype of this section or in this MS. itself, improved the form after the model of the Bangor Antiphonary, which also comes to us from Bobbio [1].

(*b*) *The Gallican Missal, Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242.

The Gallican Missal now at the Vatican (*Cod. Vat. Palat. Lat.* 493) written *c.* 700, is (as Mr. E. Bishop has kindly informed me) 'a volume containing fragments of two separate Sacramentaries which have nothing to do with one another.' There are two occurrences of the creed in the sections dealing with the ceremonies of Baptism.

The first sermon on the creed in section xi belongs to the second Sacramentary, the history of which is unknown. It precedes the *apertio aurium* and should therefore be traced to

[1] The creed of the Bangor Antiphonary is of course ultimately Gallican, to be connected perhaps with Lérins. But at this point we are not considering its origin, only the possibility of its influencing another form while it remained at Bobbio.

a Roman source. It contains two forms (Nos. 4, 5) which agree so closely that in this case we may conclude that the creed A (No. 4) was interpolated at a later date than the compilation of the sermon containing B (No. 7). In such a case we cannot judge by the omission of *creatorem caeli et terrae* because the sermon containing A, AE is a compilation from works of Rufinus, Faustus, and a third source which has not been identified. Rufinus, of course, had no such words in his creed, and we can build no argument on their omission from a passage quoted from him.

The remarkable omission of *dominum nostrum* in A, AE, shows dependence on the creed of the Faustus homilies. Perhaps this is the explanation of the phrase *unigenitum sempiternum* put in because *unicum dominum nostrum* was lacking as in the true creed of BE (see p. 489 n. 1).

The carelessness of the compiler is shown by the inversion *natus de Maria uirgine conceptus de Spiritu Sancto*, and by the insertion of the following paragraph, which proves that he was quoting from a sermon used in monastic services: 'Iam, iam si iubetis, haec quae dicta sunt caritati uestrae sufficiant: et die crastina secundum sanctam consuetudinem uestram per ministerium patrum nostrorum ea quae restant maturius audietis. Quod ipsi.'

The special interest of the MS is centred in another sermon (No. 7) in section xvi which belongs to the first Sacramentary, and may be connected with the diocese of Auxerre. This sermon follows prayers common to the Gothic Missal, and is therefore derived from a Gallican source. Only part of the sermon has been preserved in this MS, but it is known to exist in other MSS and has been printed among *Ps. Aug. Sermones* as 242. I have transcribed the latter form from a Munich MS, *Cod. Lat.* 6298 of saec. viii, which comes to us from Freising, and was written in a Saxon hand probably by some wandering monk. Thus we have the advantage of comparing two forms (*Miss. Gall.* B, No. 7 = *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242 A, No. 8) which have been interpolated in this sermon, in the diocese of Auxerre *c.* 700, and in the diocese of Freising some seventy years later. I do not say interpolated by the two copyists, but I suggest that their tendency would be to assimilate them to the forms used in their day. Both forms are substantially like T, but they show the following variations:—

Miss. Gall. B	*Ps. Aug.* 242 A
4. *om* desc. ad inferna	
6. ascendit *uictor*[1] *ad* caelos	ascendit in caelo
	8. uiuos *ac* mortuos
9. *Credo* in Sanct*o* Spirit*u*	9. *Credo* et
10. sanct*a* ecclesi*a* catholic*a*	
11. *ab*remissionem[2]	
12. *uitam aeternam.*	12. *et uitam aeternam.*

On the other hand the true creed of the sermon (E, No. 9) of which only a fragment has been preserved in the Gallican Missal is plainly a Gallican Creed of the type of that of Faustus to which *creatorem c. et. t.* has been added. We note the threefold *Credo*, omission of *unicum dominum nostrum*, of *mortuus*, and of *a mortuis*. The *huius* (*carnis*) which Hahn (p. 47) and others insert belongs solely to the exposition as the Munich MS reads *huius affectu carnis*. Thus *tuae* (*carnis*) has been added in the exposition of *Sacr. Gallic.* AE (No. 2), though it does not belong to the form commented on.

(*c*) *Ps. Aug. Sermones* 240, 241. For the sake of completeness we must also take into account the forms in other Ps. Augustinian Sermons.

Ps. Aug. Serm. 240 has the Creed (T) divided up among the Apostles following the order of the names in the Roman Canon, but omitting Paul in the second place and adding Matthias at the end. In the commentary the epithet *uictor* is added to *ascendit*. Its date is uncertain, but I have found quotations of it in a commentary which appears to have been written in a MS at St. Gallen at the beginning of the ninth century (*Cod. Sangall.* 27; a copy at Brussels, *Cod.* 9188, *s.* x). This suffices to throw the date back to the eighth century.

Ps. Aug. Serm. 241 is another sermon of which the origin at present is very doubtful. The triple recitation of the Creed in honour of the Trinity and the triple repetition of *Credo* point

[1] This expression recurs in Ps. Aug. 238, Ps. Aug. 240 (*expos.*), Codd. Vat. Pal. 212 and 220, Cod. Sangall. 732, a Vésoul MS 73, and the sermon *Auscultate expositionem* (*Ztschr. f. K. G.* xix (1898), p. 179).

[2] The reading *abremissionem* is found in the Creeds of Faustus of Riez, the Bangor Antiphonary, Cod. Sangallensis 188.

to a Gallican source. The list of Apostles is founded on Acts i 13, which is the order used by Priminius, but the clauses are not divided in the same way.

(d) *Cod. Sessorianus* 52. Of greater importance are the sermons which Dom Morin and others have brought to light in *Cod. Sessorianus* 52 in the Victor Emmanuel Library at Rome. The MS is late, of the eleventh or twelfth century, but the collection was formed in the ninth century. It includes a new text of the seventh *Ordo Romanus*, in which T is used at the baptism of an infant, though there is a reference to the custom of reciting the Nicene Creed over the catechumens at the *redditio symboli* on Thursday in Holy Week.

There are two other forms of creed in *Cod. Sessor*. 52, one in a sermon commenting on T, the other in a sermon commenting on R. The MS comes from the Abbey of Nonantula in the South of Italy whence came Abbot Peter the companion in travel of Amalarius, whom we have found pressing the use of the Roman form (= T) upon Charles the Great.

The sermon on T is particularly interesting because it is found in two other MSS. in a shorter form in *Cod. Sangallensis* 732, of the ninth century, and in a longer form in a MS at Vésoul, Cod. 73, of the eleventh century. In these it has received the addition *victor* (*ad caelos*)[1]. But it presents internal evidence of an earlier date in the fact that the Communion of Saints is explained to refer to the duty of all the faithful to communicate every Lord's Day[2]. There is an interesting section on the seven remissions of sin by baptism, penitence, martyrdom, forgiveness of enemies, true love, almsgiving, preaching. Kattenbusch (ii p. 872) has given a full analysis of the sermon, and is inclined to follow Caspari in dating it from the seventh century.

The *Cod. Sessor*. 52 brings us to the consideration of a very serious difficulty, the question whether the Roman Church had really substituted the Nicene Creed for R or not. The Gelasian Sacramentary has been said to prove that this was the case, and Caspari suggested that it was done to meet the pressure of Gothic

[1] I have published it with the readings of all three forms in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxi p. 128.

[2] Morin, *Rev. Bén.* xi p. 485.

Arianism under Odoacer, *c.* 476–493. An insuperable objection seems to me to lie in the fact that Roman missionaries to Britain who, as Duchesne shows, traversed Gaul constantly in the seventh century, took with them at first R and possibly T, but never C. Thus the famous *Cod. Laudianus* which was in the hands of Bede, *c.* 700, brought R to England. We can trace the use of T in this country back to the end of the eighth century, when it superseded the use of R. I cannot believe that if C had been substituted for R in the ordinary Baptismal Office of the Roman Church, we should not have found some traces of its use in Britain, or, I may add, in the earliest mission Churches in Germany.

The *Ordo Bapt.* of Vienne[1] which is dependent on the sources of the Gelasian Sacramentary preserves, I believe, the explanation of the mystery. The question is put to the God-parents, 'Is Greek understood?' The answer 'No' follows, and then *Credo in Deum.*

With this we may compare the evidence of the Florentine Missal in a MS of the twelfth century, but comprising a collection which belongs to the seventh or eighth century. The Apostles' Creed is recited in Latin for males, the Nicene Creed in Greek for females, and then again in Latin for both.

In the Gelasian Sacramentary and one text of the *Ordo Romanus* C is recited both in Greek and Latin over males, and in the *Ordo* again over females.

All this variety of custom may be explained by the suggestion that during the time of Byzantine influence C, the Baptismal Creed of Constantinople, was offered to Greek-speaking catechumens as the equivalent of R, the Greek text of which had long before been forgotten. We find that Pope Vigilius I in his Encyclical called C *symbolum*[2], and the Latin text in use at Rome had several phrases in common with R[3].

Time passed, and there were no more Greek-speaking catechumens. It became necessary to explain the existence of two parallel forms, and the absurd explanation was given that the second was used for girls. On the other hand we must bear in mind the possibility that the use of the Nicene Creed in Greek was confined to

[1] Martene, *de ant. eccl. rit.* i 42.
[2] Mansi, ix p. 50 ff., *Ep. ib.* p. 57.
[3] Cf. my article on the 'Old Latin Versions of C,' *J. T. S.* ii p. 102.

Old Roman form.

Having thus review
and may at once put
of T is to be sought i
without arguments and

The usual conclusion
Kattenbusch, that its or
narrows down the issu
the main source of the (
diocese of Besançon.
supported by the occurr
Gellonense of the eighth

By the kindness of M.
form (No. 10). It occurs
the *apertio aurium.* To
[the child] confess?' the
Creed follows the summar
summa est fidei nostrae.'

M. de Mély calls attentio
later (No. 11) which omits t
is apparently one of the pu
familiar, since it is substitut
occurs in the same context,
the Gelasian Sacramentary.
will soon edit this Sacrame
view of the connexion of T

Eligius of Noyon († 659). Vacandard admits this, but he goes on to charge me with a *petitio principii*[1] because the Gallican Missal and Gallican Sacramentary, which contain as I admit Gallican elements, contain also variations of T. But I had guarded myself against such an argument by the word 'purely.' The creeds in those documents are not 'purely Gallican creeds,' because they have come under other influence. If it could be proved that the Gallican Sacramentary was written at Besançon before it came to Bobbio, it would still be necessary to separate the Gallican section, and impossible to deny Roman influence which might account for variations from the Gallican type. Following Hahn[2] I went too far in denying the existence of a 'purely Gallican Creed' containing the words *creatorem c. et t.* before 1100, the creed of Honorius of Autun. Since Pirminius came through, if not from, Gaul it is permissible to claim his creed as a Gallican Creed unless proof to the contrary is forthcoming. I have therefore narrowed down my statement about Gallican Creeds to the date 700.

Kattenbusch[3] suggests that T may be a Gallican form of the fifth century, to which date we can trace back most of the additions which it makes to R, but with the all-important exception of *creatorem c. et t.* He suggests Musaeus of Marseilles, of whom Gennadius writes (*cap.* lxxx), 'composuit Sacramentorum egregium et non paruum uolumen,' as the possible author. But he admits the precariousness of such hypotheses and seeks a safer conclusion in the details which point to the use of T in Burgundian Gaul in the eighth century. To this district belonged the diocese of Besançon (Vesontio) and the monastery of Luxeuil, where in his opinion the Gallican Sacramentary was compiled and at least one of the Gallican Missals; also Vienne, where one of the earliest Greek translations of T was used. Kattenbusch also lays stress on the early use of T by Irish monks: Pirminius may have been, as the Bollandists think, an Irish monk, and there would be no difficulty in explaining the passage of the creed to Ireland if carried back by one of these wandering monks. He

[1] *Revue des Questions historiques*, Oct. 1899, p. 373.

[2] The Creed of Pirminius, c. 730, explains the use of T in other Benedictine monasteries: if e.g. the sermon *Quando beatum* may be ascribed to Theodulf of Orleans, we may trace its use at Fleury, *c.* 800. Kattenbusch, ii p. 742.

[3] ii p. 780.

thinks that T may have been brought into its present form for use in the Hour Offices[1], but in relation to R did not count as a new form. He holds that R was preserved at Rome intact until the time that it was exchanged for T. But he acknowledges freely that all conclusions are at present merely tentative, and he is willing to consider the theory that T was introduced at Rome by one of the Popes, and that it arrived at its oecumenical position through the corrected Psalters which spread from the schools of Charles the Great all over the West[2].

The way seems to be left open for a restatement of my theory that T was substituted for R in Rome sometime before 700[3]. All the evidence seems to converge upon this conclusion. Amalarius recommends T to the Emperor with the statement that he follows the *Ordo Romanus*. The new text of the seventh *Ordo Romanus* in *Cod. Sessor.* 52 proves the existence of T in a Roman collection of the ninth century. Pirminius, the friend of Boniface, is found to quote the Roman form of Renunciation and the Roman prayer of Unction. Though it is not clear from his writings what form Boniface used, there can be little doubt from the evidence of the interpolated creed in *Sacr. Gallic.* A (No. 1: Bobbio), compared with *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242 A in *Cod. Monac.* 6298 (No. 8: Freising) that he and his disciples generally used T. With this hypothesis concerning Boniface compare the definite instructions of Pope Gregory II, and the plain fact that a constant Romanising of liturgical forms was at work throughout Gaul during the eighth century. This is clearly stated by Wiegand without reference to the formation of T, but it has an important bearing on our subject. He says: 'Das steht jedenfalls fest, dass nicht erst Karl der Grosse eine Romanisierung der fränkischen Taufliturgie angebahnt hat, sondern dass bereits lange vor ihm sich dieser Prozess sowohl in Franken wie in Deutschland zu vollziehen begann[4].'

[1] He suggests, ii p. 793, n. 53, that the last form in the Gallican Sacramentary was a form used in the Hour Offices at Luxeuil from the time of Columban. But we need not pursue the question because it does not contain *creatorem c. et t.*

[2] p. 966 f.

[3] I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of Dr. Dörholt in a recent review of my *Introduction to the Creeds* (*Theologische Revue*, April 8, 1902, p. 171) that this theory is worthy of consideration.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 275.

I come last to the doubtful evidence of the Psalter of Gregory in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (*Cod.* N. 468). I still see no difficulty in accepting Caspari's suggestion that the Psalter, which in its present form dates from the fifteenth century, was copied from an older MS sent by Pope Gregory III (731–741). This corresponds exactly to the date of Pirminius.

Here our investigation is brought to an end by lack of materials. What is needed is some seventh century testimony which may throw light on Roman usage. All that I claim to have shown is a probability that R was exchanged for, or was gradually changed into, T in Rome, the centre from which alone it could spread as it did without, as well as with, the aid of Charles. All its new phrases were taught by teachers held in honour at Rome. The first, *creatorem c. et t.*, was in the creed of Niceta, which also contained *passum*, *mortuum*, *catholicam*, *communionem sanctorum*, *et uitam aeternam*. Caesarius of Arles, who had all these with the exception of *creatorem c. et t.*, had the two remaining phrases *conceptus* and *descendit ad inferna*, and was treated with great distinction by Pope Symmachus[1]. But in view of the fact that the Creed of Caesarius had the threefold repetition of *Credo* which does not occur in T, it is rather the influence of Niceta's Creed that we should consider as a possible factor in the completed form of T. In this connexion it is important to observe that a phrase from his sermon has a parallel in the Preface to the Delivery of the Creed in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

Niceta.	*Sacr. Gelas.*
Pauca quidem sunt uerba sed omnia continent sacramenta[2].	Suscipientes euangelici symboli sacramentum . . . cuius pauca quidem uerba sunt sed magna mysteria.

The same words are quoted in the preface which has been added to *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242: 'Breue est uerbis sed magnum est sacramentis.' And it is interesting to note further that a commentary in *Cod. Sangallensis* 27, *saec.* ix *in.*, unites quotations om Niceta and *Ps. Aug.* 242. These, with the other proofs

Arnold, *Cäsarius von Arelate*, Kap. ix, 'Cäsarius in Ravenna und Rom.'

This passage is quoted from Niceta by Isidore, *de eccl. off.* ii 23, and from ore by Ildefonsus of Toledo, *de cognit. bapt.* 33.

which come to hand of the wide influence of Niceta's sermon, may suffice to establish a possibility that it was ultimately from his sermon, though probably through a Roman medium[1], that the words *creatorem caeli et terrae* came into T: and the source of these words is the crux of the whole investigation into the history of its origin[2].

[Since this article was in print I have received from Dr. G. Mercati[3] a note on the anonymous Arian Fragments of the fourth or fifth century which were published by Card. Mai from *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5750[4]. The seventh Fragment contains the first words of the Creed in the following form: *Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem caeli et terrae? Credis et in Christo Iesu filio eius?* Dr. Mercati suggests that the anonymous writer and the Liturgy which he quotes may have belonged to some Church on the Danube. If this conjecture can be maintained, the addition of *creatorem caeli et terrae* in his Creed becomes an important parallel to the use of these words in the Creed of Niceta, whose sphere of activity extended to the Danube.]

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[1] Cf. the account given by Paulinus of Nola to Sulpicius Severus (*Ep.* xxix) of the impression which Niceta's learning had made in Rome.

[2] I may add that I have found a new MS of Niceta's sermon, earlier than the only other complete MS (*Cod. Chisianus*), in the British Museum, Royal 7 C ii, *saec.* xi, which contains the words *creatorem c. et t.* in the text and not only in the commentary. Further, I have found two new MSS of some of the Fragments of Niceta, *Codd. Lat. Monacensis* 6325 (*Fris.* 125), *saec.* ix, and 6324 (*Fris.* 124), *saec.* ix–x, which mention him in a list of doctors of the church, 'Athanasius, Hilarius, Niceta, Hieronimus, Ambrosius, Augustinus,' &c.

[3] *Antiche Reliquie Liturgiche* (Studi e Testi 7), Rome, 1902, p. 47.

[4] *Script. vet. nova coll.* III.

THE DATE OF CODEX BEZAE.

WHAT is the age of Codex Bezae? The answer is unanimous; all textual critics declare it to be of the sixth century. But when we go on to ask the reason for this date it is not so easy to gain enlightenment. Practically Codex Bezae is put down to the sixth century because Dr. Scrivener came to that conclusion. Moreover, much as has been written in late years about the genesis of the Greek and Latin texts of Codex Bezae, and about the later liturgical notes which are found in it, very little has been done to determine the actual date of the MS itself. There seems room, therefore, for something fresh on this inexhaustible subject.

Codex Bezae is not dated, and the direct study of the handwriting does not lead us very far. The hand is really unlike that of any other extant MS. The Greek is something between the hand of the Codex Alexandrinus (A) of the fifth century and the Vienna *Dioscorides* of the early sixth, but it is much lighter and neater than the *Dioscorides*. In fact, if we might assign D to the fifth century, no better pair of MSS than D and the *Dioscorides* could be found to illustrate Sir E. M. Thompson's dictum: 'Uncial writing of the sixth century shows an advance on the delicate style of the fifth century in the comparatively heavy forms of the letters' (Thompson's *Palaeography*, p. 152).

The Latin side, *d*, is still more peculiar than the Greek. Some of the peculiar effect, however, is due to the scribe's desire to give a general similarity to the Greek and Latin sides of his work. It seems to have been the usual custom, at least until early in the sixth century, for Latin uncials to be written with a *slanting* pen, while Greek uncials were written with a *straight* pen. If the top of the page be supposed to point North, in Greek writing a line drawn from N. to S. will generally be thick and from W. to E. fine, but in Latin the thickest will be from NW. to SE., and the

finest from SW. to NE. Thus the cross stroke of 'N' is rather fine in Greek writing but thick in Latin, and in the letter 'O' a typical Greek form is O, a typical Latin form is O. In Codex Bezae the Latin is written with a straight pen like Greek, and this gives it to the palaeographer an unfamiliar appearance, besides curiously modifying the shapes of several letters, such as F, P, and R.

The slanting pen of Latin scribes made the downstrokes end in a sort of bevel, and this was often prolonged by a hair line (e. g. R), beautiful examples of which may be seen in the Bobbio Gospels (*k*). The scribe of Codex Bezae was evidently accustomed to make such hair lines, but with his straight pen they become fine horizontal strokes at the bottom of the down-stroke. Thus we get the Bezan forms F, P, and R.

With regard to the question of the date of Codex Bezae, Scrivener sums up by declaring that we should 'assign to this manuscript full as high a date as to the Codex Alexandrinus, which was written early in the fifth century, were not our conclusions somewhat modified by other considerations, of which the debased dialect of the Latin version . . . is the most obvious and weighty: the palaeographical appearance of the Latin character is venerable enough' (p. xvi). In other words, the conventional date given to D depends on the assumed date of the Latin version. We have now to consider whether in the light of our present knowledge the character of this version really suggests so late a date as the sixth century.

It is certain that both the Greek and the Latin sides of Codex Bezae have each a character of their own. D is not simply a Greek rendering of *d*, nor is *d* simply a rendering of D. The microscopical investigations of modern scholars have detected some 2,000 discrepancies between the Latin and the Greek, so that we are led to conclude that, however much the Latin side may have influenced the Greek and *vice versa*, the two sides of the MS are in a sense texts of separate origin that have been fitted together. This of course might take place in many ways. The most obvious is that the immediate ancestor of Codex Bezae was a Greek MS (𝔇), of which a Latin translation (𝔡) was made by some one who was familiar with one of the current Latin versions; on this hypothesis some renderings of 𝔡 were the result

of literal translation from the opposite side, others will differ from 𝔇 and agree with the current ecclesiastical Latin. Under these circumstances 𝔇 might be corrected here and there to agree verbally with the Latin on the opposite page. Our Codex Bezae (on this hypothesis) is a transcript of 𝔇𝔡 so corrected: D therefore contains some readings which are a mere literal translation of a not absolutely literal Latin version, while most of the differences of *d* from the bulk of Latin MSS are instances where the scholar who produced the translation that I have called 𝔡 deserted the ordinary Latin renderings to make his work agree more literally with the Greek on the opposite side. The proposition that at each transcription of a bilingual codex the Latin and the Greek will tend to be corrected into mutual conformity is one which will meet with but few gainsayers.

To make my meaning quite clear let me give one example of each of the processes imagined.

1. Difference of D and *d*.

Luc. xxii 61 ἀπαρνήσῃ με] + ΜΗΕΙΔΕΝΑΙΜΕ D 71 *a b l*
d omits (= Gk. Lat. rell.).

Here *d* is free from an explanatory gloss found in D^gr. A similar instance may be noted in Acts iii 4. These therefore are cases where *d* retains the basal Latin rendering without having been brought into conformity with the Bezan Greek.

2. Agreement of *d* with D against other Latin texts.

Matt. xx 2 ἐκ δηναρίου τὴν ἡμέραν D (= Gr. rell.).
[EX] DENARIO DIVRNO *a b c* (*e*) *f ff h* (*m*) *n q r* vg
(*e* omits 'ex,' *m* has *singulis denariis diurnis*).

But *d* has

EX DENARIO DIEM

i.e. a literal translation of each word of the Greek, resulting in a combination which is scarcely Latin[1].

3. Agreement of D with *d* against other Greek texts, under circumstances which suggest that the text of D is the result of retranslation from the Latin.

Matt. v 24 πρόσφερε] ΠΡΟϹΦΕΡΕΙϹ D, OFFERES *d* (in agreement with many MSS of the Vulg. and O. L.).

This example was brought forward by Mill in 1707 (Harris,

[1] The rendering of Luc. ii 14 in *d* is almost equally striking. It runs: *Gloria in altis Deo et super terra pax in hominibus consolationis*.

Codex Bezae, pp. 42, 94). *Offeres* and *offers* are forms used in late Latin for the classical imperative *offer*. But this was misunderstood by the scribe of D, who accordingly changed the Greek πρόσφερε into προσφέρεις to agree (as he thought) with the meaning of the Latin.

The main object of Dr. Rendel Harris' *Study of Codex Bezae* was to show how often cases like No. 3 occur, and whatever may be thought of some of the positions taken up by him in that book with regard to the genesis of the 'Western Text' generally, there can be little doubt that he has made out many cases of Latinization in the text of D^{gr} itself. But *d* as it stands is far more closely assimilated to the Greek than D is assimilated to the Latin, and, on the whole, little fault can be found with the general summing up of the problem by Scrivener: 'Single verses may readily be found which might serve to show either that *d* is completely independent of all other known translations and made exclusively from the Greek on the opposite page; or, on the contrary, that it is a mere modification of the Old Latin, differing no further from other copies of it than *e* (for example) does from *f*. The careful study of *d* in many long passages . . . leads us to believe that neither of these views presents us with the whole truth. The Latin of Cod. D was really constructed immediately from its Greek text, servilely following it (as we have just seen) to the violation of the simplest rules of Latin syntax, and thus contains much, both in respect to words and phrases, that is quite peculiar to itself: while on the other hand, inasmuch as it was the work of a Western scribe on whose memory the diction of his native version was firmly imprinted, like that of King James' Bible is on our own, the translator unconsciously and habitually imitated it, sometimes for whole verses together, even in places where the Greek original might have taught him to render otherwise' (Scrivener's *Bezae Codex*, p. xxxv).

Codex Bezae a Greek MS, accompanied by a Latin rendering.

Let us look at the question from a slightly different point of view. Let us try and find out what Codex Bezae *professed* to be. With what object was it written? Was it regarded by those for whom it was first prepared as a Greek MS accompanied by a Latin translation; as a Latin MS accompanied by a Greek

translation; or as a pair of MSS, one Greek and the other Latin, placed side by side? The answer to these questions might tell us something of its date and the locality of its birth-place.

I think there can be not much doubt that the first of these is the true representation of the facts. The correctors of the MS (with one notable exception) busy themselves with the Greek side, and in the rare cases where they do touch the Latin it is to accommodate the Latin to some change made by them in the Greek. All the liturgical notes are made for the Greek text; even the *Sortes Sanctorum* are put on the Greek side. There is no indication that Codex Bezae has ever been formally and publicly used except as a Greek book. That it was provided with a Latin version is an obvious indication that it was made for a community in which the vernacular speech was Latin; that the liturgical notes are in Greek proves that at the time they were inserted the Codex was used as a Greek service book. Scholars therefore are agreed that it belonged to some community in the West, where a Greek rite was regularly or occasionally performed. Accordingly most recent investigations have placed the home of Codex Bezae, at least during the ninth century when most of the liturgical notes were written, in Southern Italy, perhaps at Amalfi or Rossano[1].

The Latin Corrector (G).

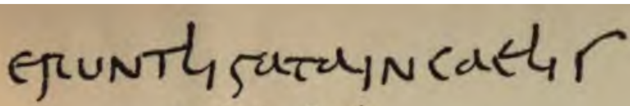
The corrector called G by Scrivener has for us a peculiar importance. Out of more than a dozen scribes into whose hands Codex Bezae at various times has fallen, he is the only one that shows any interest in the Latin text. Several of the other correctors are proved by Dr. Harris to have been Latin-speaking individuals, but they seem not to have studied the Latin side.

It is now well known that Dr. Scrivener made a very serious

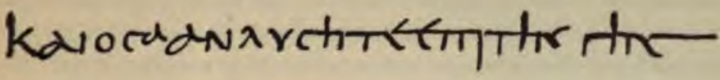
[1] Dr. Sanday has lately suggested that Codex Bezae may have come from Ravenna (*Harris*, p. 4). In favour of this may be alleged the cursive hand of the annotator or annotators called M by Scrivener. The cursive is evidently the natural hand of this scribe, and the queer appearance of his uncials in the *Sortes* is chiefly due to the circumstance that he is forming the letters in a cramped artificial manner. But his cursive writing (*Scrivener*, Facs. III, no. 15) is as much like the Ravenna hand of A.D. 756, figured in Thompson's *Palaeography*, p. 144, as a bad hand can be like a good one. See especially the formation of λ and ɴ, and the combination δh (Codex Bezae, *fol.* 191 *b*).

mistake in assigning G to the eleventh century. It was Dr. Sanday who first pointed this out to me now seven or eight years ago, but it has since been generally recognised. Dr. Kenyon (*J. T. S.* i 293 ff) puts G down to the seventh century, but even this, I venture to think, is too late. My own opinion is that G is contemporary with Codex Bezae itself, and that it is the hand of a person in some position of authority for whom the Codex itself was made.

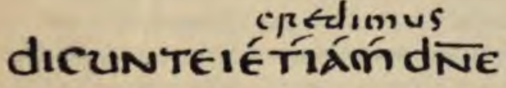
First let us look at the palaeographical evidence. Dr. Kenyon (p. 296) says: 'Why Scrivener should have thrust G down so low, it is impossible to imagine. The Latin hand is of a well-marked character, with well-known forms of the letters *g*, *r*, and *s*, which there is no reason to place later than the seventh century; while the Greek, though of a less familiar type (especially when Scrivener wrote), is in a hand to which there are many parallels in the papyri of the Byzantine period, in the sixth and seventh centuries.' But these seventh-century parallels—Dr. Kenyon is thinking of such hands as B. M. *Pap.* cxiii 13 (*a*) and cxiii 11 (*a*)—are after all not very close. There is a roughness and a stiffness about them which is foreign to the delicately formed characters of G, and I should be more inclined to compare G with B. M. *Pap.* cccxi and ccxl, both of about the year 346 A. D. Yet we can hardly expect to find a close resemblance between G and handwritings current in Egypt in the middle of the fourth century, for any corrector of Codex Bezae must be more than half a century later in time and widely removed in space. The fact is that there are very few extant papyri that can be certainly dated in the fifth or the sixth century, so that direct means of comparison fail us. For the Latin hand of G we may compare the writing of Victor— *Victor famulus Christi et eius gratia episcopus Capuae*, as he describes himself—the learned prelate for whom the Codex Fuldensis was transcribed and who read it through pen in hand in A. D. 546. But G's characters are just as much better formed than Victor's scrawl, as the hand of *d* is better than the comparatively clumsy uncials of the Codex Fuldensis. G also resembles the hand of the Arian annotator of the Paris MS lat. 8907 (*J. T. S.* ii 151), who wrote not later than the early part of the sixth century. Still more like G in many respects are the annotations to the Bembine *Terence* and



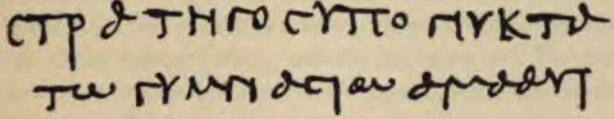
G. Latin Hand.
(when not cramped for space)



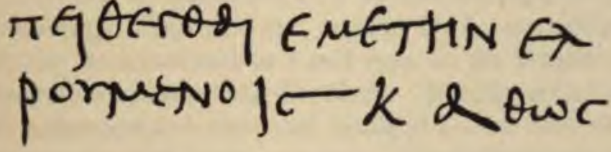
G. Greek Hand.



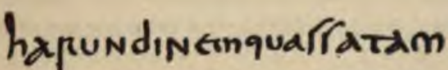
G substitutes credimus for d's etiam.



Official Deed, A.D. 233
(From Thompson's Palaeography, p. 141)



Manumission, A.D. 355.
(From Thompson's Palaeography, p. 142)



C. Latin Hand.
(When cramped for space)

to the cod. Weingartensis of the Prophets, but the dates of these marginalia are themselves a matter of conjecture. The same is unfortunately true of the fragment of a tract called *De Iudiciis*, edited by Mommsen in the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1879, p. 503 ff. The letters in this vellum fragment are not unlike those of G in general style, but all that can certainly be said of its age is that it is older than the publication of Justinian's Code. The half-uncial hand of the Vatican *Hilary* (before 510 A. D.) has also some resemblance to that of G, but it is stiffer than G and several of the letters, notably *a d f* and *g*, are nearer the later minuscule forms. Thus there is really nothing from the palaeographical side to prevent us from assigning G to any date from the fourth to the sixth centuries [1].

One of the first questions which will be asked about a corrector of a Biblical MS is the type of text with which he is familiar. Did he use the Vulgate or the Old Latin? The true answer is that he made use of neither text. Dr. Scrivener asserts indeed that in three places (Matt. xv 18, 20, xxv 25) G 'corrects the Latin of our manuscript from the Vulgate,' but examination proves how little can be founded on them. In Matt. xxv 25 τὸ σόν was translated *quod tuum* in *d*; G has supplied the missing *est*, but this addition scarcely needed the authority of the Vulgate or any other version to commend it. Matt. xv 18, 20, are more interesting. In this chapter the verb κοινοῦν occurs five times (11 *bis*, 18, 20 *bis*) and is translated in *d* by the corresponding part of *communicare*. This was the original O. L. rendering [2], as is proved by its occurrence in *k* and even in the Vulgate of some of the parallel passages in St. Mark. But the scribe of D (or of 𝔇) misunderstood this, and changed κοινοῦν into the corresponding part of the verb κοινωνεῖν. The mistake was corrected by an early hand, the intrusive letters being washed out, a process which naturally makes the identification of the corrector more difficult than when something fresh is added. The corrector may have been G himself, who cancelled *communicant* on the Latin side in *vv.* 18 and 20*a*, writing *coinquinant* on the margin. 'Coinquinant' is the word used here in the Vulgate, and conceivably G took

[1] One of the nearest parallels I know to the Greek hand of G is the document of A.D. 355 figured in Thompson's *Palaeography*, p. 142, and here reproduced.

[2] Cf. Aug. *c. Faust.* xvi 31; *communicat*, i.e. commune, profanum, ἀκάθαρτον facit.

it from thence. But it also stands in *a c f ff g r* (hiant *b h*), so that it cannot be used to show G's dependence upon or knowledge of the Vulgate. On the other hand, as Scrivener himself notes, in Acts ii 2 *et factum est repente caelo echo* (i. e. ἦχος) G puts *uox* in the margin for *echo*, although the Vulgate and the O. L. texts (including *h p g* and *e*) all have *sonus*.

This last instance is significant. G is not a textual critic comparing one Latin text with another, but a scholar reading over the text pen in hand and making quite freely on his own authority such changes as appear to him advisable. In Acts ii 2 he wished it to be clear that the Greek spoke of a 'voice' from heaven, not of a mere earthly 'echo.' That G was a scholar admits of little doubt from the way in which he corrects the betacisms of the scribe[1]. Such monstrosities as *beruum uacum* are turned by him into *uerbum uacuum*. But he cares nothing for the conventional Biblical Latin. For example, in Acts iv 9 the scribe of Codex Bezae (or its ancestor) forgot to cross a T, and so instead of St. Peter being asked *super benefacto hominis infirmi* we read

SVPER BENEFACIO HOMINEM INFIRMVM

i. e. *benefacto* was miswritten *benefacio* and then carelessly taken to be a verb. This is corrected by G into

SVPER BENEFICIO HOMINIS INFIRMI

Grammar and sense are brought back, but not by recourse to other Latin texts, for no Latin text here has *beneficium* instead of *benefactum*. Similarly G wishes to substitute the classical *mille passuum* in Matt. v 41 for the barbarous *milium unum* of *d*. But the other Latin texts here have *mille passus* as the equivalent of μίλιον ἕν.

Latin Equivalents for 'Yes.'

The clearest indication both of the point of view and culture of G, and at the same time of the methods which underlie the Latin of Codex Bezae itself, is to be found in the Latin renderings for ναί, 'yes.' These are so interesting in themselves

[1] The only peculiar spelling I have found in G is in Matt. xxi 13, where he corrects 'spelucam' into *speluncham*. This odd form is characteristic of the corrector of Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*), and is found in Jo. xi 38 in Wordsworth's C and Z*, one a Spanish MS and the other supposed to be Italian.

that I give them in tabular form. The renderings may be grouped under four heads: (1) *ita*, (2) *utique*, (3) *etiam*, and a miscellaneous class (4).

In the Gospels I have confined myself for the most part to the really ancient codices *a b e f k n* and the Vulgate, but any peculiar renderings, such as *intelleximus* in Matt. xiii 51 *corb*, are put down. In the Acts *h* is the Fleury Palimpsest, *g* the Gigas, *p* the Perpignan MS published by Berger.

	ITA	VTIQUE	ETIAM	*Other renderings.*
Matt. v 37			*d*	est *Latt. omn.* (*exc. d*) *including* G
ix 28	*k*	*a b q f* vg	*d*	credimus G
xi 9	*k*	*a*	*d b q* vg	
26	*k a b q f* vg		*d*	
xiii 51	*ke*	*a b q f*	*d* vg	intelleximus G *corb*
xv 27	*ke*	*a b q*	*d f* vg	
xvii 25	*e*	*a n* (*b*)	*d q f* vg	facit aut praes(tat) G utique non *b*
xxi 16		*b q f* vg	*d*	*om. e* [*hiat a*]
Mc. vii 28 *om.* D φ 565	*a n*	*f* vg	*q*	*om. d b c ff i*
Luc. vii 26	*e*	*b c q* vg	*d a r f*	
x 21	*e a b* etc. *q f*		*d* vg	
xi 51	*e a b* etc. *q f* vg		*d*	
xii 5	*e i f* vg		*d b q mm*	*om. a c l r*
Jo. xi 27		*a b f* vg (utuque *e*)	*d*	
xxi 15		*a b r* (utuque *e*)	*d ff f* vg	sed et Simoni sic dicit 'Diligis me?' respondit 'Diligo.' ait ei 'Pasce oues meas.' *Roman clergy ap. Cypr.* 486
16	*c*	*a r* (utuque *e*)	*d b ff f* vg	
(17)			*b*	
Ac. v 8	*p*		*d* vg	tanti (*only*) *Lucif.* itaque (*only*) *g*
xxii 27 ειμι D^{gr} (= *g*)			vg	[*hiat d*] (ciuis romanus sum *Aug.*) sum *g*

A glance at the above table at once brings out the general distribution of the evidence. It is evident that *ita* is 'African,' *utique* and *etiam* 'European.' But *utique* belongs to an earlier strain of the text than *etiam*; for when *b* and its allies have *utique*, then *f* and the Vulgate sometimes have *etiam*, but *f* and the Vulgate never have *utique* except when *b* has it also.

Among this confusion of renderings the steadfastness of *d* is noteworthy. It has *etiam* every time, even in Matt. v 37, where

[illegible]

[illegible] Doth he pay the tribute?' [illegible] He does, or He pays.

One may note where this idiom is found in a Latin MS of the Gospels at Matt. xxii 17, *gat*, a MS with a Vulgate base mixed with O. L. elements of various dates. But there does not seem to be any near link connecting *gat* with Codex Bezae or its correctors. It would be interesting if we could assume that St. Augustine had *Civis Romanus sum* in his MS as the equivalent of Ναί in Acts xxii 27. For ναί, D has εἰμί, in which it is supported by *g* ('sum'), *d* being unfortunately missing. But

[1] A good parallel to the mechanical consistency of *d* in rendering καί is to be found in the steady preference for *substantia* to render τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, where other Latin texts have *res* or *facultates*, &c. (*O. L. Bibl. Texts*, ii 135).

[2] Matt. xx 19.

it is far from certain that St. Augustine is doing more than give the sense of St. Paul's reply[1].

Now who was this G? He was not a regular corrector of Codex Bezae, for his corrections do not go all through the volume. They are found throughout St. Matthew and in the early chapters of Acts. He seems to have begun at the beginning of a book and to have read through the Latin, pen in hand, until he was tired, correcting the spelling and making here and there more serious alterations, such as we have noticed. Let us put the points together.

(1) G's language was Latin.

(2) Yet he knew Greek, and where he adds a line of Greek (Matt. xviii 18) he writes it with an assured hand.

(3) He pays no attention to the traditional Latin Bible.

(4) His handwriting is that of a scholar, not of a professional scribe, and he makes corrections where he chances to have been reading.

The last consideration suggests a person in authority, examining the codex before he gives it his *imprimatur*, to use a convenient anachronism. I venture therefore to suggest that G is the handwriting of the Bishop of the church for which Codex Bezae was originally prepared; this church was a Latin-speaking community, but one in which the Gospels were read in Greek, either generally or on special occasions. In such a community the Greek side of Codex Bezae (D) was Holy Scripture; the Latin side (*d*) was merely a 'crib,' if one may be allowed the word.

In view of the freedom with which G treats the Latin renderings of the Gospels it is difficult to believe that the writer can have lived much later than the end of the fifth century. The case is quite different from the occurrence of Old Latin readings in a MS of the eighth or ninth century. Anything almost may be perpetuated by the conservatism of a scribe. But G is the autograph of a scholar making a fresh departure; and where shall we find a scholar in Western Europe after the beginning of the sixth century who would dare to have an opinion of his own as

[1] 'Non enim dicendo *Ciuis Romanus sum* non erat paratus hoc in se contemni quod pro minimo habebat ab eis qui in illo nomen tam pretiosum et salutare contempserat' (*De Serm. Dom.* i).

to what was the appropriate way to render the Greek of the Gospels into Latin? For G does not shelter his changes under an *alius* or an *aliter*, like the annotator of the Weingarten Codex of the Prophets, to name the most obvious parallel; his alterations are made boldly on his own authority.

Is there then any valid reason why we should not assign Codex Bezae itself to the fifth century, to the generation after the death of St. Augustine? The chief argument for bringing down the date of the book into the sixth century has been the rusticity of the Latin side, but if we think of this Latin text as a mere 'crib' there is less difficulty in giving it an earlier date. The unusual number of provincialisms and vulgarisms is what we should be prepared to expect in such a work; if the Latin text of Codex Bezae were neither regarded as Scripture nor designed for public reading in church it would have, so to speak, less dignity to keep up. At the same time the most pedantic efforts do not prevent the authors of such 'cribs' from retaining many a reminiscence of older versions[1].

To regard *d* in the way indicated above explains what we find in the Latin side of Codex Bezae. Naturally it does not explain the more important problems offered by the Greek text of Codex Bezae. But it does not exclude occasional conformations of the Greek to the Latin; under the circumstances a scribe in copying D*d* from the hypothetical 𝔇𝔡 may have still further assimilated the two sides in all good faith. But the modifications of D and its ancestors seem to me to have been different in kind from the modifications of *d* and its ancestors. D, it is true, is an exile and no doubt has picked up foreign ways, but its companion *d* differs

[1] Reminiscences due to a knowledge of the current version are impossible to avoid. The most pedantically literal version of any part of the Bible in English is probably Cureton's translation of the Syriac Gospels called by his name. Thus for the first Beatitude he gives us 'Happy they, to the poor in their spirit, because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' Yet a few verses further down (Matt. v 15) he brings in the 'candle' and the 'candlestick' of the Authorised Version, renderings that are appropriate enough as equivalents for the λύχνον and λυχνίαν of the Greek, but which by no means reproduce the 'torch' (*sh'rāgā*) and 'lampstand' (*m'nārtā*) of the Syriac. Similarly, Cureton translates both the *mōdyā* of Matt. v 15 and the *sa'thā* of Luc. xi 33 by the conventional 'bushel.' So strong indeed is the influence of the English version that in one place at least it has affected the Syriac text, for no doubt that is the reason why an 'and' has slipped in, both in Syriac and in English, before the last clause of Luc. iii 14.

yet more from its Latin compeers than D differs from other Greek MSS.

Strictly speaking, the date we assign to Codex Bezae does not greatly affect our estimate of its textual value. It is the internal characteristics of its text, not its assumed date, that have made it the most widely discussed of all Biblical MSS. At the same time I cannot help thinking that the historical interest of Codex Bezae is increased, if we are able to think of it as a product of the fifth century, of the times of Apollinaris Sidonius and of Leo the Great, an epoch when the Old Latin Versions were still current in the West. On the ordinary view, which puts Codex Bezae in the sixth century, we are obliged to regard the book almost as an historical accident of the Dark Ages.

F. C. BURKITT.

'IT IS HIS ANGEL.'

THERE are sundry passages in the Old Testament and in the New where the word *angel* seems to be used in a sense decidedly different from that which we usually assign to it. An angel is in Scripture an entirely heavenly being, albeit manifested to men in a human form as God's 'messenger' to them. In the passages I propose to examine he is rather a *representative* of men, dwelling in the heavenly world. The common term 'guardian angel' tends to bridge the gulf that lies between these two classes of spirits. If I may state my conclusion first and present the evidence later, I should describe the 'representative angels' as spiritual counterparts of human individuals or communities, dwelling in heaven, but subject to changes depending on the good or evil behaviour of their complementary beings on earth. I will first bring forward the Biblical passages in question and interpret them on this assumption, and then advance some suggestions as to the origin of this belief, which I hope to show is closely connected with a strongly developed tenet of Zoroastrianism.

The only clear Old Testament passages are found at the end of the Book of Daniel: see Driver's note on x 13. Here the term *prince* (שַׂר) is exclusively used. These 'princes' represent Persia, Greece, and other nations. They are certainly not 'messengers of Jehovah,' for we find the 'prince of Persia' actually restraining for three weeks the messenger sent to Daniel, and it is only the intervention of a mightier 'prince' which enables the messenger to pursue his journey. It would be natural to infer that these princes were simply the old gods of the nations, with their status adapted to the later monotheism. Such a view would suit Ben-Sira excellently (xvii 17, where ἡγούμενον presumably represents שַׂר, as it does in eleven Old Testament passages[1],

[1] But not in Daniel *l. c.*, where LXX has στρατηγός, Theodot. ἄρχων.

according to Hatch and Redpath). But for Daniel there is an objection which seems absolutely fatal, in that Israel's prince is not Jehovah but Michael. It is natural to infer that Ben-Sira represents the native Jewish standpoint, while Daniel shows the influence of a foreign idea. If we suppose that this idea involves the existence of counterparts or impersonations of the nations in the supersensual world, we are free to regard 'El Triumphant' (Michael, 'who is like El?') as the heavenly 'double' of Israel, 'El strives (?),' on earth. In Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*², pp. 107 f, there are cited Talmudic passages showing the solidarity of each nation with its heavenly prince [1]. Before God punishes a nation He humbles its angel, whom He will at the last judge before He judges the nation. That the conception of guardianship was not by any means excluded, either in Daniel or in the Talmud, shows that the foreign element was thoroughly assimilated; it is not till New Testament times that we find angels purely representative.

Whether there is anything else in the Old Testament which may be set with these passages in Daniel and Ben-Sira is very hard to say. Deut. xxxii 8 would be closely parallel to the latter if the LXX reading were accepted. Ps. lxxxii can be interpreted as addressed to representative angels, if the postulate of a decidedly late date be granted; cf. Ps. lviii 1, if אֵלִים be read. The only really probable addition to be made is Isa. xxiv 21 ff (so Delitzsch, Cheyne, &c.). As Prof. Bevan observes, 'the fact that in Dan. x this belief is rather presupposed than definitely stated shows that the author is here dealing with a conception already familiar to his readers.'

The inclusion of these 'ideas'—to use the obvious Platonic phraseology—under the same name as the angels properly so called, is first found in the New Testament. It is immediately manifest that the conception I have described exactly fits what we desiderate for the 'angels of the seven churches' in the Apocalypse. At the very outset (i 20) they are identified with the 'seven stars' seen in the glorified Redeemer's hand; and, as we shall see later, there is a close connexion between these 'angels' and the stars in popular creeds of Asia. In the messages to the Seven Churches the being addressed is an 'angel' who

[1] See also Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, i 814 f (cited by Delitzsch).

concentrates into his own personality the virtues and the sins of the community he represents. He is commanded to repent, to be faithful unto death, to be watchful, and so on. In two passages (ii 10, iii 11) he is promised as a reward for faithfulness 'the crown'—that is the *στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς* of the Agraphon preserved in James i 12. But the penalty for unfaithfulness falls mostly on the earthly partner of his being. The Lord will 'come[1]' in displeasure at him, and move his *λυχνία* out of its place; but the *λυχνία* is the church, of which the star is the angel. If he does not repent of harbouring the Nicolaitans, the Lord will 'come'——again *ἔρχομαί σοι*—'and make war against *them*.' *ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης . . . ἐπὶ σέ* is the only threat directed against the angel of the all but dead church at Sardis. In the last letter we have 'I will spew thee out of my mouth'; but even this is followed by renewed offers of Divine grace which seem to emphasise the extreme unwillingness to conceive of the 'angel' as capable of final ruin, whatever might happen to his 'lampstand' on earth. The connexion of this with the general doctrine we shall see later (p. 521).

The 'angels' of individuals appear twice in the New Testament. In Acts xii 15 Peter's angel is imagined to have spoken to the girl Rhoda who answers the door. We cannot deduce much from this, except that the incredulous Christians, if they meant Peter's ghost, must have thought of a 'phantasm of the living,' for there is no suggestion that they supposed he was dead without their having heard of it. The conditions are best satisfied with the assumption that they imagined Peter's angel or heavenly counterpart to have taken his shape and appeared as his 'double.' Incomparably more important, of course, is the saying of our Lord, reported in Matt. xviii 10, in which it seems to me clear that He meant to set His seal upon the doctrine now under consideration. That doctrine is not, however, the existence of '*guardian* angels.' The importance of the *debita pueris reverentia* is not especially inculcated by the statement that angels charged with their care are always near the Throne; we should rather expect to find them 'encamping around' their charges. Substitute the idea of the heavenly counterpart[2], and we get at

[1] ii 5 *ἔρχομαί σοι*, not *πρός σε*: it is *dativus incommodi*.

[2] Mr. Murray supplies me with an interesting quotation from F. D. Maurice

once a profound reason for their presence nearest to the Father. They represent *those who have not yet learned to sin*, despite the potentialities which time will develop. The 'angels of the little ones' are nearest to God for the same reason as their earthly counterparts are typical members of the kingdom of heaven. As sin asserts its power over the child, its angel must correspondingly lose its privilege, to be regained only when stern conflict has for ever slain the primal enemy. It was not mere poetry when Wordsworth sang of the heaven that 'lies around us in our infancy,' and how the 'vision splendid' fades with the advance of life—to have its second rising, we may thankfully add, in the dawn of what shall never be a 'common day.'

There do not seem to be other Biblical passages making clear reference to this kind of 'angel.' It seems just possible that an explanation of 1 Cor. xi 10 may be deduced from the conception. In the world where all things are done *κατὰ τάξιν*, the 'angels' of the women keep their proper place relative to those of the men: wherefore let their earthly counterparts likewise bow to authority and wear its sign on their heads. This explanation is at least as simple as some that have been offered! In vi 3, combined with Matt. xiv 28, we may plausibly see God's servants pronouncing His judgements on 'angels' of communities or individuals, just as the Prophets pronounced them on Ephraim or Judah of old. Stade (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, ii 241) finds *guardian* angels of individuals in Job v 1, xxxiii 23, the latter passage, however, being obscure. It may be questioned whether these passages go much beyond the ordinary conception of ministering spirits; obviously they have nothing in common with the representative angels with which we are here concerned. As we have seen, even in Daniel the representative angels are not free from guardian functions; and it is not till the New Testament period that the conception is found quite unmixed, and there only in a few passages. Indeed the case for treating the

(*Unity of the N. T.*, vol. i p. 183): 'The little child, the humblest human creature, was dear to His Father in heaven. He did not look upon it merely as a fallen corrupted thing. Its Angel, its pure original type, that which it was created to be, was ever present with Him, was ever looking up into His face.' Maurice is, however, interpreting Scripture more from Plato than on the lines developed here: neither the 'angels of the churches' nor the Zoroastrian conception to be described later have anything 'ideal' about them.

phenomenon as essentially due to foreign influence is greatly strengthened by the evidence which shows how little hold the conception had in Judaism, and how easily it glided into the thoroughly native idea of 'ministering spirits, sent forth to do service for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation.'

I am not competent to essay any systematic effort to trace this doctrine in post-apostolic Christianity. I may, however, quote some suggestions which were made by members of the Cambridge Theological Society when I read this paper in its original form. Dr. J. P. Arendzen compared a passage in the 'Testament of the Lord,' which stands thus in Rahmani's translation:—'Quae enim [*sc.* uiduae] probe ministrauerint, ab archangelis glorificabuntur. quae uero sunt intemperantes, loquaces [*etc.*], simulacra ipsarum animarum, quae stant coram Patre luminis, peribunt et adducentur ad habitandas tenebras. cum enim opera ipsarum, quae quidem uisibilia sunt, ad excelsum ascendent, facile ipsas impellent in abyssum, ut post mutationem et interitum huius mundi ipsa simulacra earundem animarum surgant in testimonium contra ipsas, impediantque illas, quominus sursum adspiciant. *cuiusuis enim animae simulacrum seu typus coram Deo ante constitutionem mundi stat*' (p. 97). The existence of these archetypal souls with God before the beginning of the creation is a cardinal feature of the Zoroastrian doctrine which will be presently described. Mr. Glover mentioned a passage in the Latin *Visio Pauli*[1], where angels inhabiting human beings go up to heaven to report their good and bad deeds to God; note also that there are angels of communities—'angelus uniuscuiusque populi et uniuscuiusque uiri et mulieris, qui protegunt et conseruant eos.' These are, however, *guardian* angels, and in any case the caution noted lower (p. 525, note) must apply. A certain similarity was noticed by Professor Chase between the πλήρωμα and κένωμα of the Valentinian system and the heavenly and earthly counterparts here under discussion; we may presume Eastern as well as Platonic elements in this Gnosis. Neoplatonic parallels were suggested by Mr. Glover, in the divinity who, according to Porphyry, visited Plotinus[2]; and by Mr. Hart,

[1] M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, i p. 13.

[2] *Vita*, ch. 10: *τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ οἰκείου δαίμονος καλουμένου*. *Ib.* *ἔστι γοῦν αὐτῷ . . . καὶ βιβλίον γραφὲν περὶ τοῦ εἰληχότος ἡμᾶς δαίμονος.* Cf. Augustine *C. D.* x 9.

in Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*. The closest parallel adduced was the 'Heavenly Robe' in the *Hymn of the Soul*. Mr. Burkitt drew attention to line 91 in Prof. Bevan's edition, which in his own paraphrase runs:

> 'I heard it [the Robe] cry aloud to them that carried it:
> "There is the Paladin, for whom they reared me up!
> Have I not known that with his toils my stature grew?"'

The Robe has been previously described as the image of the soul, which is finally to be united to it. This is pure Parsism: cf. the passage from Darmesteter quoted below, p. 522 note. We may also compare the exquisite picture in *Yasht* xxii of the good man's Conscience coming to meet his soul after death, embodied as a fair maiden, whose beauty has been growing with every one of his good thoughts, words and deeds. But there is indeed in the *Hymn* at least as much Parsism as Christianity. In expressing thus my own first impression on reading the Hymn I am glad to find myself in agreement with the latest writer on the relations of Judaism and Parsism, E. Böklen, in his careful study of the eschatology of the two religions[1]. There is in fact the same ambiguity as in the case of Mani, whose heresy is variously claimed as Christianity tainted with Parsism, as Parsism with a strain of Christianity, and as Chaldaeism with elements drawn from both. It is interesting to notice that Syriac literature has given us our two best parallels to the Parsi conception. How much more Parsism lies buried in Syrian Christianity the experts in this field might with great advantage inquire.

Before passing on, I should like to mention a remarkable appearance of the 'representative angel' in a region lying rather aside from the path of the specialist in patristics. In the *Inscriptiones Maris Aegaei*, vol. iii, there are catalogued about forty Christian tombs from Thera with the inscription ἄγγελος τοῦ δεῖνος. Once or twice the formula has ἀγγέλου, but (as Professor Ramsay notes in a letter to me) never ἀγγέλῳ, in marked contrast to the similar-seeming *dis manibus sacrum*. In one inscription (946) we have ἄγγελος Καλλινόης καὶ Εὐφραντικῆς. No. 1238, the only one

The daemon in question would answer to the Greek conception rather than the Persian.

[1] *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902), pp. 46 f., 64.

outside Thera, has the following legend:—*καὶ ἐπὶ γέμι τὸ θηκίοι τοῦτο, ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν ὧδε ἐφεστῶτα ἄνγελον μή τίς ποτε τολμῇ ἐνθάδε τινὰ καταθέσθε.* This suggests that the angel was supposed to be hovering over the tomb, so that we translate the Theraean formula, 'Here is the angel of so-and-so.' In other words we have a veneer of Christianity overlying the immemorial belief of the Pelasgian race, that the soul of the dead man remained in or near the tomb which was his home: see Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* i pp. 510 f.

We proceed to ask how this belief arose within Judaism. The essence of it is, as I have said, that the 'angel' is not the *guardian* but the *representative*, the 'double' of the person with whom he is associated. If I am right in my exegesis, it is not easy to attach this idea naturally to the ordinary Old Testament conception of angels. It is not enough to call in Talmudic passages which show that angels, like Homeric gods, sometimes assumed the form of certain human beings: for examples see J. Lightfoot on Acts xii 15. The mere assumption of a man's form and likeness may explain that passage fairly, but it does not help Matt. xviii 10, and still less does it throw light on the 'Angels of the Churches,' which have to be (in Professor Gwatkin's words) '*personifications* of their Churches.' It seems reasonable to ask whether foreign influence will account for the rise of this doctrine, and, if so, whence that influence came.

The grounds on which I fix upon Parsism as the influence in question cannot be exhaustively discussed within the limits of this paper. Perhaps I may refer to the article *Zoroastrianism* in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, in which I have discussed in detail the alleged Parsic traits in Jewish angelology, demonology and the doctrine of the Resurrection. That the Zoroastrian *Fravashis* answer exactly to what we desiderate as the original hint for these representative angels will be easily shown. That they actually supplied the hint is not so easy to prove; but we may fairly call in as evidence the coincident fact that the latest Jewish developments of doctrine, as seen in the New Testament, are remarkably parallel with the doctrines of Parsism. We must probably admit that the ultimate similarity was largely reached by different roads. But the Jews of the last centuries B.C. undeniably knew that the

Persians, to whom they owed their deliverance from Babylon and the protection of their infant community after the Return, believed in the resurrection and in hierarchies of angels and spirits. It seems fair to conclude that this knowledge may well have afforded a stimulus to Jewish thinkers, prompting them to recognise such beliefs as latent in the first principles of Judaism.

The Avestan title of the angels under discussion is nearly always *ašaonam fravašayō*, 'fravashis of the pious.' There is no trace of fravashis of the wicked; and only in one late writing is there an allusion to the fate of the fravashi when a good man fell into sin. We gather that it fled away to Ahura Mazda, and practically ceased to be. The attributes of the fravashis are not very easy to define consistently: it would seem that the concept includes elements from different sources. Many of their features are those of *manes*, 'the good folks,' who from the tenth to the twentieth of March revisit the earth and are feasted by the living. It is easy to recognise here the *Pitáras*, 'fathers,' of the Rigveda. The conception is one found largely among Indogermanic peoples; but while the dependence of the dead upon the living, which leaves a bare trace behind in the Feast of the Dead, is a common idea, the Iranians have emphasised much more considerably the manifold beneficence of these spirits on earth. We are told that they were once located in heaven, but came down eager to fight against the powers of evil and promote the ultimate triumph of Ahura Mazda. Moreover we find that they belong not only to the dead but to the living and to those who are not yet born. Ahura Mazda himself has his fravashi[1]; and in a passage of the long Avestan hymn especially addressed to the (*Yasht* xiii 21 f) we find probably fravashis of communities[2]. Clearly therefore

[1] Professor Barnes remarked on the apparent identification of Jehovah and His angel, in Judges vi 11–24, and other passages. It is certainly tempting to connect this with the fact that Ahura has his *fravashi*, or double; but it is very hard to see how there could be a historical connexion so early. I am inclined to agree rather with those who find Parsi influence only in the *later* Jewish angelology. The native Hebrew doctrine would give no names to angels and no individuality, regarding them merely as manifestations of Jehovah. The Jews preserved the tradition that 'the names of the angels came up with them from Babylon,' that is from the exile generally.

[2] 'We worship the *fravashis* of house and family and clan and township and high-priests [lit. 'highest Zarathushtras'—the prophet's name in a superlative form], past, present, and future, who are pious.' The words are virtually repeated in *Yasna*, xxvi 1 and xvii 18. In the last passage, cf. Mills in *S. B. E.*, xxxi 259,

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division of action
the Evil, the endl
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fire, the magical e
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with them two ch
feature of Parsi se
pudiated by Parsis

whose translation agrees w
rather forced.

[1] The whole passage is t
'Auhrmazd a composé l'hor
et le *frôhar* [fravashi]. Le
au vent . . . L'âme est ce q
parle et connaît. La forme
sphère du soleil. Le frôhar
éléments ont été créés de tel
meurt, le corps retourne à la
au frôhar ...

to be absent from the Avesta, viz. (1) the exposure of the dead on 'Towers of Silence' to be devoured by vultures, (2) the supreme religious merit of incestuous marriages. There is not much else that we can gather about the Magi, apart from the religion with which they became so completely identified. We know from Herodotus that they were one of the five tribes of the Medes, from him and the Behistan Inscription that under Gaumata the pseudo-Smerdis they made a bold bid for political power, and that the feast of the Μαγοφόνια was instituted to commemorate their defeat. In Jer. xxxix 3, 13 we have the title Rab-Mag, apparently denoting the official head of a sacred caste at Babylon. Another pre-exilic reference to them must be traced in Ezek. viii 16 f. Parsi priests may be seen to-day adoring the sun, with the branch held to their face—the *barsom*, or 'bundle of fine tamarisk boughs,' as Strabo calls it. The 'abomination' which Ezekiel beheld in the Temple was presumably a rite of Magianism pure and simple, before the conflation of Magianism and Zoroastrianism proper, which seems to have been completed in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, early in the fourth century B.C. Finally, we have the considerable ancient testimony connecting the Magi with astrology and with magic, both practices absent from the Avesta, and the latter definitely banned.

This scanty evidence does not give us very decisive help in recognising Magian elements when we meet them in Parsism or elsewhere. But, such as it is, it justifies our making the Magi stand sponsors for the treatment of the fravashi as an immortal part of man's nature, dwelling in heaven, and sharing all the changes of its mortal counterpart on earth. With this goes the allotting of a fravashi to a community, and even to the Supreme Being. I would even conjecture that the purely Magian conception originally assigned a fravashi to a bad man: the restriction to the good clearly is a trait derived from the other conception, in which the fravashis are the *Manes*, and it only introduces confusion into the psychological idea just described. Now during the Exile Hebrews at Babylon and 'in the cities of the Medes' were brought into close contact with the Magi. There they picked up the Median folk-tale—especially permeated with Magianism, as I have tried elsewhere to show[1]—which one of them adapted for

[1] See *Expos. Times*, March, 1900; Hastings, *D. B.*, 'Zoroastrianism,' § 4.

purposes of edification in the romance *Tobit*. There, on my theory, they learnt the Magian notion of representative spirits in heaven, subject to moral development or degeneration with the individual or community on earth to which they belong. There too, from Magians who were not careful to square their doctrines with the Avesta, they may have learnt to identify these representative spirits with the stars. And from the Jews at the same time these Magi may have learnt enough of their national hopes to account for the event of Matt. ii, where the appearance of a brilliant new star is interpreted by these skilled ὀνειροπόλοι as the fravashi of a king new-born in Judaea. I must only briefly indicate the bearing of what I have said upon this event. Classical testimony is decisive as to the astrology of the Magi, and the traces (very scanty, I admit) in Parsi literature of an identification of the fravashis with stars are so much in keeping with what we know of their doctrines that we are fairly justified in regarding it as a genuine Magian belief, whether or no it was ever a part of Parsi orthodoxy. In that case we can see what would happen if a brilliant new star suddenly appeared [1], like that which flashed out in Perseus in February 1901. It would be the fravashi of a great man just born. Why of a *King of the Jews* does not appear; but, since we know that a dream guided them before their return, it is not an extravagant supposition that a dream prompted their first interpretation of the phenomenon to which their astrological study directed their attention. It might be added that we are not obliged to restrict ourselves to phenomena which happen to have been recorded. Careful watchers of the skies like these Magi would recognise the appearance of a star like Nova Persei, just reaching the first magnitude, but it is highly doubtful whether such a phenomenon would be noticed at all by ordinary people: scores of temporary stars as bright as that may have escaped observation in the last nineteen centuries.

The conception of 'representative angels' would almost inevitably glide into conceptions closely akin to it. On the one side there is the notion of a 'double,' the heavenly counterpart visualised on earth [2]. On the other side there is the idea of

[1] A conjunction of planets will not do, for the planets were malign in what was presumably the Magian system: their retaining the names of angels shows that the pure Persian creed had not so regarded them.

[2] On these 'doubles' see Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2], i 249.

a 'guardian' angel, which would be naturally developed in a Jewish atmosphere; the already noted syncretism in the Parsi idea of the fravashi prepares the way for it. The part played by Raphael in *Tobit* does not exclusively come under either of these heads. In the Median folk-tale already alluded to, the young man's travelling companion must have been the 'Grateful Dead Man,' who takes the same part in a story found over a very wide area, from Hans Andersen to Kashmir. The Jew who re-wrote the story has substituted an angel, who is at once the 'double' of the dead man buried by Tobit, and a ministering angel sent to help Tobit's son because of his piety.

Before treating as provisionally proved this indebtedness of Judaism to Magianism, I ought to deal with the counterclaim on behalf of the Greek δαίμων or the Roman *Genius*, usually made by commentators on our text from the *Acts*. Horace (*Epp.* ii. 2. 187–9) has a well-known picture of the Genius, man's comrade who rules his natal star, lives and dies with him, and shines or lowers in countenance as the man does well or ill. Orelli's note on this passage gives us an excellent collection of classical illustrations, and there is a long and detailed account of the Genius in the third-century writer Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, chs. ii, iii. One sentence from this writer will go far to decide the question we are asking now:—'Genius est deus, cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est uiuit.' True, he is defined by Varro as a man's 'animus rationalis,' but that does not suffice to contradict the clear evidence that the Genius is a *guardian* deity[1]. When we add that he can hardly have been known in Palestine early enough for the purpose, even if Roman religious ideas had been as welcome there as they were unwelcome, we have presumably disposed of his claim. Greek ideas had a fairer field, but the δαίμων has even less in common with the 'representative

[1] It is remarkable how great the general similarity is between the Genius and the Fravashi. The Genius, with his female counterpart the Juno, is the special patron of birth, a function which markedly belongs to the fravashis. Both seem to combine the ideas of an inborn part of the individual and a power which watches over him. And both from belonging to individuals acquire relations to communities, the Genius very markedly. See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (in Iwan v. Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v 4), pp. 154 ff. The close similarity would have to be taken into account whenever the source of a late Christian conception is being sought: in such cases, development from N. T. doctrine ought not to be assumed as a matter of course.

angel.' Take Dion Chrysostom's definition, 'that which dominates a man, in accordance with which he lives,' or again 'something outside, which rules the man and is lord of him.' It is true that, like the fravashi, the δαίμων is ἀγαθός; but we may fairly conclude that like the Genius he is ultimately an ancestral spirit taking a kindly interest in a descendant who is his ward.

If I have not already travelled too far, I should like to conclude with a conjecture as to the source of this Magian fravashi. The idea seems to me essentially identical with that of the External Soul, expounded very fully by Dr. J. G. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*², iii 351–446[1]. It is shown there that primitive peoples in various parts of the world imagine the soul or life of a human being to reside somewhere outside him[2]. Sometimes it is no further away than his hair, but in a great many cases it lives in some distant object—animal, plant, or inanimate thing—which must be destroyed before the man's life can be taken. In a large class of folk-tales embodying this belief, the life of a giant or a witch is safely stored in some absolutely inaccessible place, and the hero's triumph lies in his finding and destroying it, generally by the help of friendly animals. It is unnecessary to say that the Magian fravashi is a conception immeasurably loftier than this naïve savage notion—though if we are inclined to despise the latter too heartily, it is well to remember that our German and Keltic ancestors must have held it in all good faith centuries after the Magi had risen to their development of this primitive germ. It seems just the kind of idea which the speculative East would naturally evolve out of such a primitive inheritance. If this be so, the theory of the present paper becomes a study in religious evolution, as applied to one corner of a field which may well show many similar examples[3]. It

[1] I am very glad to have Dr. Frazer's approval in this suggestion.

[2] That something like this idea survived among the Israelites of the early monarchy, at least to such an extent as to suggest a figure of speech, may be inferred from 1 Sam. xxv 29, to which Prof. Bevan called my attention. David's life, says Abigail, is kept safe with Jehovah in the 'bundle of life,' as a householder makes up a bundle of the things he most wishes preserved: the lives of his enemies He will 'sling away.' Another Biblical example of the separate soul may be seen in the magical ceremonies with which the prophetesses denounced by Ezekiel (xiii 17 ff) 'hunt souls' (Robertson Smith *ap*. Frazer *G. B.*² i 285 n).

[3] I have endeavoured to trace some further examples in an article in the *London Quarterly Review* for April, 1902.

ppears that a belief which actually has the seal of the Lord hrist's approval had not been a special revelation to Israel, but as derived originally from the Magi, the very people whose presentatives, generations later, were destined to offer the first ibute of the Gentile world before the infant Son of Man. And ey in their turn developed the doctrine, if we are right, from the iild's idea current among savage ancestors. Those who have ad, however slightly, in the works of modern scholars who are ducing to scientific form the tangled tale of primitive custom id superstition, will perhaps be ready to accept this as one of e paths by which God brought to men the knowledge which is e. We have long ceased to be afraid of evolution in the iysical world; and if the Creator thus worked there, why not in e moral and spiritual world as well? Among the follies, the perstitions, the barbarities of man in his childhood, a childhood asted by the shadow of sin, we see the silver thread of a Divine irpose which issues at last in the Redemption. We see how rious elements of truth came to the nations, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυ-όπως, till Truth became incarnate to correlate them all, 'to ing together every joint and member, and mould them into an imortal feature of loveliness and perfection.' And when that ork is complete, 'in that day shall Jehovah be one, and His velation one.'

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

THE CHURCH OF FRANCE IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

It required more than common courage to attempt to summarise in one volume the history of human activity during the nineteenth century; but no less than this is the aim of 'Un Siècle[1].' It is a volume of some 900 pages, and it is made up of contributions from over thirty writers. Amongst these articles there are several of considerable interest. M. Lamy, for instance, on the development of nationalities and M. Joly on the history of governments both show a characteristically French sense of proportion and faculty for generalisation. But the defect of these excellent qualities is a certain impatience of detail in dealing with complicated questions like the Eastern question or the causes of the Boer war. In another part of the book M. Tavernier has an entertaining article on the history of the press, and M. Brunetière's sketch of the literature of the century is full of vigorous and stimulating statements of his point of view. Still, in spite of much that is interesting in individual articles, 'Un Siècle' as a whole is disappointing; and it is as a whole, after all, that a book of this sort must be judged. The thirty writers who have contributed to it are all French Catholics, but this is not enough to give it a real unity. The common purpose which underlies their work is only occasionally apparent. That common purpose is a desire to protest against the secularisation of modern life, to point out in the various domains of human activity the abiding influence of Christian ideas, and to urge the necessity of solving modern problems in accordance with Christian principles. The last section deals directly with the religious history of the century. It is there that the soul of the book is most easily seen, and that we get furthest away from *résumés* and compila-

[1] *Un Siècle: mouvement du monde de* 1800 *à* 1900. Publié par les soins d'un Comité sous la présidence de Mgr. Péchenard (H. Oudin, Paris, 1900).

tions. The first thought of an English reader who turns to this brief history of the French Church will probably be one of surprise at its exuberant hopefulness. French Catholicism has not of late years found much favour in England. A partial reaction has taken place against the wild extravagances of the English press at the time of the Dreyfus case, but French Catholics are still currently spoken of as men of doubtful loyalty and undoubted intolerance. Their political leaders are suspected of aiming at a new coup d'état, and the recent interference of the State with the religious orders has been justified on the plea of legitimate self-defence. In spite of all this, here are thirty prominent French Catholics writing in a tone of buoyant hopefulness of the prospects of Catholicism in their country. The contrast is so striking that it must leave a sense of insincerity in the English reader's mind. Compare, however, the end of the nineteenth century with its beginning, and almost any degree of confidence is accounted for.

The Revolution was not originally anti-Christian any more than it was anti-monarchical, yet it ended in the outburst of a more than Voltairian spirit. The scepticism which the philosopher had wished to keep from his servants went abroad into the streets, and soon turned into that positive hatred of religion which so few Englishmen can understand. Yet the destructive work done by the terror and the violence of the mob were but the signs of a deeper evil. Christianity seemed to have lost all hold on the minds of men, and it looked at one time as if it would be counted among the anomalies of an age now happily past, a *ci-devant* like the foolish pomps of Versailles. It is one of the most remarkable instances of Napoleon's power of seeing realities that at the outset of his career he should have convinced himself of the latent strength of Catholicism in France; equally noteworthy is his willingness to set a limit, in religious matters, to the omnipotence of the state. A less clear-sighted man would have used his Italian victories to secure the recognition, if possible, of the new French national Church, but neither at Tolentino nor in the Concordat did Napoleon make a direct or formal attack on the independence of the Church. The eyes of other men were not so open. Strengthened and purified though it was by the persecution of the Terror, the French Church in 1800 was still

in a sense a Church of the Catacombs. The Concordat brought her out again into the light of day, and partially re-established the historic union between Church and State in France. Within a year Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* initiated modern methods of apology. Starting from certain principles of 'reason,' which they thought common property, the older apologists endeavoured to meet the rationalists face to face, and to prove logically the credibility of Christianity. Chateaubriand's aim was to make Christianity admired and loved for its own sake, and, as the philosophical speculations of the nineteenth century have been concerned mainly with fundamental principles, Christian apologists, hopeless of a common basis, have turned more and more to his method. The *Génie* was read by everyone, but its success was due almost as much to the novelty of the topic as to that of the method. It was quite an original idea in 1800 for a man of letters to declare with enthusiasm that Christianity was beautiful and noble. Between 1800 and 1900 much has happened in France and in the French Church. She survived the friendship and the enmity of Napoleon, and the still more dangerous patronage of the Bourbons. Whatever may be said of the Church in France at the present day there can be no doubt that her hold, at least on educated men, is far stronger than it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There is no question as to her vitality. Hostility she may still arouse: no one can afford to treat her with contempt.

A striking account of the progress made by the French Church will be found in Montalembert's *Les Intérêts Catholiques au dix-neuvième siècle*—a work published in 1852 and intended as a protest against the second Empire. It sums up the results of half a century's history, and as we read its eloquent narrative of the victories of liberty and religion the thought suggests itself that little further progress has been made between 1850 and 1900. In some directions there has been a reaction; in others stagnation; where has there been progress? The following pages are intended as some attempt to deal with the history of French Catholicism during these fifty years.

The progress made during the first half of the century was practically confined to the twenty years between 1830 and 1850. It was the French side of a European revival of religious enthu-

siasm—a movement noticeable in Germany, and ever memorable in England as the Oxford Movement. Its climax in France was during the second Republic. The revolution of July in 1830 had been distinguished by anti-religious demonstrations; churches had been sacked; priests had been compelled to hide themselves. In 1848, on the contrary, the mob brought their flags to be blessed at Notre Dame, and the country clergy were much in request for the blessing of numberless trees of liberty. The contrast struck everyone. Montalembert attributed it, and he was probably right, to the independent attitude of the Church during the Monarchy of July. The fall of the Bourbons had roused her from her legitimist slumbers. The bishops had had to reconsider their relation to the State. At the critical moment, in October 1830, Lamennais started the *Avenir*, and the Catholic movement was afoot. Very briefly, its aim was to break the link between the Church and the monarchies of Europe, to draw closer the ties with the Papacy, and to cement an alliance between the Church and the peoples. If Lamennais had had his way the Church would have bound itself as close to the cause of liberty as it had seemed bound to the cause of order. It is easy to see now that this was too sudden and too extreme a change to propose. A condemnation from Rome was practically inevitable. Lamennais had not foreseen this and his imperious spirit resisted. At the critical moment his ecclesiastical adversaries in France had not the generosity to respect his time of trial, and by their repeated attacks must be held partly responsible for the result. The great Ultramontane broke with Rome and the Church. That the movement should have survived this disaster is the best proof of the truth of Lamennais' essential position. Though their leader was lost to them his followers carried on the work in his spirit but without his exaggeration. After some months of bitter struggle Montalembert unreservedly accepted the Papal decision. He and Lacordaire remained to lead a definite Catholic movement partly religious, partly political, which culminated in the overthrow of the State monopoly of education in 1850. During these twenty years from 1830 to 1850 the progress of Catholic ideas and of Catholic influence was steady and consistent. It had its political and its intellectual side. There was a syste-

matic attempt to gain religious liberties by parliamentary means. The claims of the Catholics were based on principles of liberty and on the equality of all before the law. The struggle was against privilege, not for it. The cause was taken up by remarkable and attractive men. Besides the men of the *Avenir*—Montalembert, most eloquent of the 'sons of the Crusaders,' and Lacordaire, the man who first discovered how to preach the Gospel to nineteenth-century Paris—there were now men like Ozanam, most sympathetic of professors, most genuine of philanthropists, or Père de Ravignan, than whom no one could be better qualified to reconcile public opinion to the return of the Jesuits. These were some of the men who made Catholicism once more a power in the land, and who began to reconquer for Catholic ideas something of the position which they had held in the seventeenth century.

With the fall of the second Republic and the establishment of the Empire all was changed. There was henceforth no united Catholic party. The first breach had occurred in the very hour of victory. The Falloux Law, overthrowing the State monopoly of secondary education, had been carried in the teeth of a violent opposition from a Catholic party led by Louis Veuillot. The Law was based on a compromise. The State was to keep the monopoly of conferring degrees; it was to abandon that of managing the schools. But Veuillot and his paper the *Univers* were against all compromise, and it required the personal intervention of Pius IX in the matter to reconcile him to the law. Unfortunately the division thus disclosed was a profound one. It soon reappeared and remained for many a long year the curse and the weakness of French Catholicism.

It is difficult for an English onlooker to take an impartial view of this conflict. On the one side are Montalembert, Falloux, the Prince de Broglie, and other men of the same class, the 'burgraves' as they were afterwards called. Their organ was the *Correspondant*, a fortnightly review, and their centre the Academy. Many of the more distinguished clergy were in sympathy with them,—Lacordaire, Dupanloup, Gratry, for instance. On the other side were the great mass of the clergy, especially the country clergy. Their most distinguished teacher was Mgr. Pie, bishop of Poitiers, but their real chief and spokesman was Louis

Veuillot. His hold on the lesser clergy by means of the *Univers* was so complete, so unchallenged, that he can be taken as really the representative of their ideas. A threat from his paper would make the bishops themselves tremble; he spoke with all the *verve* of an accomplished journalist and all the authority of a Father of the Church. Of these two parties the first cannot fail to attract. To begin with, the presence of Montalembert would be an ornament to any body of men. He died in the spring of 1870, before the war; and that of itself is almost enough to remove him into a distant generation. His memory grew dim even in France: but Père Lecanuet's recently published volumes, not to mention other works on him and his time, have revived the remembrance of his fine character and described his method of dealing with problems as pressing now as they were in his day. The son of a French *émigré* and of a Scotch mother, brought up till he was nine in England by his mother's father, Montalembert seemed, as was once said of him, 'to be the perfect type of the union of the two races.' For many months an enthusiastic disciple of Lamennais, inspired with a profound aversion for the Ancien Régime, and at the same time by birth and friendship closely connected with the royalists and conservatives, he seemed also especially fitted for the task of uniting the democratic and aristocratic sides of French Catholicism. He attempted to effect this union on English and parliamentary lines. He hated arbitrary government of all kinds, whether by a mob or by an emperor. He saw in free discussion the only honourable method in which a great country could manage its affairs. He believed that in spite of all its drawbacks representative government was, under nineteenth-century conditions, the only possible form of liberty. More generally, Montalembert and his friends looked forward hopefully to a reconciliation between the Church and the spirit of the age. Their eyes were open wide to see the more Christian side of current thought, and they were by nature inclined to find at least good-will amongst their opponents. These are the men and the ideas which it is easy for an Englishman, bred and born in a country of compromise, to appreciate.

The influence of Louis Veuillot, on the other hand, seems at first sight as if it had been altogether disastrous to his cause.

He was before all things the opponent of compromise. He was convinced that the great evil of the time was secularism, or, as it has been called, 'naturalism'—the complete neglect of God and the supernatural in the whole social and political order. In this there are few Christians who would not agree with him; but Veuillot went on to urge uncompromising hostility not only to the principle of secularism, but to the whole structure of modern society in which he found this principle imbedded. The temper of his mind led him to emphasise the difference between Christian ideas and those current at the time, and there can be little doubt that he, more than any man, was responsible for the impression common in France long after his time, that no reconciliation was possible between the Church and the 'Age.' He did more than emphasise differences—he imagined them where they did not exist. He formed for himself what he considered a consistent theory of the place of the Church in the world, and applied it to all times and conditions. Naturally he would allow no free discussion: an opponent was at once a heretic, a traitor in the camp. He once called the Edict of Nantes 'un chef-d'œuvre d'iniquité et d'impuissance,' and he was even less inclined to toleration within the Church. Even men who accepted his general point of view were disgusted by his intolerable personal attacks. He may have thought that the Divine Revelation was so extensive as to cover the whole domain of human thought and to leave no room for human inquiry: but he can have had no excuse for the humiliations which for a time he practised, and taught some of the clergy to practise, before the Emperor. Probably no incident in the recent history of the French Church was more fatal to her than her acceptance of Napoleon III's overtures and the almost universal acquiescence with which she looked on the despotic system he established. It was so strange an experience to find deferential 'préfets,' to be permitted to found new orders, to see bishops meeting in synod, to be allowed, in other words, to do some of the things which in England or America are matters of daily practice, that the French bishops seem to have quite lost their heads. They proclaimed Napoleon III a Charlemagne, the saviour of society and the pillar of the Church. In all this policy, which sacrificed for the ephemeral friendship of a dishonest and arbitrary

government many of the advantages gained during a twenty years' struggle, the *Univers* took a leading part. Veuillot himself had no pity for parliamentary government, 'un bourbier de servilisme et de corruption,' as it was called one day in his paper. He tore off ruthlessly all those convenient insincerities, those decent conventions, which make a representative system, if not a very logical, at any rate a possible and a practical check on arbitrary power. Constitutional checks from within the State were illogical. The only genuine government was a Napoleonic absolutism, and the only real limitations on it those imposed by the Church from outside. Parliamentarism did not seem to him in the least an essential of 'democracy.' Père Lecanuet has told the story of this ill-fated alliance with care and sincerity [1]. The task was a necessary though an ungrateful one, for those early years of the Empire form a unique period in the recent history of the French Church, a period in which the State professed to show favour to the Church and to allow the free development of her institutions. The adversaries of the Catholics have never allowed those years to be forgotten. It is still a commonplace of anti-clerical argument to represent the principles proclaimed by Veuillot and his friends as the normal attitude of the Catholic Church towards popular liberties.

At first sight it would seem simpler to attempt no extenuation of Veuillot's policy. Of course it was not wholly bad; but there are cases in which it is more truthful simply to condemn than by explaining to give the impression that there is a great deal to be said on both sides. This, however, is not such a case. Louis Veuillot is too complex a personality to have justice dealt to him in a simple verdict. If we compare him to Montalembert and his friends, we find in him something more French than in them, something therefore more inexplicable. Montalembert with his avowed fondness for English institutions, his devotion to representative government, his passion for 'liberty,' his fainter appreciation of 'equality,' is really a statesman formed in an English mould. In many of these points his friends resembled him. They would most of them have been quite at home in English politics. This is of itself sufficient to show that they were partially out of touch with the mass of the French people.

[1] *Montalembert*, tome iii, cc. iv, v.

Parliamentarism has never, in France, become a part of the national life, and Veuillot's distrust of the system was really a mark of his instinctive sympathy with the popular point of view. By birth altogether a man of the people, he had made his way by mere force of talent and of a gift of language which made him an incomparable journalist. From first to last he remained a democrat, hating the Revolution partly at least because it seemed to him to have profited solely the bourgeois. Though for a time he worked loyally under the leadership of Montalembert, and though they agreed throughout on fundamental questions, there were differences of temperament and of method so extreme that practically they amounted to differences of principle. Veuillot seems always to have had an instinctive distrust of these well-bred gentlemen who introduced refinements of manners, and points of honour, even into questions of dogma. The schism in the Catholic ranks must really have brought him a sense of relief. It made him his own master, with nothing to prevent him from throwing himself heart and soul into this new crusade against open enemies and false friends. His methods can indeed only be justified by such military metaphors, and not always by them. This is not and cannot be a real justification, and none should be attempted. Controversy after all is not war.

It is more important to examine Veuillot's general position apart from his peculiar methods. It might be briefly described as the conviction that everything else must be sacrificed to the protest against 'naturalism,' that at any cost the purity of the Church's doctrine must be maintained, and all infiltrations from current thought contrary to that doctrine excluded. Putting aside questions of method, this was the line adopted by an overwhelming mass of Catholic public opinion at this time. In face of the extraordinary progress made by the sciences and of the state of mind it had produced—the self-satisfied positivism of the middle of the nineteenth century—the first instinct of Catholics was to fall back on their supernatural dogmatic basis, and at all costs to secure that. Now this was to be done, in the first place, not so much by controversy with prevalent ideas on absolute freedom of thought or on the secularisation of society, as by a development of Catholic piety, by increased earnestness in prayer and

the use of the sacraments, and by a restatement of traditional doctrines. The very existence or possibility of a revealed, authoritative, dogmatic religion, was being on every side arrogantly disputed. It was therefore essential to analyse the process by which the Church professed to teach authoritatively, and this not immediately for the sake of controversy with adversaries outside, but to give strength and light to Catholics themselves. It is for this reason that it is possible to say that, just as the Reformation produced the Council of Trent, so the philosophical speculation of the middle of the nineteenth century led to the Vatican Council. So far practically all Catholics were agreed; Montalembert and Veuillot in France, Newman and Ward in England, all felt the importance of asserting the supernatural, dogmatic character of Catholicism. This fundamental agreement was every now and then admitted by the leaders; it was often ignored in the heat of controversy. The so-called 'liberals' could not get out of their century. The men of less independent temperament felt an intellectual discomfort at being cut off from the main stream of political and speculative thought. The more vigorous minds knew that there is life in the Church, and that therefore there must be change in the expression of truth. They were full of anxiety lest the intellectual and political life of Catholics should be unnecessarily cramped by too close an adherence to ancient formulas or to mediaeval politics, and they dreaded a hasty ecclesiastical decision which might condemn truth and error alike. The conservative school, on the other hand, thought more of the condemnation of error than of the necessity of discrimination. Feeling, and, from a Catholic point of view, feeling rightly, that what was essential was the assertion of dogma and of the supernatural basis of society, they were careless to distinguish between good and bad elements in an un-Christian current of thought. It has always been the practice of the Church to assert dogmatic truth by condemning error, and, encouraged by this, the extremists of this party clamoured for and interpreted in their most extreme sense Papal condemnations of the various phases of secularism. They claimed, too, an arrogant monopoly of orthodoxy; as Newman said, 'They made the heart of the just sad, whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful.'

This great controversy, which moved about the topics enumerated in the *Syllabus* of 1864 and culminated in the Vatican decrees of 1870, absorbed most of the intellectual activity of the French Church under the Empire. It was a domestic quarrel, and though of great moment to Catholics made little impression on the outer world. It produced no literature of importance, for the leaders on both sides were scholastic theologians, orators, or journalists, and, for Catholics, one phase of it was closed by the proclamation of Papal infallibility in moderate terms at the Vatican Council. Except in its very general outlines it has little interest to-day, and it gives an air of intellectual barrenness to the period during which it raged. Historical and biblical studies were at a very low ebb.

Even the Benedictine revival and the liturgical movement directed by Dom Guéranger for the time being retarded, though they should have advanced, historical studies. In his zeal for the liturgy Dom Guéranger endeavoured to attribute a special historical value to the lessons in the Breviary. Though he denied that it was a question of infallibility, he acted on the principle that any legend thus incorporated in the liturgy was *prima facie* evidence and was not to be disputed except for very grave reasons. Meanwhile the old stories about the early origin of a number of French churches were being revived by diocesan historians. The best known of these is the legend attributing the foundation of the Church of Provence to Lazarus, Martha, and St. Mary Magdalen. Tillemont, Dom Calmet, and other learned Benedictines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had long ago denied any serious historical value to these stories, and they had been almost forgotten. None the less, from the moment of their revival charges of Jansenism and rationalism were freely levelled against any writers who ventured to treat them in a critical spirit[1].

Very little was known in the French seminaries of the biblical studies which were being pursued in Germany, and when Renan published his *Vie de Jésus* in 1863, the line he adopted was as unexpected to the immense majority of French Catholics as it seemed insidious. We are now so familiar with the biblical

[1] Cf. *La Controverse de l'Apostolicité des Eglises de France au XIXe siècle*, by the Abbé Houtin. Paris, 2nd edition, 1901.

critic who denies the divinity of Christ without questioning the perfection of His humanity, that it is difficult to understand the general outburst of indignation which greeted Renan from every school of French Catholic thought. To them the Voltairian was still the classical enemy. Here was a new attack on the very essence of Christianity, a travesty of the Divine Master presented for the admiration, but not for the adoration, of men. The attack seemed to bear about it all the marks of a betrayal. It was a blow in the back delivered by an old disciple. Indignation ran so high that no serious attempt was made to reply to Renan by a scientific examination of the German critics from whom he had derived his ideas. That seemed paying him too much honour. Montalembert's diary[1] shows that even by him the *Vie de Jésus* was taken as a personal outrage, to be answered best of all by an act of faith and love.

It would be going far beyond the purpose and the limits of a short article to attempt the story of the practical activity of the French Church under the Empire. That activity took many forms—missionary enthusiasm in distant lands, the revival of religious life and piety at home, the organisation of the secular clergy, the foundation and development of new religious orders, and especially a devotion to social work, both by the rapid extension of charitable orders, such as that of the Little Sisters of the Poor, and by the lay work of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul founded by Ozanam. The self-sacrifice of French Catholics was to be put to a severer test. The great trial came, and the French Church was not found wanting. Whatever disorder in the social, political, or military organisation the War and the Commune may have revealed, it brought striking testimony to the soundness and patriotism of the French Catholics, and the nation turned to them in the hour of danger.

The National Assembly which met at Bordeaux in 1871 was, of all the assemblies of the century, the most conservative and the most freely elected. There had been neither the time nor the opportunity to organise parties or canvass votes, and the result was a body in which the monarchists formed the largest group, and the republicans hardly more than a quarter of the whole. The great majority of the Assembly was conservative and Catho-

[1] Lecanuet's *Montalembert*, iii 461.

lic, composed, that is to say, partly of monarchists, partly of men of conservative temper not definitely royalists but concerned before all in the restoration of order. The conservatives had no leader of their own. They were practically compelled to accept the leadership of Thiers, who had been elected in twenty-six departments. He was declared 'head of the executive power of the French Republic,' but at the same time he pledged himself to be neither monarchist nor republican, and to leave to the future the settlement of a definite constitution. The prospects of the Church had never looked so hopeful, and the terrible episode of the Commune seemed to remove still further the danger of an anti-clerical republic. To French Catholics the history of the National Assembly must be a melancholy one. It is true that it performed admirably the first part of its task. It procured the evacuation of the French territory, it paid the indemnity, it reorganised the army, it made France once more a power in Europe. But it was unable to establish a definite constitution. The task, indeed, was a more difficult one than at first sight it appeared to be. To begin with, the monarchists themselves were divided into Legitimists and Orleanists; the first adhered to the Comte de Chambord, the others to the Comte de Paris. Then from the first, and in spite of his pledge, Thiers began to work silently against a Restoration. His position was a very strong one: it was something between that of an American President and an English Prime Minister. He was practically President, and at the same time the head of the Government in the Assembly. It was a position from which an able and an ambitious man would naturally not wish to descend. In November, 1872, he openly declared for a Republic. At this time the majority of the Assembly was frankly royalist, and Thiers had no right to expect it to follow his advice. In the following year, both the steps necessarily preliminary to a Restoration were taken. Thiers was dismissed by the Assembly, and Legitimists and Orleanists were reconciled. Mac-Mahon was put in Thiers's place, with the definite object of bringing in the new king. All seemed ready for the final act of the drama, but the chief actor refused to appear. The rejection of the tricolor was the Comte de Chambord's way of saying that he would have nothing to do with modern ideas of monarchy; it alienated all the moderate men on whose support the royalists

had depended, and stultified the whole policy of the conservative majority.

The National Assembly lived two years longer; but it was like the tag end of an ill-told tale. Royalists without a king, the French conservatives had to become republicans; they made the constitution which, with a few changes, has lasted to this day, and then dissolved themselves. The first legislature under the new constitution was composed of a republican Chamber and a conservative Senate. With the support of the Senate Mac-Mahon was able to retain the presidency till 1879, but he had lost all real power in 1877. On May 16 in that year he suddenly dismissed his ministers and with the help of the Duc de Broglie made an ill-advised but legal attempt to recover a conservative majority. The attempt failed, and in spite of the efforts of the Government the elections produced a Chamber as republican as the last. The final blow came in 1879. The Senate was then partially renewed, and the majority became republican. Mac-Mahon resigned and his place was taken by Grévy. Gambetta became President of the Chamber.

Though the governments that have succeeded each other so rapidly from 1879 to the present day have nearly all been anti-clerical in tone, it does not follow that the conservative government of the early seventies was strictly a Catholic government. The division was not a religious one. No doubt the interests of Catholicism were largely bound up with those of the conservatives; it seemed, indeed, impossible to explain the political failure of the French Church without this brief sketch of the fortunes of the royalists. Still the division was very much on political lines. Throughout Louis Veuillot and his party were nearly always girding at the conservatives. This was due partly to a revival of the old ecclesiastical quarrel—for the National Assembly had put into office the 'burgraves,' the party of Montalembert and the *Correspondant*—partly to the instinctive democratic spirit of the lesser clergy whom Veuillot represented. These disliked the Assembly both because it was aristocratic and because it was parliamentary, that is to say moderate, ready to compromise with the republicans and unwilling to carry things to extremes. There can indeed be little doubt that the conservatives became out of touch with the people. They did not take enough trouble to

secure the enormous advantage they had gained in 1871. They thought that their good intentions and honest government would secure them enough votes, and they sadly under-estimated the strength of the republican movement in the country. The reaction back to republicanism began very soon after the Commune. At nearly all the by-elections republicans were elected. As soon as the effects of the war began to wear away men slipped back into their normal state of mind, their French dislike of an aristocracy and their ineradicable distrust of a clergy whom they suspected of exercising political influence. Both the moderate countenance which the Church received from the State and the attacks of the *Univers* on most modern ideas were now remembered against Catholics and treasured up by the chiefs of the anti-clerical crusade. The truth is, as one of the leaders[1] of the conservative party has recently admitted, the nation was more republican and less religious than the Assembly. So much does this seem to be the case that one is inclined to doubt whether the monarchy could ever have been permanently restored. Perhaps the Comte de Chambord was after all more clear-sighted than his friends. A dictatorship in some form or other is always possible in France, for that is a form of government which does not shock the French sense of equality: a monarchy seems inseparable from an aristocracy, and is far less adapted to the present temperament of the French people.

Since 1879 to the present day there has been little change in the government of France or in the political position of the Catholics. One ministry has succeeded another, sometimes with dazzling rapidity; but in religious matters all have been more or less inspired by the spirit of Gambetta and Ferry, the founders of this second phase of the Third Republic. Gambetta was a consummate demagogue. A hot-headed southerner, he had at his command a ready and a fiery rhetoric. He was a man of intense ambition, but at the same time honestly devoted to his country. He was indeed an enthusiastic patriot, for he could be nothing without enthusiasm. Though he shouted from the tribune the famous phrase 'Le cléricalisme, c'est l'ennemi!' he was not an anti-religious doctrinaire, and once he had convinced himself that the republic was safe from all danger of a monarchical restora-

[1] The Vicomte de Meaux in the *Correspondant* for April 10, 1902, p. 11.

tion, he might not improbably have come to terms with the Church. Jules Ferry, on the other hand, was a much more systematic, a more cold-blooded, and a much more dangerous adversary. Though Gambetta got the credit, Ferry was the real founder of the present French system, and the bill which he introduced within two months of the change of government in 1879, to prevent Jesuits and members of some of the other religious orders from taking part in public or private education, inaugurated a policy which has been since very patiently followed. It aims at regaining for the State the monopoly of education.

The history of Catholic politics since the disaster of 1879 is, on the whole, the history of a failure. For some years the conservatives formed a respectable minority in the Chamber. They were sufficiently numerous to help in the defeat of a ministry by a momentary alliance with some section of the republicans, but they were not strong enough to offer much resistance to anti-religious legislation. On this subject their enemies formed as a rule a compact majority. The policy of the republican party was a very simple one. It consisted in identifying the Catholics with the defeated monarchists. Every one who opposed the 'concentration républicaine' on religious or conservative grounds was a proclaimed monarchist and the enemy of the existing constitution. It was therefore as necessary now as it had been in 1830 to maintain the Church's independence of any specific form of government. The future of the Church could not wait on the unlikely chance of a Restoration. No one saw this more clearly than the Pope, and in an encyclical addressed to the French people in 1884 he urged the bishops not to oppose the Republic as such. In 1890 he went much further. In a speech at Algiers Cardinal Lavigerie declared that the perils of the times required all good Catholics to accept 'sans arrière-pensée' the republican form of government. The speech aroused the indignation of the monarchists, but a letter from Rome showed that the Cardinal had really been speaking the mind of the Pope. The strong support thus given by Leo XIII to the Republic not unnaturally appeared to many of the old conservatives an excessive interference of the spiritual power in political matters. Whatever may be thought of the pressure put on the royalists, the advice was certainly sound. Nearly all witnesses are agreed that there

is no future for monarchy in France, and the division between the royalist aristocratic Catholics and the republican Catholics was fatal to the interests of religion. The future is to the Catholic republicans. But the immediate effect of the Papal policy was to still further weaken the conservative minority in the Chamber; the royalists were divided and disheartened, the 'ralliés' distrusted by the electorate. The use of the word 'republican' is one of the difficulties which a foreigner finds most hard to overcome. It should mean a man who frankly accepts a republican form of government, but in France it has come to mean a member of the party which has been in power since '79. A 'conservative republican' is all but nonsense. This narrow interpretation of the word is encouraged by its official owners. They claim for their party the loyalty which is due to the constitution. They refused to open the door of their political tabernacle to the 'rallié.' The policy of Leo XIII was not, indeed, altogether without fruit. A minister, M. Spuller, spoke in the Chamber of 'the new spirit' and of the end of anti-religious legislation. But a few months later the Bourgeois cabinet imposed a special tax on religious associations. Again in 1896 there was a brief period of political and religious peace. It ended with the Dreyfus case.

This is the tale of the political misfortunes of the French Church under the Third Republic. The last thirty years of the century compare very ill with the twenty from 1830 to 1850. During the earlier period there were distinguished leaders, a definite policy, a steady progress, and finally the conquest of liberty of education. At the end of the century there have been remarkable speakers in the Chamber, like Dupanloup and the Comte de Mun, but no political leaders. There has been no policy; the Catholics have been reduced to the defensive. Step by step their early conquests are being lost. The endowments of the clergy have been cut down, their exemption from military service repealed, the few religious observances left in the army and navy abolished, the nuns are being turned out of the hospitals, special taxes have been laid on religious orders over and above those imposed on lay associations, the very existence of some of these orders has been attacked, and finally a steady and systematic policy has been long undermining freedom of education, and the

citadel itself, the Falloux Law, is now definitely threatened. All the while the Catholic members in the Chamber have protested eloquently, but have prevented little or nothing. What is worse, the Church seems to have no hold on the electorate. One election follows another but, except in Paris, all the efforts of the Catholics and all their legitimate grievances are barren of any result on the votes. One 'député' succeeds another with varying shades of radicalism or opportunism. For the time at least, political power has passed away entirely from the hands of the old families; it rests at present with a particular class of the bourgeoisie over whom religion has the least possible hold. Among Catholics themselves there are many elements of political weakness—monarchist aloofness and a want of enterprise among young men of family on the one hand, on the other the extravagances of anti-Semitism and attempts to win popularity by exhibitions of 'chauvinism.' It is, however, only fair to remember that in France, at least in the provinces, an Opposition candidate has an almost hopeless task before him. The forces arrayed against him are overwhelming. There is first the pressure of the Government, its agents, and all the far-reaching interests—education, woods and forests, railways, &c.—connected with the Government. More difficult to deal with still is the settled conviction in the provincial voter's mind that 'la politique' is something very contemptible, but that, from a business point of view, it is important to have a 'député' who is a friend of the 'préfet' and popular with the offices in Paris. Finally, an Englishman should notice that universal suffrage means something different in England and in France. In England, even if we had absolute universal suffrage, the great mass of the voters readily follow the lead of the educated classes. There is with us a saving virtue which is called snobbishness when it is absurd, and which renders government infinitely more easy to carry on. In France there is a contrary virtue, that of independence, degenerating often into an overmastering suspiciousness of one's betters. This gives a great opportunity to the demagogue, and may lead to a situation in which the immense weight of educated opinion is on one side, and the majority of the voters on the other.

Thus though the cause for which the Catholics are fighting and the future may promise much, the present is full of perils.

The mere fact that the 'Loi Falloux,' the special fruit of Catholic progress in 1850, is directly threatened by the present government, is sign enough that the political situation of the party has changed for the worse. But in France this does not mean as much as it would in England. French indifference to politics is a common topic amongst the critics of that country, and those who have read Mr. Bodley's book will remember how much stress he lays on this indifference of the ordinary citizen to the character or ideas of his representative. Even the Panama scandal made very little difference at the polls, and men whose guilt was admitted were returned without difficulty at the next election. Frenchmen will account for this by saying that the parliamentary system has never been acclimatised in France, that the ordinary routine of government is carried on by the permanent officials, that the pursuit of art, literature and the sciences is a more worthy expenditure of human energy. Whatever may be the value of these explanations the fact is clear enough, political power is in France an uncertain test of the real importance of opinions. During the years from 1850 to 1880 the Catholic vote was still of great weight in the country. Louis Napoleon thought it worth his while to do much to conciliate it. After 1870 Catholics and Conservatives formed a large majority; even in 1879 they amounted to a considerable minority in the Chamber. Yet during these thirty years Catholic ideas had extremely little hold on educated public opinion. Of the poets, novelists, artists, philosophers, learned and scientific writers of the period, only a few can be claimed by the Catholics. Victor Hugo had grown more and more anti-Catholic, Renan had left seminary and Catholicism alike, Taine's attitude was at that time frankly positivist; when Littré was elected to the Academy, Dupanloup though it necessary to resign. Hardly any, if indeed any, of the Frenchmen of great international reputation belonged to the religion which was still accepted by the majority of their fellow countrymen. The chiefs were not without followers. There were few practising Catholics at the University. There was little outward sign of religion amongst men in society or amongst the officers of the army. The positivism and irreligion which prevailed in high places had become popular in Paris and in some of the large towns. This democratic anti-clericalism burst out

during the Commune with what Burke once called 'that old Paris ferocity.' Meanwhile the rest of the country was still very Catholic in sentiment; ideas move slowly in a peasantry, even when it is French. Primary education was still mainly in the hands of the clergy and the religious orders, whether of men or women. No doubt there was a sceptical movement in progress, but its results in the provinces were much less evident than they are at the present day. There are large country districts now where men are seldom seen in church, but this was not the case under the Empire or in the early seventies. Since then both indifference and positive anti-religious fanaticism have increased amongst the poorer classes.

It is not difficult to account for this change. It is due partly to the natural process by which the ideas current amongst the educated classes gradually permeate the classes below them by means of the press and cheap literature, partly also to political causes, to the defeat of the conservatives and the old aristocracy, and to the passing of political power into the hands of men who looked upon conservatism and religion as alike their enemies. The anti-religious spirit which animated the old republican Liberal of the Gambetta or Jules Ferry type has now passed to the Socialists, and its forms and varieties can be easily studied in their speeches in the Chamber or in those of M. Brisson. The change in the system of primary education has also done its work. Ever since 1870 one of the chief aims of the Republican party was the introduction of free, compulsory and secular education. The teaching in the schools was first made free and compulsory, then secular. Since 1879 the secularists have been able to do as they liked with the State schools, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that in France secular schools are all more or less anti-religious. They were certainly so at first. Efforts were made to teach a 'civic catechism' in these schools, to instruct the children in morals without religion. It is admitted on all hands that the experiment has failed. 'We talk to them a great deal about the ministry' was the reply of a schoolmaster to an official who inquired how the lessons in civic duty were given. The outcry raised by the clergy against the 'écoles sans Dieu' may have been sometimes excessive and impolitic, but the crisis was a very serious one. By the efforts of the laity and of religious

orders and congregations like that of the Christian Brothers, free religious schools have been started all over France and a good deal has been done to counteract the tendencies of secular education.

It would be a long and a difficult task even to mention the different charitable and social institutions, the 'œuvres' and 'patronages' of various kinds, which have been founded by French Catholics to deal with social difficulties and to keep Christianity alive amongst the French working classes. But it is impossible not to refer to the 'Cercles Catholiques' started by M. de Mun soon after the War. His aim was to restore the mediaeval guild, to organise industry on vertical, not on horizontal lines, to combine masters and men of one trade in one locality, not to combine the men in trade union fashion with one another and against the masters. The 'Cercles' have not been as successful as their founder hoped. Probably, for one thing, they left too much to the masters. But the self-sacrifice and enthusiasm of their eloquent founder did much to start a form of Christian Socialism which has done wonders in the North of France. In some of the constituencies of the 'Nord,' one of the most industrial departments in France, the Socialists, usually supreme in such centres, are now regularly beaten at the polls. One of the members for this department, the Abbé Lemire, has won a real position for himself in the Chamber. Allowing, however, for all exceptions, the working classes in France, as a Frenchman lately put it, seem to have been passing through their eighteenth-century period of development. When the educated classes were Voltairian, sceptical and contemptuous of religion, the country people were still in the seventeenth century. Amongst educated Frenchmen aggressive irreligion is getting less common every day; but anti-clericalism with its 'civic baptisms' and 'civic burials,' its mockery of the Church and her liturgy, its sneers at the celibacy of her priests and nuns, and its gross materialism, still flourishes amongst the Socialists and numbers of the working classes. It was only a few months ago that a Socialist in the Chamber complained of the idealistic character of the philosophy taught at the Sorbonne. It had the drawback, he explained, of being used as a basis for religion. Where could a Frenchman find sounder philosophy, he asked, than in the writings of Diderot, Helvétius, and Holbach?

This spirit is disappearing amongst educated men, and even amongst the population of Paris. It was noticeable how little anti-clericalism there was in Paris at the recent election, and during the debates on the Associations Bill the greater part of the Paris press was opposed to the measure. Even in the country there was no popular agitation in favour of the Bill: it was a parliamentary, not a popular measure. There are more unmistakable signs of a new spirit, of the closing of the breach between the French Church and French genius. The submission to the Church of a number of men of letters, of MM. Brunetière, Coppée, Bourget, and Huysmans for instance, would at any time have been remarkable. At present it is part of a movement, and it emphasises the contrast between the end of the nineteenth century and the days of the Second Empire. The movement is not confined to France, and cannot be explained by purely French conditions. There has been a general reaction against the self-confident positivism of the sixties and seventies. No one nowadays would have the courage to prophesy the approaching disappearance of Christianity. The 'theological' period is certainly fated to survive for some time to come. Christianity, being more respected, has been more closely studied, and has shown its power of appealing to the minds of men. In France the movement has been a double one. Men of letters have on the one hand felt the charm of religion, on the other French Catholicism has shown itself more ready to appreciate the good in modern ideas, and the French clergy have even modified their teaching on a number of points in accordance with the results of scientific study and research. Christian philosophy, while it still talks the Latin of the Scholastics in the seminaries, has endeavoured to come into closer relations with contemporary thought. This was for many years the aim of M. Ollé Laprune. A staunch Catholic and at the same time professor of philosophy at the Ecole Normale, no one could be in a better situation for such a task. In his efforts to struggle against the sceptical spirit which he must have so frequently found amongst clever young men at the 'Ecole,' he did not endeavour to build up a positive intellectual system, but insisted on the importance of the moral and active life. Following in the footsteps, as he himself had pointed out, of Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*, he did not attempt to deal directly with

rationalist attacks, but he endeavoured to show how well suited Christianity was to the intellectual and moral development of men. After his death his line of argument was adopted with some important modifications by one of his disciples, M. Blondel. There has been much controversy among French Catholics as to the desirability of a 'new apologetic'; and it is sufficient to say here, tentatively enough, that there is a tendency to adopt a less purely logical and technical method. Greater attention is paid to careful psychology and to the treatment of man as a being composed both of intellect and will. It was not unnatural that this change of method should lead men to Cardinal Newman's writings and to his protest against excessive confidence in logical argumentation.

It is unnecessary in this Review to do more than refer to the work done for historical and biblical studies by Mgr. Duchesne and the Abbé Loisy. What concerns us particularly is the effect of that work on the French clergy. Mgr. Duchesne's success is certain and permanent. He plunged boldly into the old controversy on the origin and antiquity of the sees of Gaul. By his lectures, by his articles in the *Bulletin Critique*, by his book *Les Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, he did much to revive the ancient reputation of French ecclesiastical historians. The legendary stories which have been referred to are now abandoned, even by diocesan historians. The eventual result of M. Loisy's work is still uncertain. But he has probably done more than any other man to stimulate interest in and study of biblical questions among the French clergy. Many of the seminarists are throwing themselves into these studies. This, at any rate, is permanent gain. It was not to be expected that either of these advantages could be secured without a severe struggle. Mgr. Duchesne's criticism assailed the religious, local, and patriotic feelings of the diocesan clergy. For a period in 1886 the bishops suspended his course of lectures. But in his case orthodoxy was not directly involved, and patience was sure to ensure success. The biblical question was much more difficult. It seemed inextricably involved with dogma. The clergy of the old school, the readers of the *Univers*, the successors of the conservatives of the time of the Empire, the large majority of the French clergy that is to say, would have preferred simply to

reaffirm the decrees of the Councils of Trent or the Vatican, and to have treated biblical critics with uncompromising hostility. They were so anxious to keep the light of faith alive that they did not seem to mind its being set under a bushel. In this double struggle the assistance afforded by the Catholic Institute of Paris and by its rector, Mgr. d'Hulst, was of incalculable value.

In 1875 one of the last acts of the Conservative National Assembly was to extend the Falloux Law to superior education, to allow the formation of universities independent of the State. A Catholic Institute was at once founded at Paris, and a theological faculty added three years later. The Abbé Duchesne lectured on ecclesiastical history, and the Abbé de Broglie on apologetic. In 1881 the Abbé Loisy joined the staff. This combination and the constant support of their rector supplied a force which could hardly have been found elsewhere. Mgr. d'Hulst was probably the greatest French ecclesiastic of recent years. Those who have seen and heard him preach one of his Lenten sermons in Notre Dame will not easily forget the impression made by his dignified and striking personality. His words were admirably chosen, and if his delivery seemed cold to Frenchmen, it appeared to an English hearer admirably suited to reinforce his words without distractingly excessive gesture. His oratory was thoroughly appropriate to the grey severity of the nave of Notre Dame and to an audience which came to listen to a man of intelligence and spiritual insight rather than to be touched or excited. Before he was made rector of the new Institute he had been some years the vicar-general and right-hand man of the Archbishop of Paris; throughout he had the support and friendship of Cardinal Langénieux of Reims; later on he became the representative of the French Church in the Chamber of Deputies. Too distinguished a man to be made a bishop, he occupied a position of more than episcopal importance, and used the whole weight of his influence to encourage the men who were seeking for terms of reconciliation between Catholic truth and contemporary thought and criticism. In 1894, at the height of the controversy on the origins of the French Church, it required some courage to refer, as he did in a Catholic Congress at Brussels, to the cherished theory of apostolicity as one of those 'bicoques inutiles' which it was useless to defend. M. Houtin describes this speech as an Edict

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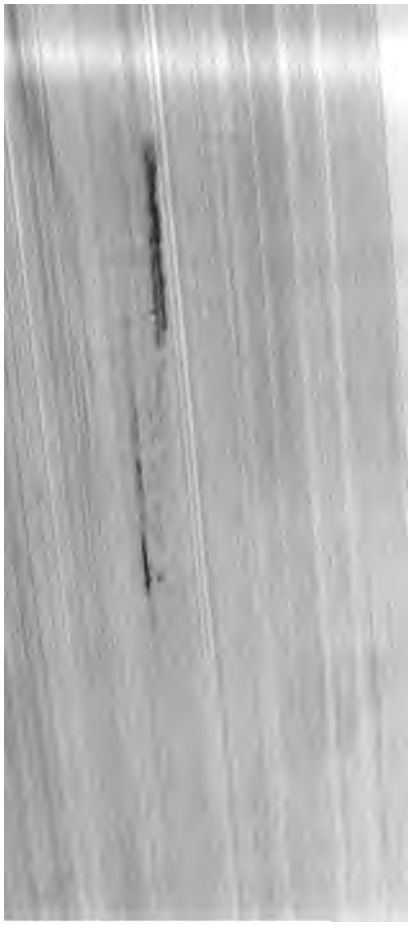

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DOCUMENTS

THE COMMENTARY OF ORIGEN UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS: PART III.

THE TEXT: EPH. iv 27—vi 24.

§ XX.

Eph. iv 27 [μηδὲ δίδοτε τόπον τῷ διαβόλῳ.]

183 [Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν]

ὅμοιον τοῦτό ἐστι τῷ ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστῇ εἰρημένῳ, ἐὰν πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐξουσιάζοντος ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ σε τόπον σου μὴ ἀφῇς, ὅτι ἴαμα καταπαύσει ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας.

τόπον δὲ δίδομεν τῷ διαβόλῳ ἢ τῷ ἐξουσιάζοντι πνεύματι ἀναβάντι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὅτε οὐ πεπλήρωται ἡμῶν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἁγίων μαθημάτων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίου πίστεως καὶ λογισμῶν διαφερόντων καὶ συμβουλευόντων ἡμῖν τὰ ἄριστα· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν πατέρα Ἰωάννου Ζαχαρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ κλίματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπισκηνοῖ ⟨ὁ⟩ Σατανᾶς, καὶ αἱ τοιαίδε συγκαταθέσεις τοῖς χείροσι ⟨κ⟩αὶ ῥοπαὶ ἐπὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις προκαλοῦνται τὸν διάβολον εἰσελθεῖν ἡμῶν εἰς τὰς ψυχάς. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα γοῦν γέγραπται τοῦ προδότου, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ διαβόλου ἤδη βεβληκότος εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἵνα παραδῷ αὐτὸν Ἰούδα⟨ς⟩ Σίμωνος

XX 2, 4. Eccl. x 4 7. From a lost Zacharias-apocryphon: see lower notes 10. Jo. xiii 2

XX 2, 3: 630 c 9–15: 630 B

XX 7. ἐπὶ τὰ κλίματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπισκηνοῖ ὁ Σατανᾶς: this quotation from the lost apocryphon of 'Zacharias the father of John' is not noticed by Berendts *Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden* (Leipzig, 1895). That Origen was acquainted, at any rate at the end of his life, with an apocryphal writing dealing with the death of Zacharias father of John—whom he confidently identifies with the Zacharias of Matt. xxiii 35—Berendts shows from the *Comm. in Matt. series* 25 26 (Delarue iii 845); nor is the passage earlier in the same commentary, *Tom.* x 18 (Delarue iii 465), as difficult to reconcile with such acquaintance as Berendts seems to think 8. χείροσι καὶ ῥοπαί Robinson: χείροσιν αἱ ῥοπαί MS 11. Ἰούδας: Ἰούδα MS

Ἰσκαριώτης, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὅτι ΜΕΤᾺ ΤῸ ΨΩΜΊΟΝ ΕἸΣΗ͂ΛΘΕΝ ΕἸΣ ἘΚΕΙ͂ΝΟΝ Ὁ ΣΑΤΑΝΑ͂Σ· ὡς εἰ, ΒΕΒΛΗΚΌΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ͂ ΔΙΑΒΌΛΟΥ ΕἸΣ ΤῊΝ ΚΑΡΔΊΑΝ Ἰούδα ἽΝΑ ΠΑΡΑΔῼ͂ τὸν Κύριον, πρὸς τὸ ΒΛΗΘῈΝ στὰς ὁ Ἰούδας ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ὕστερον εὑρήκει **τόπον** εἰς αὐτὸν ΕἸΣΕΛΘΕΙ͂Ν Ὁ ΣΑΤΑΝΑ͂Σ.

[iv 28] **ὁ κλέπτων μηκέτι κλεπτέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ κοπιάτω ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ταῖς χερσίν, ἵνα ἔχῃ μεταδιδόναι τῷ χρείαν ἔχοντι.**

ἐπείπερ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις ἀναστρεφόμενοι προφάσει τοῦ 184
πορισμοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πεπιστευκέναι νομιζομένων, κἂν δοκῶσι καθαρεύειν ἀπὸ εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ πάσης πορνείας, οὐκ εὐκόλως ἀφίστανται τοῦ κλέπτειν ἐν τῷ ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ πιπράσκειν καὶ συμπραγματεύεσθαί τισι, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὤκνησεν, ὡς ἔτι **κλεπτόντων** (καὶ ταῦτα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ) τινῶν, οἱονεὶ ἐλέγξαι ὡς εἰδὼς τοὺς τοιούτους· τὸν δὲ δίκαιον πορισμὸν δηλοῖ αὐτ⟨ὸ⟩ τὸ **ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθόν**, τῶν μὲν ἀδίκως πορiζόντων οὐ **τὸ ἀγαθὸν** ἀλλὰ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐργαζομένων, τῶν δὲ μετ' εὐλαβείας περιποιούντων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ **τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐργαζομένων.**

§ XXI.

Eph. iv 29 [**πᾶς λόγος σαπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκπορευέσθω ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀγαθὸς πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς χρείας ἵνα δῷ χάριν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.**]

[Ὠριγένης φησίν] 184

ἀγαθὸς λόγος ἐστὶ **πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς χρείας** διδοὺς **χάριν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν** ὁ διδασκαλικὸς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν μὲν προτρεπτικὸς κακίας δὲ ἀποστερητικός· **σαπρὸς** δέ, ὁ συναύξων τὴν κακίαν καὶ ἐρεθίζων ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα.

[iv 30] **καὶ μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως.** 185

εἴπερ ἡ λύπη πάθος ἐστί, καὶ καλῶς ἀποδίδοται περὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐστὶ 'δόξα πρόσφατος κακοῦ παρουσίας ἐφ' ᾧ καθήκει συστέλλεσθαι,' οὔτε δὲ δοξάζει τὸ ἅγιον **πνεῦμα** οὔτε (ἵνα δοθῇ δοξάζειν) δοξάζει τὸ κακὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι, οὐ λυπήσεται τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. μήποτ' οὖν, τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τάδε πράττοντες **λυποῦμεν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ**; καὶ ὁ Κύριος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ ΚΑῚ ἘΝ ΠΑ͂ΣΙ ΤΟΎΤΟΙΣ ἘΛΎΠ⟨ΕΙ⟩Σ ἘΜΈ. τὰ δὲ πολλάκις ἡμῖν εἰρημένα περὶ ὀργῆς

12. Jo. xiii 27   XXI 12. Ezech. xvi 43

18–23: 630D–631A   XXI 2–4: 632A   12–14: 632CD

22. *καὶ ταῦτα* MS: possibly *κατὰ ταῦτα* 'stealing in this sense,' Turner   24. *δηλοῖ αὐτὸ τό* Turner: *δηλοῖ αὐτοῦ τό* MS   XXI 3. *ἀποστερητικός* MS: perhaps *ἀποτρεπτικός*, Turner   7. *δόξα . . . συστέλλεσθαι*: another stoic definition, of which the Greek is found in Stobaeus *Eclog.* ii § 174, and a Latin version in Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* iv 7 § 14 (Webb)   9. *οὐ*: *οὗ* MS   12. *ἐλύπεις ἐμέ. τὰ δὲ πολλάκις ἡμῖν εἰρημένα περί* Gregg: *ἐλύπησέ με τὰ τάδε πολλάκις ἡμῖν εἰρημένα ἃ περί* MS

καὶ θυμοῦ ὕπνου τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωποπαθῶν φωνῶν χρήσιμα καὶ εἰς τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

ἐσφραγίσθημεν δὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἵνα τὸν τύπον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δεξάμενοι, ἀμερίστου μείναντος τοῦ σφραγίσαντος, τοὺς τύποις λαβόντ[illegible] τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἅγιοι γενώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [illegible] ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ἅγιον γένηται, οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡ ψυχή.

τῷ πνεύματι μὲν οὖν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὁ σφραγιζόμενος σφραγίζεται, ὁ δὲ θε[illegible] ἐστιν ὁ σφραγίζων. σφραγίζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι [illegible] ὁ ἐκ τοῦ πιστεύειν τῷ Θεῷ σφραγίσας ὅτι ἀληθής ἐστιν ὁ Θεός· καὶ σφραγίζ[illegible] ἵνα τηρήσας τὴν σφραγῖδα καὶ δείξας αὐτὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀπολυτρώσεως ἀθρο[illegible] τοῖς ἀπολυτρουμένοις συναριθμηθῇ.

§ XXII.

Eph. iv 31 πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφη[illegible] ἀρθήτω ἀφ' ὑμῶν σὺν πάσῃ κακίᾳ.

186 [Ὠριγένης φησίν]

γενικὸν μέν τινες πάθος ᾠήθησαν εἶναι τὴν ὀργήν, καὶ αὐτὴν τάξαντες [illegible] γένος τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν· καὶ ὅρον γε ἀποδεδώκασι τῆς ὀργῆς τοιοῦτον 'ὀργή ἐστ[illegible] ἐπιθυμία ⟨τιμω⟩ρίας τοῦ δοκοῦντ⟨ο⟩ς οὐ προσηκόντως ἠδικηκέναι.' εἴδη [illegible] πολλὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀναγράψαντες, συγκατατάττουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν πικρίαν [illegible] εἶναι ὀργὴν δυσπαράδεκτον ἢ παραχρῆμα ἐκρηγνυμένην (εἰλῆφθαι δέ φασι [illegible] δυσπαράδεκτον κατὰ τὸ μὴ ῥᾴδιον αὐτὴν εἶναι τοῖς ἐκτὸς προσδέχεσθαι), [illegible] δὲ ὀργὴν ἐναρχομένην.

ἔοικε δὲ ἡ γραφὴ σφόδρα πολλαχοῦ διαφορὰν εἰδέναι θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς, ὡσ[illegible] καὶ ἐν τῷ Κύριε μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς με μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσῃς [illegible] οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ ὁριούμεθα τὸν ἐλέγχοντα θυμὸν Θεοῦ καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ⟨ὃν⟩ δ[illegible] ἀρθῆναι ἀφ' ⟨ἡ⟩μῶν, οὐδὲ τὴν παιδεύουσαν ὀργὴν Κυρίου καὶ τὴν ἡμετ[illegible] ⟨τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Θεοῦ⟩ τροπικώτερον εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀνομαζόμ[illegible] ὁμολογουμένως πάθη ἐστὶ καὶ ἁμαρτήματα.

κεῖται δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πικρίας καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ· καὶ ἡ πικρία γάρ σου, φη[illegible] ἀνέβη πρός με.

17. 1 Cor. ii 11 XXII 10. Ps. xxxvii 2 (xxxviii 1) 15. Is. xxxvii 29

15–23: 632 E–634 A XXII 9–14: 635 B, 636 A 15–21: 635 A

16, 17. ἀμερίστου . . . πνεύματος MS: but the text appears to be imperfect.
XXII 4. τιμωρίας (cf. l. 21 and XIX 71) Turner: πονηρίας MS: the same defini[illegible] of anger is found in Diogenes Laertius VII i § 111, and was plainly taken from [illegible] treatise of the stoic Chrysippus περὶ παθῶν (Webb) δοκοῦντος: δοκοῦντας [illegible] 11. θυμὸν ὃν δεῖ ἀρθῆναι Swete: θυμὸν διαρθῆναι MS 12. ἡμῶν: ὑμῶν MS τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ θεοῦ Swete: om MS 15. Ἱερεμίᾳ MS: the reference is errone[illegible] since the quotation is from Is. xxxvii 29, but the error is presumably Origen's, s[illegible] it is found also in Jerome (635 A)

οἶμαι οὖν **πικρίαν** μὲν νῦν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ καθὸ λέγομεν τινὰς πικροὺς ἐναντίους τοῖς γλυκέσι, καὶ ἡ συνήθεια γὰρ γλυκεῖς ἀνθρώπους οἶδε καὶ πικρούς· **θυμὸν** δὲ τὴν ἐναρχομένην ἐπί τινι γενέσθαι ὀργὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· **ὀργὴν** δὲ τάχα οὐ τὸ γένος τούτων καὶ ἑτέρων παραπλησίων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἤδη ἑτοίμην καὶ ἐνεργητικὴν πρὸς τὴν 'τιμωρίαν τοῦ ἠδικηκέναι νομιζομένου.' 187

καὶ ὡς ἐπίπαν παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς πάθεσι τούτοις καὶ ἡ **κραυγή**, κεκραγότων τῶν πικραινομένων καὶ θυμουμένων καὶ ὀργιζομένων, καὶ θορυβωδέστερον λαλούντων καὶ προφερομένων λόγους καὶ πικρίας καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς. διὸ πρὸς τοῖς προτέροις κ⟨αὶ⟩ **κραυγὴν** ἀσκητέον **ἀρθῆναι ἀφ' ἡμῶν**.

οἶμαι δὲ ἐνθάδε **βλασφημίαν** ἣν κελεύει **ἀρθῆναι ἀφ' ἡμῶν** ἣν προφέρονται ἀπὸ παθῶν ὀργιζόμενοι πολλάκις οἱ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ θείου τολμῶντες ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ὀργῆς λαλεῖν, ὅταν πᾶσα ἡ κατηγορία περὶ οὑτινοσοῦν λαμβάνηται αὖθις ἐν τῇ βλασφημίᾳ· βλασφημεῖν γὰρ λέγονται οἱ κακῶς λέγοντες ἐκείνους οὓς λέγουσι κακῶς. ⟨διὸ⟩ ἀκολούθως τοῖς περὶ πικρίας καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ κραυγῆς λέγεται δεῖν ἀποτίθεσθαι καὶ τὴν **βλασφημίαν**.

εἰ μέντοιγε καὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν τάσσοιμεν ἐπὶ πάσης φωνῆς τῆς κακῶς τὸ θεῖον λεγούσης, οὐ μόνον ἐκ λύπης καὶ ὀργῆς κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς δυσαρεστήσεως δυσφημούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ ἀληθείας λόγου, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις δογμάτων, βλασφημεῖ δ⟨ὴ⟩ καὶ ὁ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ψευδῆ ἀποφαινόμενος εἶναι ἢ τὸν ψευδῆ ἀληθῆ, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ πραγμάτων. τίς οὖν οὕτως δόκιμος τραπεζίτης ὡς εἰδέναι πάντα δοκιμάζειν καὶ τὸ μὲν καλὸν κατέχειν ἀπὸ δὲ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι;

ἐπεὶ δέ τινες οἴονται εὐλόγως ποτὲ γίνεσθαι ὀργήν, μὴ καλῶς προστιθέντες τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὸ 'εἰκῇ' κατὰ τὸ ῥητόν ὃς ἂν ὀργισθῇ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει—ἀνέγνωσαν γάρ τινες ὃς ἐὰν ὀργισθῇ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκῇ—δυσωπήσωμεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου ῥητοῦ λέγοντ⟨ο⟩ς **πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφημία ἀρθήτω ἀφ' ὑμῶν**. σαφῶς γὰρ ἐνθάδε ἡ **πᾶσα** φωνὴ κατὰ κοινοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων εἴρηται, ὡς μηδεμιᾶς **πικρίας** συγχωρουμένης μηδὲ **θυμοῦ** τινος ἐπιτρεπομένου μηδὲ **ὀργῆς** τινος εὐλόγως συνερχομένης. καὶ ἐν τριακοστῷ ἕκτῳ ψαλμῷ, ὡς πάσης ὀργῆς ἁμαρτίας οὔσης (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θυμοῦ), λέγεται παῦσαι ἀπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐγκατάλειπε θυμόν. οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ποτὲ εὐλόγως ὀργισθῆναί τινι.

καὶ οὐ μόνον γε πᾶσαν ⟨πι⟩κ⟨ρ⟩ίαν καὶ πάντα θυμὸν καὶ πᾶσαν ὀργὴν καὶ

38. γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται (*cf.* XIX 61, XXV 47)   39. 1 Thess. v 21, 22
41. Matt. v 22   48. Ps. xxxvi (xxxvii) 8

22–25: 637 B   34–39: 637 B–D   40–49: 636 B, 637 A   50–52: 637 DE

25. *καὶ κραυγήν* Cramer: *κεκραυγητέον* MS   26. *οἶμαι δὲ ἐνθάδε βλασφημίαν ἣν κελεύει ἀρθῆναι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἣν* MS: but the sentence as it stands is incomplete   *προφέρονται* (cf l. 24) Robinson: *προσφέρονται* MS   30. *διό* Turner (cf. l. 24): om MS
36. *δή*: *δέ* MS   43. *λέγοντος* Turner: *λέγοντες* MS   50. *πικρίαν* (cf. Jerome 637 E 'amaritudinem') Gregg, Robinson: *κακίαν* MS

188 πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν φιλοπονητέον ἀρθῆναι ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σὺν πάσῃ κακίᾳ· κακίαν δὲ ἐκλαμβάνομεν ἤτοι τὴν ἐναντίαν ἕξιν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἢ τὴν πονηρίαν.

§ XXIII.

Eph. iv 32 **γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοί, εὔσπλαγχνοι, χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν.**

188 [Ὠριγένης φησί]

ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ πικρῷ γλυκὺ ὠνομάσαμεν· ἔοικεν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τὴν ἐναντίαν τάξιν τῇ πικρίᾳ χρηστότητα νῦν λέγειν, μεταφορικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν βρωμάτων· οὕτως οὖν δυνάμεθα νοεῖν τὸ **γίνεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοὶ** ἀντὶ τοῦ 'εὐπρόσιτοί τινες καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἦθος γλυκεῖς τε καὶ προσηνεῖς.'

τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, εἰ τὸ ὠμὸν καὶ ἀνηλεὲς καὶ ἀσυμπαθὲς πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἀποθέμενοι **εὔσπλαγχνοι** πρὸς πάντας **γινόμεθα**, διὰ τούτων οὐ μόνον τοῖς πέλας ἀλλὰ καὶ **ἑαυτοῖς** τὰ μέγιστα **χαριζόμενοι**· ⟨'χαριζόμενοι⟩ ἑαυτοῖς' ἑτέρου ὄντος παρὰ τὸ 'χαριζόμενοι ἀλλήλοις,' ἐπείπερ ὅσα ἂν ἐν τῷ εὐεργετεῖν ποιῶμεν ἑτέρους καλῶς, ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ τέλος καὶ διὰ τὸ ϲυϲϲώμουϲ ἡμᾶς εἶναι μᾶλλον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναφέρεται ἤπερ εἰς οὓς δοκοῦμεν εὖ πεποιηκέναι. ταῦτα δὲ ἑαυτοῖς χαριζόμεθα ὅσα **καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο**, οἱονεὶ παραδεχόμενοι αὐτὰ καὶ τηροῦντες καὶ μιμούμενοι τὸν χαρισάμενον καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι αὐτόν.

ἄλλος δέ τις μηδὲν ἡγούμενος διαφέρειν τὸ **χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς** τοῦ 'χαριζόμενοι ἀλλήλοις,' ἰσοδυναμοῦν οἰήσεται λέγεσθαι τ⟨ῷ⟩ χαριζόμενοι ἀλλήλοις μάλιστα διὰ τὸ **καθὼς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν**, καὶ ἐνέγ⟨ξ⟩ει ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, λέγων δεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀφιέναι τοῖϲ εἰϲ ἡμᾶϲ ἁμαρτάνουϲιν, ὡϲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀφῆκε τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὁ Θεός. πῶς δὲ **ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν** τὰ ἁμαρτήματα; ἢ ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ ὢν ὁ πατὴρ ἀφῆκεν ἡμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα; **ἐν Χριστῷ δὲ ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν** καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά, εἴ γε ἐν Χριστῷ σοφία ἐστὶν ἣν ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ δικαιοσύνη.

§ XXIV.

Eph. v 3, 4 [**πορνεία δὲ καὶ ἀκαθαρσία πᾶσα ἢ πλεονεξία μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν, καθὼς πρέπει ἁγίοις, καὶ αἰσχρότης καὶ μωρολογία ἢ εὐτραπελία, ἃ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστία.**]

XXIII 10. Eph. iii 6   18, 20. Matt. vi 12, 14, 15

XXIII 2–5: 637 E 638 A   6–14: 638 A–C   15–22: 638 C–E

XXIII 8. *ἑαυτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα χαριζόμενοι, 'χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς' ἑτέρου ὄντος* Turner, Robinson: *ἑαυτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς ἑτέρου ὄντος* MS   16. *τῷ χαριζόμενοι ἀλλήλοις*: *τὸ χαριζόμενοι ἀλλήλοις* MS   17. *ἐνέγξει* Gregg: *ἐνέγκε* Cramer: *ἐνέγκει* MS

[Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν] 190

ἡ μὲν πρὸς πόρνην κοινωνία κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς γραφῆς **πορνεία** ὀνομάζεται· **πᾶσα** δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὸν τόπον τῶν σαρκικῶν γαργαλισμῶν ἁμαρτία, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὰς μοιχείας καὶ παιδοφθορίας ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπενόησεν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ἀκολασία ἐν διαφόροις καὶ παντοδαπαῖς παρατριβαῖς, **ἀκαθαρσία** γενικῶς ὠνόμασται. τὴν **πλεονεξίαν** δὲ ἤτοι ἁπλούστερον ἐκδεκτέον, ἤ, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις παρεστήσαμεν, τὴν μοιχείαν, ὅτε καὶ ἐχρησάμεθα τῷ ΜΗ ὙΠΕΡΒΑΊΝΕΙΝ ΚΑῚ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΚΤΕῖΝ ἝΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΤῸΝ ἈΔΕΛΦῸΝ ΑΥ̓ΤΟΥ͂.

πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν δεῖ φυλάξασθαι, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο **πρέπει ἁγίοις.**

αἰσχρότης δέ τις ἔστι καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος ἀκολασίας· καὶ ὁμοίως γε **αἰσχρότης** ἐστὶ καὶ **ἀκαθαρσία**· ἐμφαίνει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἑκάστη πρᾶξις ἡ κατὰ τὸν τόπον τῆς εἰς τὸ ἀποκρίνειν ἐνεργείας· ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν λεκτέον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ γάμου.

ἴδωμεν δὲ τίς καὶ ἡ **μωρολογία**, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν **οὐδὲ ὀνομάζεσθαι χρὴ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις.** ὁ μὲν οὖν τις φήσει, ἁπλούστερον τὴν λέξιν ἐξειληφώς, μωρολογίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀσκουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν βωμολόχων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν. ὅρα δὲ εἰ μὴ μωρολογεῖν λεκτέον καὶ τοὺς ὁτιδήποτε σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως ἠλλοτριωμένους πάντας, καὶ μωρὸν ἐν τοῖς δογματιζομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

δόξει δὲ συνᾴδειν τῷ ἁπλούστερον ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν μωρολογίαν ἡ ἐπιφερομένη αὐτῇ **εὐτραπελία**, ἥντινα ἡ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν συνήθεια τάσσει ⟨ἐ⟩π⟨ὶ⟩ τῶν οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ μωρολογίας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφ' οἱασδήποτε αἰτίας γέλωτα κινούντων.

οὐκ ἀνῆκε δὲ τοῖς **ἁγίοις** οὐδὲ αὕτη, **ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον** ἡ ἐν πᾶσι πρὸς Θεὸν **εὐχαριστία**, ἤγουν **εὐχαριστία** καθ' ἣν εὐχαρίτους καὶ χαρίεντάς τινάς φαμεν. μωρόλογον μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐτράπελον οὐ δεῖ εἶναι, εὐχάριτον δὲ καὶ χαρίεντα· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀσύνηθές ἐστι τὸ εἰπεῖν 'ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαριτία,' τάχα ἀντὶ τούτου ἐχρήσατο τῇ ἐπ' ἄλλου κειμένῃ λέξει καὶ εἶπεν, **ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστία.** καὶ μήποτε ἔθος ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς 'εὐχαριστίας' καὶ τοῦ 'εὐχαρίστου' τοὺς ἀπὸ
Ἑβραίων χρῆσθαι ἀντὶ τῆς 'εὐχαριτίας' καὶ 'εὐχαρίτου'· τοιοῦτο δὲ ἐνομίσαμεν 191
εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐν Παροιμίαις οὕτως εἰρημένον ΓΥΝῊ ΕΥ̓ΧΆΡΙΣΤΟΣ ἘΓΕΊΡΕΙ ἈΝΔΡῚ ΔΌΞΑΝ ἀντὶ τοῦ 'εὐχάριτος γυνή'· βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἂν ἐδόξαμεν τὸ ΓΥΝῊ ΕΥ̓ΧΆΡΙΣΤΟΣ ἀντὶ

XXIV 7. 1 Thess. iv 4, 6   29. Prov. xi 16

XXIV 6–8: 640 B   15–18: 640 D   19–22: 640 E 641 A   22–33: 641 D–642 A

XXIV 20. *ἐπί* Gregg: *ἀπό* MS   22. *αὕτη*: *αὐτή* MS   23. *ἤγουν* Robinson: *ἢ γοῦν* MS   23, 24. *εὐχαρίτους . . . εὐχάριτον* Turner: *εὐχαρίστους . . . εὐχάριστον* MS: comparing Jerome 641 B–D (where read '*εὐχαριτίαν* ad distinctionem eucharistiae') the drift seems to be that *εὐχαριστία* in contrast with *εὐτραπελία* must be rather 'graciousness' than 'gratefulness'; that the form *εὐχαριτία*, the abstract noun from *εὐχάριτος*, is not in use, and St. Paul therefore employs the noun of the neighbouring *εὐχάριστος*—unless indeed (Origen adds) we go as far as to say that in Hebraistic use not only the unavoidable noun *εὐχαριστία* but the avoidable adjective *εὐχάριστος* occur in the sense of 'gracious.' If this account is correct, *εὐχαρίτους*, not *εὐχαρίστους*, must be read at the beginning of the paragraph

χρ

καὶ
ἐπι
τοῦ
πλε
Θεο
κατι
μὲν
τῆς
λε
τὸ λ
κληρ
ἐστὶν
τις ἀ
τοῖς
καὶ ε
διηρ
εὐτρ
ἐτ
μοιχ
192 τρέπ
τῶν
ὀπίς
εἰδα
ᾗ ὁ
οἷον
των
ἐντ
σθα

§ XXV.

Eph. v 6 [**μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις, διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας.**]

[*Ὠριγένης φησι*] 193

κενοὺς *ἔοικε φάσκειν* **λόγους** *τοὺς διά τινος πιθανότητος ἀνατρέπειν θέλοντας τὸν περὶ τῶν προσαγομένων τοῖς κακῶς βεβιωκόσι κολάσεων λόγον·* **ἀπάτης** *γ' οὖν φησιν εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους καὶ κενούς, τῷ πάντως* **ἔρχεσθαι τὴν** *λεγομένην* **ὀργὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας.**

ἀπειθείας *δὲ* **υἱοὺς** *ὀνομάζει τοὺς ἀπειθεῖς, οἱονεὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν κακίας μητρὸς γινομένης καὶ γεννώσης αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας οἱονεὶ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς χαρακτῆρα· οὕτως καὶ υἱοὺς καὶ* τέκνα πορνείας *καὶ* υἱοὺς θανάτου *καὶ* υἱοὺς γεέννης *καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι πολλαχοῦ τῶν γραφῶν εὑρεῖν.*

[v 7] **μὴ οὖν γίνεσθε συμμέτοχοι αὐτῶν.**

τηρήσεις τὴν 'μέτοχος' καὶ 'συμμέτοχος' φωνήν· μήποτε ὁ μὲν μέτοχος 194
ἐπὶ κρείττονος εἴρηται, ὁ δὲ συμμέτοχος ἐπὶ χείρονος, οἷον διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου, *καὶ* μέτοχοι γὰρ Χριστοῦ γεγόναμεν, ἐάνπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως μέχρι τέλους βεβαίαν κατάσχωμεν. *οὐ μέμνημαι δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐνεστηκυῖαν λέξιν τὸν 'συμμέτοχον' εἰρῆσθαι, πλὴν φανερὸν ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἐπὶ χειρόνων ἐστὶν ὁ συμμέτοχος.*

[v 8] **ἦτε γάρ ποτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ.**

εἰ δυνατὸν τὸ **ποτὲ σκότος** *μεταβαλὸν γενέσθαι* **φῶς**, *οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀπολλύμεναι φύσεις.*

ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ δίκαιοι φῶς *εἰσι* τοῦ κόσμου, *οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς σκότος ἂν εἶναι λέγοιντο· καὶ οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι φῶς ὄντες* ἐν φωτὶ ὄψονται φῶς, *οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι σκότος τυγχάνοντες* λαός *εἰσι* καθήμενος ἐν σκότει *μηδὲν βλέποντες.*

ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιγνωσόμεθα *τοὺς ὄντας φῶς ἢ σκότος·* πᾶς *μὲν* γὰρ ὁ φαῦλα πράσσων μισεῖ τὸ φῶς, καὶ *μὴ* ἐρχόμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς *σκότος ἐστὶ καὶ υἱὸς σκότους καὶ νυκτός·* ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐρχόμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς *φῶς ἐστι καὶ υἱὸς φωτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.*

πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιστήσεις εἰ μὴ ὡς ὄντων τινῶν φώτων ἀλλ' οὐκ **ἐν κυρίῳ** *λέγεται περὶ τῶν δικαίων τὸ* **νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ·** *καὶ μάλιστά γε τοῖς πεφωτισμένοις ἐν φωτὶ γνώσεως Ἐφεσίοις ἔπρεπε λέγεσθαι τὸ* **νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ.**

XXV 12. Ps. xliv 8 (xlv 7) 13 Heb. iii 14 20. Matt. v 14 21. Ps. xxxv 10 (xxxvi 9) 22. Is. ix 2 23. Matt. vii 16, 20 23, 25. Jo. iii 20, 21

XXV 3: 644 A 8, 9: 644 C 11–16: 644 E 645 A 18, 19: 645 A 20–26: 645 B C 27–29: 645 C D

XXV 15. *συμμέτοχον*: Origen has strangely overlooked Eph. iii 6 *συμμέτοχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας*

[illegible] ἀπ[illegible]
καὶ ἐν ἄλ[illegible]
δικαιοτέρ[illegible]
καὶ οἱ παρ[illegible]
Χριστὸν [illegible]
ἐν μὲν οὖν [illegible]
ταυτῇ ἡ [illegible]

[v xx] [illegible]
χρεία τοῦ [illegible]
[illegible] ἐπὶ [illegible]
[illegible] ὡς [illegible]
[illegible]

εἶναι δὲ [illegible]
[illegible] μὴ οὖν γίνεσθαι [illegible]
εἰ καὶ [illegible] ποτε [illegible]
ταῖς [illegible] ἐπ[illegible]
καὶ [illegible]

[v xx a] καὶ μ[illegible]
καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τ[illegible]
[illegible] ἐπὶ τῆς [illegible]
[illegible] καὶ τὰ ἐξ[illegible]
[illegible] τῶν μ[illegible]
ἐν τούτῳ [illegible]

[v xx b] μᾶλλον [illegible]
ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς [illegible]
[illegible] ἐν [illegible]
[illegible]
καὶ αἱ [illegible]
[illegible]

[v 12] τὰ γὰρ κρυφῆ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν. τίνων αὐτῶν; οὐ πάνυ σαφῶς προεῖπεν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις ἀναφέρῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας τὴν λέξιν, ὥστε οὕτως αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὰ γὰρ κρυφῆ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς ἀπειθείας αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν, ἅτινα ἦν πορνεία καὶ ἀκαθαρσία.

§ XXVI.

Eph. v 13 [**τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐλεγχόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανεροῦνται· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον φῶς ἐστιν. διὸ λέγει, Ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ χριστός.**]

[Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν] 196

ἐπείπερ τὰ ἐλεγχόμενα ἔργα τοῦ σκότους ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανεροῦται, μεταβαλλόντων τῶν ἐλεγχομένων εἰς φῶς, λέγεται τοῖς καθεύδουσι καὶ ἐν νεκρότητι τυγχάνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ τὰ ἄκαρπα ἔργα τοῦ σκότους πεποιηκέναι τὸ ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐπι⟨φ⟩αύσει σοι ὁ χριστός.

ζητήσαι δ' ἄν τις, τίς λέγει κατὰ τὸ ἐνθάδε γεγραμμένον διὸ λέγει Ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τις φήσει ἔν τινι τῶν προφητῶν ἀνεγνωκότα ταῦτα τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐνθάδε αὐτὸν ἀναγεγραφέναι. ἕτερος δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀπόστολον προσωποποιεῖν τινα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος λεγόμενα εἰς προτροπὴν τὴν ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν.

ἔτι δὲ ζητήσεις, πῶς τῷ αὐτῷ λέγεται ὡς μὲν ζῶντι καὶ καθεύδοντι ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων, ὡς δὲ τεθνηκότι τὸ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. μήποτ' οὖν ἐπείπερ ἔστι καὶ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ κρείττονος τετηρήκαμεν λέγεσθαι, ἔστι δέ τι καὶ δεύτερον ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ καὶ νόσου καὶ θανάτου ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δεκτικόν, τὸ μὲν ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων λέγεται διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν διὰ τὴν ψυχήν· ἐπείπερ ψυχὴ ἡ ἁμαρτάνουσα αὕτη ἀποθανεῖται, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος οὐδαμοῦ εὕρομεν θάνατον.

φῶς δὲ ὢν ἀληθινὸν ὁ χριστὸς ἐπιφαύσει τῷ ἐγειρομένῳ ἀπὸ ὕπνου καὶ ἀναστάντι ἐκ νεκρῶν.

§ XXVII.

Eph. v 15–17 **βλέπετε οὖν ἀκριβῶς πῶς περιπατεῖτε, μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοί, ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραί εἰσιν. διὰ τοῦτο μὴ γίνεσθε ἄφρονες, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου.**

XXVI 14. 1 Cor. ii 11 17. Ezech. xviii 20 19. Jo. i 9

XXVI 2–9 : 647 C D 10, 11 : 648 A 12–20 : 648 B C

XXVI 5. ἐπιφαύσει Cramer: ἐπιψαύσει MS, and this, though certainly not the reading of Origen, was apparently the reading of the Catenist: see Swete's edition of Theodore *ad loc.* (i 180)

αἰχμαλωτ…
οὕτως ἀπ…
πονηρίας ἡμῶ…
αὐτὸν καὶ ἀν…
οὐδεὶς δὲ βασ…
ἑαυτῷ τὴν κα…
ἀπολλύντων αὐτ…
αἰχμαλωτιζόμ…
τῆς πονηρίας ἡ…
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος …
ἀγαθῶν.

[Π][v 17] διὰ …
… ἀφρόνων.

διὰ τοίνυν τοῦτ…
ὡς σοφοί, μὴ γίνε…
ὅστε οὐδὲ ὡς σοφ…
προστάσσει δὲ …
ἄπου τι περὶ τοῦ …
ὅσον δὲ πάσχ(ω)σ…

Eph. v 18 καὶ μὴ …
πνεύματι.

190

δύναται μὲν καὶ ἀπ…
τοῦ μεθύειν τοιοῦτος …

XXVII 17. Gal. i 4; E…
XXVII 2–7: 649 B C

περὶ οὗ ἐν ᾠδῇ μεγάλῃ λέγεται θυμὸς δρακόντων ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνίατος, ὅντινα πάντες οἱ ἐξιστάμενοι καὶ **μεθύοντες** τὸν λογισμὸν πίνουσι πολλὴν ἔχοντα τὴν **ἀσωτίαν**.

πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν δὲ ἐκείνου τοῦ **οἴνου** τοῦ **μεθύσκοντος** ἐν ᾧ **ἐστὶν ἀσωτία** ἐναντίος νοεῖται ὁ **πεπληρωμένος πνεύματι** καὶ πᾶν ὃ χωρεῖ τοῦ θειοτέρου λαμβάνων. πολλάκις δὲ τετηρήκαμεν τ⟨ὸ⟩ ὄνομα τοῦ 'πνεύματος' χωρὶς προσθήκης γεγραμμένον ὅτι ἐπὶ κρείττονος εἴρηται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐνθάδε σημαίνεται.

§ XXIX.

Eph. v 19 [**λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.**]

[Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν] 200

οἱ μὲν **ὕμνοι** δύναμιν καὶ θειότητα καταγγέλλουσι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἴη ἂν ὁ ἐπιστήμων τοῦ θεολογεῖν ἐν **ὕμνοις πνευματικοῖς**· τάχα δὲ ὁ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων διαλαμβάνων καὶ τῶν οἷς δεῖ ἐνεργεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὡς ψαλτηρίου ὀργάνου σωματικοῦ ἡμῶν, οὗτος ἐν **ψαλμοῖς** ἐστι **πνευματικοῖς**· ὁ δὲ ἄλλως φυσιολογῶν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου τάξεως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δημιουργημάτων, οὗτος ἐν **ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς**. καὶ χρή γε **ᾄδειν** κατὰ τὴν φυσιολογίαν καὶ 201
ψάλλειν κατὰ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἠθῶν διέξοδον **τῷ Κυρίῳ** διακείμενον γνησίως πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ **ψάλλειν** καὶ **ᾄδειν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῷ Κυρίῳ**.

[v 20] **εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί.**

καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς προτέρᾳ φησί πάντοτε χαίρετε ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε. ταύτην δὴ τηρήσει τὴν ἐντολὴν ὁ διειληφὼς περὶ τῆς προνοίας φθανούσης καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ β' ἀσσαρίων πωλούμενα πέντε στρουθία ὧν ἓν οὐ πίπτει εἰς παγίδα χωρὶς τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατρός.

τὸ δὲ ἐν παντὶ **εὐχαριστεῖν** καὶ **ὑπὲρ πάντων** εὐχαριστεῖν ἐστιν· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς περιστάσεσιν εὐχαριστητέον, ἐπείπερ καὶ αὗται τῶν ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ εὐχαριστεῖν εἰσιν· καὶ ὥσπερ δεῖ εὐχαριστεῖν τὸν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν τῷ μεταλαμ-

XXVIII 4. Deut. xxxii 33 XXIX 13, 17. 1 Thess. v 16–18 15, 16. Luc. xii 6; Matt. x 29

9–11 : 651 c XXIX 2–7 : 651 DE 13–16 : 652 c 17–21 : 652 D–653 A

XXVIII 9. τὸ ὄνομα (cf. Jerome 651 c 'frequenter adnotauimus nomen spiritus absque additamento in bonam positum partem') Gregg : τῷ ὀνόματι MS

XXIX 5. ὁ δὲ ἄλλως φυσιολογῶν MS: Jerome's rendering (651 E), 'qui uero de superioribus disputat,' suggests ἄνω for ἄλλως (Turner)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

εἶναι πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἑκάστη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν· καὶ πάντα δὲ τὰ Χριστοῦ νοείτω καὶ ποιείτω ἀνήρ, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ γυνή.

§ XXX.

Eph. v 24 [**ἀλλὰ ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτως καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν παντί.**]

[Ὠριγένης φησίν] 205

εἰ οὕτως δεῖ **τὰς γυναῖκας ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ**, ἁγίως καὶ ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως δεήσει βιούσας τὰς γυναῖκας ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ **ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ** ἁγίως καὶ ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως βιοῦσα.

v 27. [**ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μὴ ἔχουσαν** 206
σπῖλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀλλ' ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ ἄμωμος.]

σπῖλοι δέ εἰσιν οἷον φακοὶ γινόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μελανίαι καὶ ἀλφοὶ καὶ μυρμηκίαι· τούτων γὰρ περιαιρεθέντων ὡραιοτέρα γένοιτ' ἂν γυνή· καὶ τὰ ἀνάλογον αὐτοῖς νοείσθω γινόμενα καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ἅτινα οὐδενός ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ Λόγου περιελεῖν, **ἵνα παραστήσῃ ἑαυτῷ**, φησί, τὴν ἰδίαν νύμφην **μὴ ἔχουσαν σπῖλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀλλ' ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ ἄμωμος.**

ῥυτίδες δὲ σημεῖόν εἰσι γήρως· οὕτως εἴ τις ἴχνη τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἐπιμένοι ἔχων μὴ ἀεὶ ἀνακαινούμενος, ῥερυτιδῶσθαι ἂν λέγοιτο κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν.

[v 31] **ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.**

παρατηρητέον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πεποιήκαμεν, ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἐκτίθενται τὴν παλαιὰν γραφὴν οἱ τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην γράφοντες. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου ἐν μὲν τῇ Γενέσει οὕτω γέγραπται ἕνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν, ἐνθάδε δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἕνεκεν τούτου πεποίηκεν ὁ Παῦλος **ἀντὶ τούτου**, παραλέλοιπέν τε τὸ μετὰ **τὸν πατέρα** εἰρημένον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μετὰ **τὴν μητέρα** δεύτερον εἰρημένον αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.

§ XXXI.

Eph. vi 1–3 **τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον· τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται καὶ ἔσῃ μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.**

XXX 11, 12. Col. iii 9, 10 (*cf.* Eph. iv 22–24) 17. Gen. ii 24

XXX 2–5 : 655 D 6–12 : 657 C D 15–22 : 659 C–E

XXX 21. τὸ μετὰ τὴν μητέρα Gregg : μετὰ τὸ τὴν μητέρα MS.

[illegible]

XXXII 4 : Cor. iv 15 13. Exod. xx 12, Deut. v 16 20. Exod. xx 1
26. Exod. xx 4-6

XXXII 2-7 : 86 c 2-86 g 2 13-18: 86 g 2 19-46 : 86 g 2-86 h 2

XXXII 5. καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ κόμου γινόντων ἐκκοπτόντων (cf. Jerome 86 g 2 'et gentilium scortis de quibus convivium sunt nomen dimoquentium') Gregg : καὶ (doubtless by homoeoteleuton) MS 7. καθ' ἑκάστην Turner : καθ' ἑκάστου MS 12. τοῦ γινόντων ἐν κόμῳ MS : perhaps τοῦ γινόντων τοῦ ἐν κόμῳ (Gregg) 14. τῆς τῆς MS : τῆς τῆς τῆς ἀγαθῆς is read in the ordinary LXX text of Exod. xx 12, but the adjective is absent throughout both in our MS (lines 17, 24, 38, 40, 45) and in Jerome, so that the reference here is presumably not to Exod. xx 12, but to the Decalogue in Deut. v 16 16. τὸ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς Gregg : τὸ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς MS 23. πόλεσι MS : possibly πόλεσιν (Robinson)

ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσί με καὶ τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὰ προστάγματά μου. μήποτ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ ἡ Δεκάλογος **πρώτη** τῷ λαῷ νομοθεσία μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἴρηται, ἑκάστη τῶν δέκα ἐντολῶν πρώτη ἐστὶν ἐν πρώτοις τῶν ἑξῆς εἰρημένη.

ὁ μέντοιγε θέλων ἐπιμένειν τῇ ἀποδόσει τοῦ **ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ** ἐρεῖ ὅτι ἰδία μέν ἐστι τῆς τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου ἐντολῆς ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἡ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι, οὐκ ἰδία δὲ τῆς οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα ἢ 210
ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσί με καὶ τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὰ προστάγματά μου.

πάλιν δὲ αὖ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐνστήσεται ὁ τὴν Δεκάλογον ὅλην περιέχειν πρώτας ἐντολὰς διηγούμενος· ἐρεῖ γὰρ τὸ μακροχρόνιον γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς δίδωσι τοῖς ἁγίοις οὐ διὰ μόνην δίδοσθαι τὴν τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου ἐντολὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἄλλας μυρίας· δεήσει τε τὸν τοιοῦτον συναγαγεῖν ἐντολὰς αἷς ἐπιφέρεται τὸ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι.

μετὰ ταῦτα ζητητέον περὶ τῆς χαριζομένης ἐπαγγελίας τὸ μακροχρόνιον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς δίδωσι τοῖς ἁγίοις. καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοητέον γε ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν ἡγοῦνται τοῦτο γίνεσθαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ἀλλ' ὁρῶμεν οὐ πάντως τοῦτο ἀληθές, φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης οἴμοι ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη.

ζητητέον οὖν τὴν ἀγαθὴν γῆν ἣν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς **ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ** δίδωσι τῷ καταλιπόντι τὴν πνευματικὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ μετὰ πάσης μακροθυμίας καὶ ὑπομονῆς ὁδεύσαντι τὴν πνευματικὴν ἔρημον τὴν πολλὴν καὶ φοβεράν, καὶ νικήσαντι οὓς πατάσσει Κύριος βασιλεῖς μεγάλους καὶ οὓς ἀνεῖλεν Κύριος βασιλεῖς κραταιούς.

§ XXXII.

Eph. vi 9 **καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς.**

[Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν] 213

τίνα **τὰ αὐτὰ** τῶν προειρημένων; οἶμαι οὖν ὅτι **ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας** καὶ τὸ **ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ** καὶ τὸ **ἐκ ψυχῆς** καὶ **μετ' εὐνοίας** τῆς πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας.

[vi 10] **τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐνδυναμοῦσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ.**

50. Ps. cxix (cxx) 5 51. *cf.* Deut. i 35 53. Deut. i 19 54, 55. Ps. cxxxv (cxxxvi) 17, 18

47–50: 664 D E 1–55: 665 C XXXII 2–4: 668 E

39. ἢ : ἡ MS 44–46. The Catena appears to have omitted a sentence, for not only do these two lines suggest that an answer will be made to them, but Jerome (664 C D) shows us what it was, 'a quo diuersus ille exigere debebit interpres, ut doceat ante hoc mandatum illa quae ab eo prolata sunt scripta esse mandata; quod si non potuerit adprobare, frustra et in aliis praeceptis hanc repromissionem adiunctam esse memorabit' 54. πατάσσει MS : the tense is confirmed by Jerome 665 C 'percutit'

τὸ δυναμοῦσθ⟨αι⟩ ἐν Κυρίῳ δύναμοῦσθαί ἐστιν ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας θεωρίᾳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς Χριστοῦ ἐπινοίαις· οὗ μέγιστόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς ἰσχύος κράτος καὶ κραταιότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτῆς, ἅτινα πάντα εἰσὶ δυνάμεις, ὥσπερ αἱ κακίαι ἀδυναμία.

214 ἔστι δέ τις τῶν ἀρετῶν (ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοί) ἀθεώρητος ἡ καλουμένη ἰσχύς, ὠνομασμένη οὕτως τῷ ἀναλογίαν τινὰ ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν σωματικὴν ἰσχύν, καὶ ἄλλη θεωρητός, κάλλος ἀπὸ τοῦ σωματικοῦ ὠνομασμένη, καθ' ὃ κάλλος λέγεται, περίζωσαι τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν σου, δυνατέ, τῇ ὡραιότητί σου καὶ τῷ κάλλει σου· καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἄσματι τῶν ᾀσμάτων πρὸς τὴν νύμφην ὅλη καλὴ εἶ πλησίον μου, καὶ μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν σοί· καὶ πάλιν ἐν τεσσαρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ ψαλμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμήσει ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ κάλλους σου.

§ XXXIII.

Eph. vi 11 [**ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς στῆναι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου.**]

214 [Ὠριγένης δέ φησιν]

ἐκ τῶν ἑξῆς καὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πανοπλίαν εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστόν, ὥστε ταὐτὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ ἐνδύσασθε τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. ⟨εἰ⟩ γὰρ ζώνη μέν ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια θώραξ δὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ὁ σωτὴρ δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ σωτήρ ἐστιν ἡ ζώνη καὶ ὁ θώραξ. ἀνάλογον δὲ τούτοις αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη ἡ ἑτοιμασία τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὁ τῆς πίστεως θυρεὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου περικεφαλαία καὶ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος μάχαιρα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ
215 ῥῆμα Θεοῦ ὁ ζῶν λόγος καὶ ἐνεργὴς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον. ποίαν δὲ κἂν ἐπινοῆσαι ἄλλην ἔστιν λέγεσθαι πανοπλίαν Θεοῦ ἣν χρὴ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν ἐνστησ⟨ό⟩μενον πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός; τοῦτον γὰρ κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ ἐνδυσάμενος ἱκανὸς ἔσται στῆναι πρὸς πάσας τὰς μεθοδείας τῆς κακίας ἐνεργουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς διαβόλου.

καὶ καθὸ μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔζωσταί τις, οὐκ ἐξελκυσθήσεται ἐπὶ τὸ συγ-

XXXII 14. Ps. xliv 4 (xlv 3) 16. Cant. iv 7 17. Ps. xliv 12 (xlv 11)
XXXIII 4. Rom. xiii 14 5. Jo. xiv 6 6. 1 Cor. i 30 9. Heb. iv 12
14. Jo. viii 44

7, 8. 669 C XXXIII 2–14: 669 D-670 A 15–27: 670 A B

XXXII 7. *δυναμοῦσθαι* Gregg: *δυναμοῦσθε* MS 11. Where does this definition of *ἰσχύς* come from?

XXXIII 4. *εἰ* Robinson: *ἡ* MS 6. *ἀνάλογον δὲ τούτοις αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη* (cf. Jerome 669 E 'et iuxta haec ipse erit') Turner: *ἀνάλογον δὲ τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἂν εἴη* MS 11. *ἐνστησόμενον* (cf. Jerome 669 E 'qui habet . . . dimicare') Gregg: *ἐνστησάμενον* MS 15. *ἐπὶ τὸ συγκαταθέσθαι* (cf. Jerome 670 A 'ad falsitatis dogmata deducetur') Turner: *ἐπὶ τοῦ συγκαταθέσθαι* MS

καταθέσθαι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους πιθανοῖς καὶ σοφισματώδεσι λόγοις· καθὸ δὲ **τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἠμφίεσται**, ἄτρωτος ἔσται ἀπὸ τῶν βελῶν τῆς ἀδικίας, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν καθικνουμένου καὶ ἄδικον ποιοῦντος τὸν ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν δικαιοσύνην. καὶ ὁ **ὑποδησάμενος** δὲ καλὰ ὑποδήματα **τῆς ἑτοιμασίας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης**, ὡς ἕτοιμος καὶ ἑτοιμάσας εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρήνης ἄνθρωπος γεγονώς, οὔτε πολεμικόν τι καὶ στασιῶδες ἐργάσεται οὔτε τοῖς ἀνετοίμοις συγκαταδικασθήσεται. χώραν τε οὐχ ἕξει ἡ ἐχθρὰ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀπιστία, ἔνθα ὁ **τῆς πίστεως** ἐστὶ **θυρεός**· ἄθραυστός τε διαφυλαχθήσεται τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἐστι τὰ θεῖα καὶ νοητὰ αἰσθητήρια, ὁ **τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου** περικείμενος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς γενναῖος στρατιώτης πάντα τὰ πολέμια τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δόγματα κατακόψει καὶ ἀνελεῖ ὁ **τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστιν** ῥῆμα Κυρίου, κρατῶν.

[vi 12] **ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.**

νομίζω **πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα** εἶναι ⟨πάλην⟩ τοὺς λεγομένους παρ' αὐτῷ ἀνθρωπίνους πειρασμούς, ὅτε ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμοῦσα κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος προσκαλεῖται ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς. οὐκέτι δὲ ἀνθρώπινος πειρασμὸς οὐδὲ **πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα ἡ πάλη**, ὅτε ἤτοι ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματιζόμενος εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς ἀγωνίζεται ἡμᾶς πεῖσαι προσέχειν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀγγέλῳ φωτός, ἤ τι τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις, ἃ γίνεται ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι **216** ψεύδους καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας.

καὶ εἰ πείσαι δέ τινα ὁ ἐχθρὸς παραδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον ἐροῦντα ἐν αὐτῷ τάδε λέγει Κύριος, ὥστε καὶ ὑπολαβεῖν τινα ἑαυτὸν προφήτην γεγονέναι τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ, ταῦτ' ἂν ποιήσαι οὐχ ὡς **αἷμα καὶ σὰρξ** ἢ ἀνθρώπινος πειρασμὸς **παλαίσας** τῷ μέχρι τούτων ἑαυτὸν φρουρήσαντι· διόπερ οὐδαμῶς δοτέον ⟨τόπον⟩ τῷ διαβόλῳ.

ἐρεῖ δέ τις τὸ **οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας** καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς λέγεσθαι ἵνα διδασκώμεθα μηδὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονήματος ἔρχεσθαι τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα πρῶτον νομίζειν ἔρχεσθαι ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλ' ἀπό τινων δυνάμεων ταῦτα ἐνεργουσῶν· εἰσί γάρ τινες δαίμονες ἐνεργοῦντες τοὺς ἔρωτας καὶ τὰ φίλτρα, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ προφήτης λέγων πνεύματι πορνείας

20. Prov. xxiv 42 (27) 32, 33. 1 Cor. x 13; Gal. v 17, 19 34. 2 Cor. xi 14
36. 2 Thess. ii 9, 10 42. Eph. iv 27 45. Rom. viii 6, 7 48. Os. iv 12

31–42: 671 B C 43–56: 671 D–672 B

18. *ἄδικον ποιοῦντος* MS: possibly *ἀδικοποιοῦντος* (Robinson) or *ἀδικεῖν ποιοῦντος* (Turner) 31. *πάλην* (cf. Jerome 671 A 'existimo quippe aduersus carnem et sanguinem esse certamina' etc.) Gregg: *πειρασμούς* MS 38. *πείσαι*: *πεῖσαι* MS 40. *ποιήσαι*: *ποιῆσαι* MS 42. *δοτέον τόπον* (cf. Jerome 671 D 'non demus locum') Gregg: *δοτέον* MS 44. *τὰ ἑξῆς* Cramer: *τὰς ἑξῆς* MS

ἐπλανήθησαν. τὸ δ' ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ ἄλλων δαιμόνων θυμὸν καὶ ὀργὴν ἐμποιούντων, οὓς ἀνακ⟨αλοῦ⟩ντες καὶ οἱ περίεργοι λέγονται θυμοκάτοχ⟨όν⟩ τινα ποιεῖν. τὸ μισεῖν δὲ οὐ χωρὶς τῶν ἐνεργούντων ποιοῦμεν ὅτε μισοῦμεν δαίμονας καὶ τοῦτο δέ τις ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων μισήτρων οὐκ ἀτόπως κατασκευάσει. ἐπεὶ οὖν βούλεται, φησίν, ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάξαι οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ σώματος ἔρχεσθαι ἡμῖν τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν, διὰ τοῦτο λέγει **οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας** καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

ζητοῦντες δὲ ἀπὸ ποίων παλαιῶν ὠφελημένος γραφῶν ὁ Παῦλος ταῦτά φησιν ἀποκαλυφθεισῶν αὐτῷ καὶ φανερωθεισῶν, στοχαζόμεθα ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων περὶ πολέμων καὶ μονομαχιῶν, οἷον τοῦ Δαβὶδ πρὸς τὸν Γολιὰθ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ἢ τὰ ἔθνη οἷς ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι νενικήκασιν· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἕκαστον ἐκείνων σύμβολον εἶναι πνευματικῶν ἀρχῶν ἡττωμένων ἢ περιγινομένων.

ἡ πάλη οὖν **ἐστιν ἡμῖν πρὸς ἐξουσίας** οὐχ ὁρατάς τινας καὶ σαρκίνας, καὶ **κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ** περιέχοντος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος **σκότους,** καὶ **πρὸς τὰ τῆς πονηρίας** πνεύματα οἰκοῦντα τὸν **ἐπουράνιον** τόπον, τουτέστιν τὸν ἀέρα·

217 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις γοῦν εἶπεν ἐν οἷς περιεπατήσατέ ποτε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας. ἔοικεν γὰρ ὁ περικεχυμένος ἡμῖν ἀὴρ πεπληρῶσθαι δυνάμεων ἀντικειμένων.

§ XXXIV.

Eph. vi 13 **ἵνα δυνηθῆτε ἀντιστῆναι,** φησί, **ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονηρᾷ.**

218 [Ὠριγένης]

ὁ **ἀντιστῆναι** ζητῶν **ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονηρᾷ** ὀφείλει ἔχειν **τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ** ἣν ἐξέθετο ὁ ἀπόστολος, δι' ἣν ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐντραπήσεται οὐδὲν ἔχων περὶ ἡμῶν λέγειν φαῦλον ὁ διάβολος καὶ κατήγορος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπατῶν ὡς ἰδίους καὶ τῆς μερίδος αὐτοῦ γεγενημένους τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς.

ἄλλος δέ τις ἐρεῖ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα αἰῶνα εἶναι **πονηρὰν ἡμέραν.**

τρίτος δὲ παρὰ τὰς δύο ἐκδοχὰς ἔσται τις λόγος λέγων μὴ πέρας ἔχειν τὸν

66. Eph. ii 2 XXXIV 3. Tit. ii 8 4. Apoc. xii 10 5. Sap. ii 24, i 16

57–62: 672 E, 673 A 63–69: 673 C–674 A XXXIV 2–5: 677 A, D 6: 676 E 677 A 7–10: 677 E

49. τὸ δ' ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν MS: perhaps τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἔστιν εἰπεῖν (Turner) 50. ἀνακαλοῦντες (cf. Jerome 672 A 'ad quae inuocati assistere daemones') Gregg: ἀνακόπτοντες MS θυμοκάτοχον Swete: θυμοκάτοχα MS 69. ἀντικειμένων: the words that follow in Cramer, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη φησίν . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις are really the *lemma* (from Eph. vi 12) for the comment from Chrysostom which follows: cf. supra XII 49

ἀγῶνα τῷ τὸν βίον τοῦτον ἐξεληλυθότι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα νενικηκότα καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ πονηρᾷ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλειν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀντικειμένας ἐνεργείας ἐπιφαινομένας.

[vi 14] **στῆτε οὖν περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.**

καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν γέγραπται ἔστωσαν αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι. τίς δὲ ἡ ζώνη νῦν γινώσκομεν· ὁ τὰ τῆς γεννήσεως συστείλας πράγματα καὶ μηκέτι αὐτῇ ὑπηρετῶν ἀλλὰ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀθανασίαν, τὴν ὀσφὺν ζώννυται.

[vi 14] **καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης.**

ὥσπερ δυσπαθέστερός ἐστιν βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὁ θώρακα ἐνδυσάμενος, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰ κ⟨αι⟩ριώτερα δυσπαθέστερος, οὕτως ὁ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἠμφιεσμένος οὐκ ἂν τρωθείη οὔτε ὡς ἔλαφος τοξεύματι πεπληγὼς εἰς τὸ ἧπαρ, οὔτε γὰρ εἰς θυμὸν οὔτε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμπεσεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθαρὸς τὴν καρδίαν μενεῖ, τῷ ἐνδεδύσθαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸν θώρακα κεχαλκευμένον αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεχνίτου τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ, ὅστις ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἁ⟨γ⟩ίων κατασκευάσα⟨ς⟩ δίδωσι τὴν πανοπλίαν.

[vi 15] **καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἑτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης.**

παρατήρει ὅτι δύναμίν τινα τῆς ψυχῆς **πόδας** ὠνόμασεν, οἷς οἱονεὶ ὁδεύομεν 219
βαδίζοντες τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδός, οὕστινας ὑποδῆσαι δεῖ τῇ **ἑτοιμότητι τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης εὐαγγελίου.** οἶμαι δὲ τούτων τῶν ὑποδημάτων σύμβολα εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ὑποδήματα ἅπερ ἐχρῆν ἔχειν τοὺς ἐσθίοντας τὸ πάσχα καὶ ἑτοίμους ὄντας πρὸς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν. οὕτω γάρ φησι, φάγεσθε αὐτό· αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ βακτηρίαι ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔδεσθε αὐτὸ μετὰ σπουδῆς· πάσχα ἐστὶ Κυρίου. **ἑτοιμότητος** γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐσθίειν μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τὸ ὑποδεδεμένον ἐσθίειν, ἵνα ἰσχυροποιηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν ὁδεῦσαι δυνηθῶσιν.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ὁδεύων ὑποδεδέσθω, ὁ δὲ φθάσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν γῆν ὑπολυέσθω· λῦσαι γάρ, φησί, τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου, ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστί.

διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν μὴ ἀπόστολος ὑποδεδέσθω **τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἑτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ**

12. Luc. xii 35 19. Prov. vii 23 21. Matt. v 8 27. Jo. xiv 6 29, 30. Exod. xii 11 37, 41. Jos. v 15; Exod. iii 5 (= Act vii 33): the former is the appropriate parallel, the latter is more strictly similar in wording

12–15: 678 C E 26–42: 679 B–E

XXXIV 17. *ἐστιν βαλλόμενος* Gregg : *ἐστιν ὁ βαλλόμενος* MS 18. *καιριώτερα* Robinson : *κυριώτερα* MS 19. *οὔτε* MS : perhaps omit (Gregg) 22. *ἀπό* MS : perhaps *ὑπό* (Gregg) 22, 23. *ἁγίων κατασκευάσας* (cf. Jerome 679 A 'qui unicuique sanctorum omnia arma fabricatur') Gregg : *ἀξίων κατασκευάσαι* MS

[illegible]

§ XXXV.

Eph. vi 16 [ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι.]

221 [illegible]

[illegible]

[vi 17b, 18, 19a] καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστιν ῥῆμα θεοῦ,
222 διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως, προσευχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει καὶ δεήσει περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

[illegible]

παρατήρει δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου μέτριον, αἰτοῦντος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων δεήσεις γενέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. (?)

40. Matt. x 10, Luc. ix 3, x 4 XXXV 5. Ps. x (xi) 1, 2 17. Tit. i 8 (cf. 2 Tim. i 13) 18. Jn. iii 31, 32 21. Heb. iv 12 25. 1 Cor. xiv 15

XXXV 1–12 : 680 B–D 17–27 : 681 A B 28, 29 : 681 C

XXXV 3. ἐκὼν τις ᾖ σκεπόμενος (?) Gregg : ἐκὼν τις σκεπόμενος (?) MS 17. θεῖον (?) Gregg : θεοῦ MS 24. τοὺς ἐν (cf. Jerome 681 B 'eorum qui in omni tempore') Turner : ἐν τοῖς MS (these are the last words of a page in the MS)

§ XXXVI.

Eph. vi 19 *b* [**ἵνα μοι δοθῇ λόγος ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματός μου ἐν παρρησίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.**]

[Ὠριγένης] **223**

ὅταν ἀνοιχθῇ τὸ στόμα δοθέντος λόγου, τότε παρρησίᾳ *γνωρίζεται* **τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου** *καὶ οὐκέτι ἐν παροιμίαις καὶ παραβολαῖς, ὡς καὶ ὁ σωτήρ φησιν* ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε οὐκέτι ὑμῖν ἐν παροιμίαις λαλήσω ἀλλὰ παρρησίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαγγελῶ ὑμῖν.

τὸν δὲ **ἐν παρρησίᾳ λόγον** *μόνος καὶ πᾶς χωρῆσαι δύναται ὁ τὴν καρδίαν ἔχων μὴ καταγινώσκουσαν, ἐπεὶ* ἐὰν ἡ καρδία μὴ καταγινώσκῃ, παρρησίαν ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν αἰτῶμεν λαμβάνομεν παρ' αὐτοῦ. *ὅθεν καὶ σπάνιος ὁ* **ἐν παρρησίᾳ γνωρίζων τὸ μυστήριον** *τῷ σπάνιον εἶναι τὸν* παρρησίαν ἔχοντα πρὸς Θεόν. τίς γὰρ καυχήσεται ἁγνὴν ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν, ἢ τίς παρρησιάσεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτιῶν;

[vi 21–22] **ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, τί πράσσω, πάντα ὑμῖν γνωρίσει Τύχικος ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὃν ἔπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἵνα γνῷ τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.**

ἐπεὶ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ ἀποστόλου βίος καὶ πᾶσα πρᾶξις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέργεια Λόγῳ Θεοῦ ἐγίνετο, ζῶντος ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *διὰ* **τοῦτο πέμπει τὸν Τύχικον,** *τὸν κανόνα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ ἀπαγγελοῦντα τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις· καὶ ἔπρεπέ γε τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔχειν παράδειγμα πολιτείας ἀγαθῆς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους,* **πέμψαι δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο** *τὸν Τύχικον. ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ* **παρακαλεῖσθαι,** *τὰ ἄριστα καὶ τὰ ἀποστόλῳ ἁρμόζοντα κατορθοῦσθαι μανθάνοντες τῷ Παύλῳ.*

§ XXXVII.

Eph. vi 23 [**εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀγάπη μετὰ πίστεως ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.**]

[Ὠριγένης φησίν] **224**

εἰ καί τι ἄλλο δῶρόν ἐστι διδόμενον **ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ** *τοῦ* **Κυρίου** *ἡμῶν* **Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,** *καὶ* **εἰρήνη**· *ὅπερ ἓν τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἐστὶ δώρων,* ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν, *ἥτις* φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας καὶ τὰ νοήματα *τῶν ἁγίων, γαλήνη τις καὶ εὐδία οὖσα ψυχῆς, παντὸς χειμῶνος καὶ πάσης ἀκαταστασίας καὶ πάθους ἀλλοτρία. ὁμοίως δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἡ* **μετὰ πίστεως ἀγάπη** *δῶρόν ἐστι διδόμενον* **ἀπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ** *τοῦ* **Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,** *ἀγάπη δὲ πρὸς Θεὸν μὲν ὡς γέγραπται*

XXXVI 4. Jo. xvi 25 7. 1 Jo. iii 21, 22 10. Prov. xx 9 17. Gal. ii 20
XXXVII 3. Phil. iv 7

XXXVI 3–11: 681 E 682 A 18–21: 682 E 683 A XXXVII 2–10: 683 A B

ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς, πρὸς τὸν πλησίον δὲ ὡς ἑαυτόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ λαβὼν δῶρον τὴν ἀγάπην ἐπιφαίνει αὐτήν, οὐδένα μισῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων εὐχόμενος.

[vi 24] **ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ.**

διηγήσαντό τινες εἶναι τὸ **ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ**, *καθαρεύοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς φθορᾶς· ἔργα δὲ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ συνήθεια ‘ἀφθόρους’ ὀνομάζει τοὺς καθαροὺς ἀπὸ συνουσίας, καὶ ‘ἐφθαρμένους’ τοὺς μίξεως γευσαμένους. ὑπερτείναντες δέ τινες τὸ* εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει φθερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ θεός *οὕτως ἐδέξαντο· οὐ δυνάμενοι τούτῳ ὁμοίως σῶσαι τὸ* ἀλλὰ ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ, ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ οὕτως.

ὅρα δὲ εἰ δύναται πᾶσα μὲν ἁμαρτία φθορὰ εἶναι ψυχῆς, ἡ δὲ παντελὴς αὐτῆς ἀποχὴ **ἀφθαρσία**· *ὥστε τοὺς* **ἀγαπῶντας τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ** *εἶναι τοὺς πάσης ἁμαρτίας ἀπεχομένους·* **μεθ' ὧν πάντων** *ἐστὶ τοῦ* Θεοῦ **χάρις**.

ὡς ὄντων μέντοιγέ τινων **τῶν ἀγαπώντων** *μὲν* **τὸν Κύριον**, *οὐ μὴν ἐν* **ἀφθαρσίᾳ ἀγαπώντων** *αὐτόν, φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος* **ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ.**

8. Marc. xii 30, 31; Luc. x 27 9, 10. Luc. vi 27, 28 (*cf.* Matt. v. 44) 16. 1 Cor. iii 17 18. 1 Cor. vii 7.

13–25: 684 A–C.

XXXVII 17. τούτῳ: τουτω MS

J. A. F. Gregg[1].

A NEWLY DISCOVERED LEAF OF A FIFTH-CENTURY MS OF ST. CYPRIAN.

By a curious coincidence, after I had written and put into type the account of the Turin and Milan fragments (Turin F IV 27 and Ambros. D 519 inf.) of a very early Bobbio MS of St. Cyprian which is published on pp. 582–584 of the present number of the Journal, I learned that an additional leaf of the MS had come to light and was now in the possession of Hartwell Grissell, Esq., of Oxford, Cameriere d'Onore di Numero to his Holiness the Pope: and as this leaf was not known to Hartel and therefore not collated for his edition, I have thought it on all accounts desirable to take advantage of Mr. Grissell's kind permission and to transcribe it for the Journal.

[1] It is hoped in a future number of the Journal to print an *Index Graecitatis* to this Commentary of Origen on the Epistle to the Ephesians.

I need only say that I have made no attempt to reproduce the uncial aracters of the MS, that I have separated the words, which are of urse written continuously, but that for the rest I have faithfully reproced it column by column, and line by line. Below the text I have corded all differences from Hartel's text or from the important MS L collated by him). For proof of the relation of the leaf to the Turin d Milan fragments—a relation at once noticed by Dr. Mercati—see 583 below.

Fol. 1 *a.*

et ceteros

VII Cyprianus Maximo
p̄r itē ɼ Urbano et Sido
nio et Macario fra
tribus salutem
Lectis litteris uestris
fratres carissimi
quas ad me de uestra
regressione et de
eclesiastica pace ac
fraterna redinte
gratione fecistis in
tantum me laetatū
esse confiteor in quā
tum fueram et ante
laetatus quando cō
fessionis uestrae glo
riam comperi et mi
litiae uestrae cae
lestem ac spiritalē
laudem gratulabū
dus excepi nam et
haec fidei et laudis
uestrae alia confes

sio est unam esse ec
clesiam confiteri
nec alieni erroris
uel potius prauitatis
participes fieri·
Repeṙere eadem cas
tra unde ůn̄dė pro
distis unde ad regē
dum proelium et ad
uersarium subigē
dum fortissimis ui
ribus prosilistis illuc
enim erant de aciae
tropea referenda
unde ad aciem fue
rant arma suscepta
ne quos ad gloriam
x̄ps parasset eosdē
gloriosos x̄pi eccle
sia non haberet
Nunc uero et uos cō
gruentem fidaei ues
trae tenorem adq·

9. ecclesiastica *Hartel* 17. conperi *rtel* 21. excepi *Hartel* : excepti L

5. participes L : participem *Hartel* 8. regendum L : gerendum *Hartel* 13. acie *Hartel* 14. tropea L : tropaea *Hartel.* 22. fidei *Hartel*

Fol. 1 c.

ad [illegible]

individuae caritatis
et concordiae legem
dominica pace tenu
istis et exemplum ce
teris dilectionis et pa
cis [illegible]

[illegible]

NOTES AND STUDIES

OUR OLDEST MSS OF ST. CYPRIAN, II: THE TURIN AND MILAN FRAGMENTS.

IN the January number of the JOURNAL (iii 282–285) I dealt with our oldest Cyprianic MS of any size, Paris lat. 10592 (S), and after examining the lacunae more fully than was done by Hartel I was able to restore with absolute confidence the original contents of the MS[1]. I now propose to follow up the account of S with similar notes upon the very ancient Cyprianic fragments from Bobbio now in the libraries of Turin and Milan, which I had an opportunity of seeing in April and May of the present year; as well as to incorporate some notice of the leaf whose text is published above, pp. 576–578.

These fragments[2] are all combined by Hartel under a single symbol, F, though in fact, as Hartel himself realised later, Turin G v 37 belongs to one MS, Turin F IV 27 and the guard-leaves of Ambros. D 519 inf. to another. I retain the symbol for the latter MS, and leave the other for the present nameless.

(1) TURIN G V 37.

This fragment consists of thirty leaves, forming the xii^th^, xiii^th^, xiv^th^, and xv^th^ gatherings of a MS, all four gatherings being complete save that between foll. 3 and 4 the two inner leaves[3] of the xii^th^ gathering have gone. Each gathering has its signature in Roman numerals on the *verso* of its last page. There are two columns of writing to a page: the present size of the page is 17 × 20·5 cmm., or measuring only from edge to edge of the writing 11·5 × 13. Quotations from Scripture are indented—a lavish waste of space like the double columns to the page,

[1] On one point on which I expressed some doubt—whether, namely, the erroneous headline 'de zelo et liuore' is carried right through what remains of the *de bono patientiae*—I am now able, after a second inspection of the MS, to say that the headline is, as I expected, continued to the end.

[2] Except of course the newly published leaf, which was not known to him.

[3] Hartel wrongly says one leaf.

[illegible] the [illegible] and their [illegible] are written in [illegible] are contracted [illegible] them), [illegible] — in other words, [illegible] are contracted while the [illegible] is used as [illegible] case [illegible] reading [illegible] is the regular [illegible] and perhaps once [illegible] seems to point back [illegible] the MS

[illegible] the previous [illegible] with the [illegible] is from [illegible] course [illegible] just the [illegible] is Hand [illegible] and since [illegible] that the [illegible] originally [illegible] Cheltenham [illegible] and with the [illegible] the former [illegible] are not [illegible] MS is the [illegible] MS [illegible] writings which [illegible] of a permanent [illegible] we [illegible]

[illegible] used by Hand may be

[illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the work was partly a [illegible] but merely of [illegible] [illegible] the first of [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] too early, and [illegible]

[illegible] that the length of the *de Ianua* of the Cheltenham [illegible] the [illegible] would come to exactly what is [illegible].

etter understood, I subjoin a rough list of 'addenda and corrigenda' or the Biblical quotations of the *de opere*:

Hartel 374.	3	elemosynis
	7	aelemosyna (*i.e.*, e *with cedilla*)
	15	intus est (*not* est intus)
	16	elemosynam
377.	1	die mala liberauit illum deus
	5	peccatua elemosynis
	9	redemisset . . . 14 elemosynis *om per homoeoteleuton m p*, *suppl ad calc pag m* 2 [l 12 aelimosinis *not* eleemosyna, quoniam *not* quia]
378.	10	Dabitha *cod**
	11	exsurge in nomine ihm xpi
	25	elemosynam
	26	thensauros
379.	1	thensaurizate | thensauros
	3	thensaurus
	7	thensaurum
	14	praetiosam
	21	habrahae
380.	5	credit
	20	aedendum prestabit et multiplicauit
	25	dmi (*not* dni *as in Hartel's apparatus*)[1]
381.	24	et muscipula (*not* et in muscipulam)
382.	8	Daniel in lacum leonum iussu (*not* Danieli, *not* in lacu, *not* ad leonum praedam)
	15	plures illis estis
384.	8	collurio inunge
	25	gazofilacium | aera minuta (*not* area)
385.	4	omnibus plus (*not* plus omnibus)
	5	de eo (*not* ex eo)
	7	*om* sua *cod**
	24	matrem aut patrem *cod**
386.	5	ser|uerunt
	17, 19, 25	elias, eliae, elias
387.	25	tergeri (*not* tergi)
	27	filios VII et filias III
388.	13	iunior
	17	in iustitiam
389.	2	elemosynas

[1] And in 380. 26 ad dom, not ad deum.

389.	4	im mente[1]
	9, 12, 14	elemosynam *ter*
	16, 17	elemosyna *bis*
	16	eliberat *cod**
391.	16	dextram (*not* dexteram)
	17	ad dextra sua (*not* ad dexteram suam)[2]
	18	quod uobis paratum est regnum[3]
	19	dedisti *cod**
	20	potas me *cod**
	22	uisitasti *cod** | *om* me 1°
		in carcerem
392.	3	quandiu
	5	dicet (*not* dicit)
		ad sinistra (*not* ad sinistram)
		om sunt
	7	*om* pater *cod** (*suppl m p*)
	10	uestis *cod**, cooperuistis *in ras m p*
		infirmus et non uisitastis (uisitasti *cod**) me in carcerem et non uenistis ad me
	14	in carcerem
	15	qua¯|diu
	17	ignem aeternam (*not* aeternum)
393.	20	discrime¯|nullum

(2) Turin F IV 27 = Ambros. D 519 inf.

Of this second and almost equally early Bobbio MS of St. Cyprian two sets of fragments, besides a single leaf, are extant.

(*a*) Eight continuous leaves, forming one gathering, are found as the guard-leaves of another Bobbio MS, Amb. D 519 inf., a Cassiodorus (I think), written in the tenth century: and since the page of the tenth-century MS was nearly twice the size of that of the fifth-century one, each guard-leaf is made out of a pair of conjugate leaves of the Cyprian MS, turned sideways and then trimmed at what became the lower end. Of the two guard-leaves at the beginning, the first consists of foll. 3 and 6, the second of foll. 2 and 7, of the gathering: and similarly of the two guard-leaves at the end, the first contains foll. 4 and 5, the last foll. 1 and 8, of the gathering. Unfortunately the

[1] This assimilation of the preposition is occasionally found in *k*.

[2] This ad dextra and the ad sinistra of 392. 5 should be added to the manuscript authority for these forms collected by me in *J. T. S.* ii 608, 609 (July, 1901).

[3] With regard to this correction, and also the dicet of 392. 5, it is I think just possible that my notes may be wrong and Hartel right.

gathering is not signed. The contents of the gathering are the end of Ep. 57 (from 655. 15), the whole of Ep. 52 Ep. 47 and Ep. 45, and the beginning of Ep. 44 (as far as 598. 3 [1]). Of these Ep. 52 has lost its number through the trimming of the page, but Ep. 47 is numbered xxxvii, Ep. 45 xxxviii, and Ep. 44 xxxviiii, in a hand which Dr. Ceriani judged to be of about the ninth century: in any case, as he pointed out to me, the numbering must have been made before the contents of the MS were dispersed and the Milan leaves put to their present use as guard-leaves in the tenth century.

(*b*) The Turin fragments consist of twenty-four leaves, now bound up together as an independent MS, and are made up as follows: (i) two leaves —the first (I think) and the last—of a gathering signed xvii on fol. 2 *b*; (ii) foll. 3–8 are the six interior leaves of the next gathering; (iii) foll. 9–24 are the two next gatherings (19th and 20th), both being complete quaternions but without any signature now visible. Fol. 1 has the headlines 'ad Pomponium' (fol. 1 *b*) 'de uirginibus' (fol. 1 *a*), and contains the end of Ep. 4—Hartel 476. 19–478. 7. Fol. 2 commences with 'ad Stephanum expl [2],' showing that one of the two letters to Pope Stephen (Ep. 68 or 72) was contained on the lost leaves, and goes on with Ep. 61 numbered xliii. The leaf lost between foll. 2 and 3 contained from 696. 9 'de camino ignis' to 697. 11 'ceteris ipsi' [3]. Ep. 61 is followed by Epp. 1 (numbered xliiii), 46 (numbered xlv), 56 (numbered xlvi [4]). The leaf lost between foll. 8 and 9 is that lately acquired by Mr. Grissell (see above, pp. 576–578): it contains the salutation of Ep. 54 (numbered xlvii) and the beginning of the text, Hartel 621. 4–622. 12 'uestri nominis.' The succeeding words 'dignitas uidebatur' are the first words of Turin fol. 9. Foll. 9–24 contain the rest of Ep. 54, and the whole of Epp. 20 (xlviii), 30 (xlviiii), 31 (l). Fol. 24 *b* ends with the title of a new letter (li) 'incp pprr et diaconibus fratribus [5].'

The two doubtful letters, to Pope Stephen and to the presbyters and deacons, can be identified by the help of two MSS which give substantially the same order of letters as F—H (cod. Paris. lat. 15242) and β (cod. Trecensis 442)—as Ep. 72 and Ep. 12 [6]. The same MSS

[1] The words 'probationis aduer' in Hartel's introduction, p. xxviii, are a slip for 'probatione partis aduer.' That Hartel enumerates Ep. xli among the letters given by F is a pure blunder on his part.

[2] Hartel on p. 478 gives this as the colophon to Ep. iv. He had apparently no idea of the existence of a lacuna between foll. 1, 2.

[3] Hartel gives both the beginning and the end of the lacuna wrongly.

[4] Not, as Hartel wrongly says, xlviii.

[5] The numbering of the letters, whether in the Milan or in the Turin fragments, is all by the same early hand. Hartel sometimes calls it 'm. rec.,' 'recenti saec. xv manu,' sometimes gives it as part of the original scribe's title.

[6] I owe these identifications to Dom John Chapman.

enable us also to fill up the lacuna of probably six leaves which we have seen to exist between foll. 1 and 2 of the Turin fragments. They contained, we now know, the whole of Ep. 72, seventy-eight lines in Hartel; and as each leaf of F contains matter equivalent roughly to twenty-seven lines of Hartel, six leaves ought to contain 162, and therefore another letter of some eighty lines intervened between the end of Ep. 4 and the beginning of Ep. 72. If now we turn to codd. H *δ*, we find that their order is Epp. 4, 3, 72: and as Ep. 3 amounts to eighty-two lines in Hartel, we may confidently conclude that it was also contained in the lost leaves of F.

By combining then the Milan and Turin fragments, and the leaf belonging to Mr. Grissell, the following order results:

[xxxv]	Ep. 57	xliiii	Ep. 1
[xxxvi]	52	xlv	46
xxxvii	47	xlvi	56
xxxviii	45	xlvii	54
xxxviiii	44	xlviii	20
[xl]	4	xlviiii	30
[xli]	[3]	l	31
[xlii]	72	[li]	11
xliii	61		

Between the Milan and Turin fragments there was therefore apparently no gap when the (ninth century?) corrector numbered the letters. But the MSS H *δ* insert between Epp. 44 and 4 the four letters 13, 43, 65, 66; and the end of Ep. 44 (twenty-eight lines) and beginning of Ep. 4 (ninety-three lines) could not anyhow form a complete quaternion. It seems probable, in consequence, that the MS had undergone loss at this point anterior to the date of the numerator.

These fragments display some of the same marks of extreme antiquity as those described at the beginning of the present paper. There is the same waste of space in double columns and in indentations for quotations. The page, though not so small, covers only 28.5 x 23.5 cmm.; the writing only 16.5 x 15.5. One peculiarity of special interest palaeographically is that the scribe employs for the salutation at the end of each letter a much smaller and quite different handwriting. The usual abbreviations dns, ds, xps, occur throughout: but it is to be noted that the abbreviating line is carried over the whole of the word in each case.

Dr. Ceriani ascribes the MS to the fifth century. My own inclination would be to date the fragments of the MS first described in the first half of the fifth century, and these in the second half. But I have no special claim to speak in such matters.

C. H. Turner.

OUR OLDEST MSS OF ST. CYPRIAN, III: THE CONTENTS AND ORDER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS L N P.

IT is commonly recognised that the three closely-related MSS of St. Cyprian, Cod. Vindob. 962 (= L), Cod. Casinensis 204 (= N), and Cod. Parisinus lat. 1647 A (= P), represent a very excellent—on the whole, the best—textual tradition. Dr. Hartel gives them the first place among the MSS of the Epistles, and there is good ground for believing that they are still more important for the *Testimonia*.

During the past few months I have made a fresh collation of these MSS, and it is my hope that the way may thus be prepared for a more exact appreciation of them than has hitherto been possible. The present Note will be limited to a comparison of their contents and order.

1. Cod. Vindob. 962 (saec. ix) consists of 139 folios, numbered 138, the first leaf not being numbered. On the *verso* of this leaf there is a table of contents with the rubricated heading CAECILII CYPRIANI EPISTVLAE. N. XLII. As this list appears to be in the hand of the scribe who wrote the early part of the MS, it may well have been copied from the archetype. In the upper margin of the same page a later hand has written *Codex ecc̄le Laurissensis.* In the ancient catalogue of the Lorsch manuscripts[1] two Cyprianic MSS are mentioned. The first of these contained the treatises which in Hartel's edition bear the numbers I, IV, VI, V, XII, XIII, VII, VIII, X, XI, IX and Ep. 58. Unfortunately this MS is no longer forthcoming, nor indeed has any MS yet been found in which the treatises are given in precisely this order. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the entry which follows next in the catalogue—*Item Caecilii Cypriani epistolae numero xliii in alio codice*—relates to the codex (L) which is now in our hands, and is based upon the heading to the table of contents in the MS[2]. It is true that the number given in the catalogue differs by a unit from that found in the table of contents, but the discrepancy is not such as to suggest any doubt as to the identity of L with the MS noticed in the catalogue.

[1] This catalogue was first printed by Mai in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, tom. v, pp. 161–200. In G. Becker's reprint (in *Catalogi Bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn, 1885, pp. 82–119) the Cyprianic MSS are numbered 351 and 352.

[2] Students of St. Cyprian, to whom Codex L is so important, will be surprised to find that Dr. Franz Falk has not included it in the list of existing Lorsch MSS given in his *Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca fuldensis und Bibliotheca laureshamensis* (Leipzig, 1902). Falk's Essay, which is otherwise of great value, forms No. XXVI of the *Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen.*

In view of the possibility that the numeration of the documents in the table of contents may rest upon an ancient tradition and may help to illustrate or to explain the nomenclature of other early lists, I will explain how the table is related to the contents of the MS. In the table there are forty-two distinct entries, and in the MS there are forty-nine distinct documents. In this latter computation I follow the list in counting the three Books *Ad Quirinum* as one document, and the two parts of Ep. 69 as *two*. The difference between the number of entries in the table and the number of documents in the MS is accounted for as follows:—(*a*) Ep. 6 is not recorded in the Table; (*b*) the two Epp. 28 and 37 are covered by the single entry *Mosy & Maximo presbytero & ceteris confessores quibus supra*, whereas it appears from the text of the MS that *quibus supra* should be a separate entry for Ep. 37; (*c*) Epp. 73, 71, 70 are represented by the single entry *Ad Iuuaianum de hereticis baptizandis epistulas numero .iii.*; (*d*) Epp. 47, 45, 48, 44 are entered as *Ad Cornelium estulas* (sic) *numero .iiii.*

The text of L is written in long lines, and there can be no doubt that several hands have been engaged upon it. The point at which the work of the first scribe ends is so clearly marked that the MS may almost be said to consist of two parts, the first of which comprises foll. 1–65 [1]. After the conclusion of Ep. 76 (fol. 65 *b*) more than half a page is left blank. Ep. 73 begins on the next folio (66) in a decidedly different hand, but the new hand, by way of making some use of the blank space on fol. 65 *b*, has filled a part of it with the interesting 'Incipit,' INCIPIT AD IVVAIANVM DE HERETICIS BAPTIZANDIS EPISTVLAS NVMERO TRES, written in abnormally large capitals. The writing in the second part of the MS is much less regular and consistent than that of foll. 1–65, being in fact due to several different scribes. In any case the writing of the entire MS belongs to one period, and altogether the volume has the appearance of being a (practically) continuous copy of a single archetype. If the grouping of the three Epistles 73, 71, and 70 as Epistles 'ad Iuuaianum,' occurring as it does at the precise point at which the second scribe begins his work, should raise a suspicion to the contrary, we are reassured by the testimony of the table of contents, which (as I have said) seems to have been written by the first scribe.

A word must be said with regard to an interesting feature of this MS, which is described by Hartel [2] in a manner that leaves the way open to misunderstanding. It is impossible to turn over the pages of the MS without being struck by the constant recurrence of the sign (·.·) in the outer margin. On closer inspection it is found that whenever the sign

[1] With the exception of the last half of fol. 18 *b*, which is not by the same hand.
[2] Introd. p. xxxii.

(⁘) occurs in the margin, a corresponding sign (˙˙) occurs over some word in the parallel line of the text. Now the words so marked are mostly those for which variants may be found in other types of text, and Hartel's *apparatus* generally enables us to identify the types of text to which the annotator had access for each document. To call attention to the fact that L omits words which should be in the text or which are found elsewhere, the mark above the line in the text is placed between the two words which should be divorced by an insertion, and in the margin, instead of the three dots (⁘), we find (ꝺ) or (d) which obviously stands for *deest*. We cannot be wrong in regarding these marks as the work of some post-mediaeval scholar who had access to a considerable range of critical material, and it is even conceivable that further study might lead to the identification of their author[1], but whatever interest or value these marks may have is entirely distinct from the evidential value of the MS itself. All these marks are in red, and are therefore easily distinguished from the ancient text and the ancient corrections[2]. A few cases in which the text has been corrected in red are probably due to an occasional failure in self-restraint on the part of the critic who has marked the MS. Whether the systematic notification of the Books (and Chapters) from which the Scripture quotations are taken is due to the same hand we have no means of knowing. These Scripture references are written in black ink, sometimes above the line in the text, and sometimes in the margin.

2. Cod. Parisinus lat. 1647 (saec. ix) has been used from the early days of Cyprianic criticism by French editors, and its readings occupy a prominent place in Fell's *apparatus* as those of the 'Codex Thuani.' The MS consists of 262 folios, written in double columns, but the original (or Cyprianic) text breaks off at the end of fol. 260 *a* in the middle of a sentence of the *de Laude Martyrii* (Hartel, App. 45, 13). Foll. 86–93 are a later insertion (saec. x–xi) introduced into the MS to fill up a *lacuna* in the original text. With the exception of these leaves the entire MS appears to have been written by two contemporaneous scribes who worked alternately, and there is nothing *in its external form* to suggest that its contents are derived from more than one immediate archetype.

3. Codex Casinensis 204 (saec. x–xi) consists of 174 folios. The Cyprianic documents (foll. 1–168) are written in Lombardic characters.

[1] The following documents are not marked :—Epp. 6, 11, 39, 76, 70, 69 *b*, *de Laude Martyrii*, Ep. 48, *Quod idola*. In Test. ii the marks are intermittent, and in Test. iii only eight places are marked. The latter part of the *Sententiae Episcoporum* has also escaped the critic's attention.

[2] In the second part of the MS (foll. 66–138) there is no ancient rubrication. In the first part the rubrication is confined to the numbers of the chapters in the *Testimonia* and to a few of the headings.

Foll. 169–174 contain the Acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas in a later (post-Lombardic) hand. It was this MS that furnished the text of the *editio princeps* of these Acts[1].

Before proceeding to a comparison of the contents of the three MSS I must call attention to several inaccuracies in Hartel's account of the contents of N[2]. In his list he makes no mention of the first copy of *Oratio* ii (=App. XI), though he uses it for his edition[3]. Moreover Ep. 32 is not omitted in this MS, nor is Ep. 49 contained in it. Lastly, if Hartel had himself made the collation of N, he would not have failed to notice that foll. 149–152 are an extraneous fragment injected into N after its completion. These leaves are obviously in a different hand, and are copied from a different original, for the section commences imperfectly with the latter part of Ep. 70, and presents a different text of it from that which is given earlier in the MS (fol. 93 sqq.)[4]. Moreover it is still possible, in spite of erasure, to discern at the bottom of fol. 148 *b* the rubricated 'Incipit' of Ep. 51. That Epistle commences on fol. 153 *a*, which, if it were not for the interpolated section, would be the next page of the MS. Thus for purposes of comparison with L and P the injected leaves, containing the latter part of Ep. 70 (not 71 as Hartel conjectures) and the whole of Epp. 7, 5 and 14, may be neglected.

These errors, which have been reproduced by other writers, are sufficiently serious to obscure the true relations of these MSS to each other and to their common archetype. The lists given by Hartel for L and P need no correction, but since the fact that he does not use L for the second part of Ep. 69 might lead others, as it had led me, to suppose that the MS does not contain that document[5], it may be well expressly to state that both parts of the Epistle are found in L, the second part being introduced, as in P, with a separate 'Incipit.'

[1] *Passio sanctarum Martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis. Prodit nunc primum e MS. Codice Sacri Casinensis Monasterii, opera et studio Lucae Holstenii*, 1663.

[2] Introduction, pp. xxx–xxxiv.

[3] The two copies of *Oratio ii* differ from each other very considerably; the one which occurs at the beginning is far superior to the other, and should have been designated by the principal sign N, the other sign *n* being reserved for the copy given on foll. 167, 168 which appears to have been thrust into the MS by way of afterthought, to fill up a spare folio.

[4] The injected Epistles are further distinguished from the others by an entire absence of rubrication. Spaces have been left for the 'Incipits' and 'Explicits,' but they were never filled in: the text intended is, however, written vertically in the outer margins, and though partly cut away may still be deciphered. The 'Incipit' which appears in Hartel's *apparatus* to Ep. 7 as that of N *m.* 2, is taken from the Erasmian edition, and is in the writing of 'Jo. Maria Genuësis,' who filled in the beginning of the *ad Fortunatum* (fol. 5 *a*) avowedly from the same source.

[5] In no other case does Hartel fail to use L for a document contained in it.

The relations of L N P in respect of contents and order will be seen from the following comparative Table, which includes all the Cyprianic documents contained in the three MSS with the exception of the Epistles which were injected into N after its completion :—

L														
N														
P	i	x	ix	37	38	10	v	vii	viii	xi	xii	xiii	iv	vi

L					iii	63	6	55	10	28	37	11	38	39
N	10	App.	xi	ix	iii	63	6	55		28	37	11	38	39
P					iii	63	6	55		28		11		39

L		60	76	73	71	70	xiv	74	69 *a*	69 *b*
N		60	76	73	71	70	xiv	74	69 (the whole as one Ep.)	
P	58	60	76	73	71	70	xiv	74	69 *a*	69 *b*

L	67	64	2	13	App. iii	43	65	52	1	56	3	47	45	48	44	61
N	67	64	2	13	App. iii	43	65	52	1	56	3	47	45	48	44	61
P	67	64	2	13		43	65	52	1	56	3	47	45	48	44	61

L	46	57	59	11	66		40		4	72	51	54	32	20
N	46	57	59				40		4	72	51	54	32	20
P	46	57	59		66	11	40	App. iii (imperf.)						

L	12	30				
N	12	30	11	66	Caena	App. xi.
P						

It is obvious that L N P represent in the main a common tradition; and now that the excellence of that common tradition is fully recognised it is a matter of great importance that we should determine (*a*) how many of the documents contained in these MSS are derived from the common archetype; (*b*) to what extent each of the three MSS contributes to our knowledge of the common archetype. The full investigation of these points would require a detailed discussion of the readings of L N P in respect of each document separately. At present I cannot do more than point out certain presumptions which are suggested by the relative order and general characteristics of the three MSS.

(1) The most striking fact revealed by the above Table is the close agreement between L and N. With two exceptions all the documents which are contained in L are also contained in precisely the same order in N.

From this it is natural to conclude that in respect of the entire series of common documents L and N represent one and the same textual tradition. Nor do the two exceptions interfere with this conclusion: (*a*) Ep. 10 is omitted in N after Ep. 55, but the omission affords no ground for supposing that the Epistle was likewise wanting in the MS

from which the scribe of N copied the common series. For it is evident from the interdependence of the quires that when the scribe of N commenced work upon the Testimonia, which is the first document in the common series, he must have had the earlier sections of N before him as we see them now. Now since Ep. 10 is the first document in the MS it was only natural that when the scribe came to that Epistle in the common series he should pass it over, knowing that the Epistle had already been entered in his MS, though probably by another hand and certainly from a different archetype. (*b*) The Quod idola and Ep. 8 come at the end of the common series in N—i.e. after Ep. 30—instead of immediately succeeding Ep. 59. If no obvious theory suggests itself to account for the displacement[1] in N, a comparison of the readings of L N P leaves little room for doubt that for the text of these documents the three MSS derive from a common source.

At first sight P seems to deviate very considerably from the order of L and N, but on closer examination it will be found that the differences are by no means serious. The omission of Epp. 10, 57 and 58 from the series is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that these Epistles were already in the MS before the common source was drawn upon. The reversal of the order in respect of 11 66 (this MS having 66 11) need cause no uneasiness in view of the fact that in these documents the text of P is certainly related to that of L and N. Only two important differences remain, viz. the insertion of Ep. 58 (which is not contained in L N) after Ep. 39, and the relegation of the *de Laude Martyrii* to a later place (after Ep. 42) than that which it occupies in L N. The displacement of the *de Laude Martyrii* in this MS is exactly parallel to that of 11 66 in N. That it *is* a displacement is shown by the united witness of L N; that P rests upon the common tradition for this Book is plain from a comparison of the readings. With regard to Ep. 58, the adverse witness of L N is sufficient to assure us that, whatever may be the source from which the text of P is derived, the Epistle is certainly a foreign intrusion where P gives it.

On the whole a comparison of L N P suggests the following conclusions:—(*a*) that there is nothing in L which is not derived from the common archetype of the group; (*b*) that in L the order of the common archetype is perfectly preserved; (*c*) that *in respect of the common series* (from *tst* to Ep. 30) the *immediate* archetypes of N and P[2] probably differed

[1] That it *is* a displacement is proved by the fact that P agrees with L in giving the two documents at the same point in the series.

[2] It is quite possible, however, that the union of the two sets of documents found in P may have been already effected in the immediate archetype of that MS, or even higher up the stream. In that case what is said in the text, here and elsewhere, concerning the composition of P, would hold good of the MS in which the union was first effected.

very little, if at all, from L and from the *common* archetype, in contents and order. Concerning this last point we have no positive evidence for P beyond Ep. 40: but the abrupt termination of the (Cyprianic) text in the middle of a Treatise—in the middle of a sentence—and precisely at the end of a page of the MS, gives the impression that the scribe ceased from work, not because there was nothing more for him to copy, but because, in some way or other, his work was interrupted.

(2) So far we have been at pains to show that presumably the entire series of documents contained in L represent a single tradition: we have next to consider whether any of the documents contained in N and P, but not in L, may be traced to that same line of tradition. At the outset it should be remarked that the agreement between N and P in order and text is strictly limited to the documents which form the series common to them and to L. The total failure of any vestige of special affinity between N and P beyond the range of that series is all the more significant when contrasted with the abundant signs of relationship which exist within its limits. Moreover it will not be forgotten that there once existed in the Library of Lorsch a companion volume to our Cod. L. That volume, as we have seen, contained the Treatises in an order which is recorded in the ancient catalogue. Presumably, therefore, if we would hope to find a text of the Treatises which has been perpetuated by the same line of tradition as that which has furnished us with the 'LNP' text of the Testimonia and Epistles, we must search for a MS which gives the Treatises in the order indicated by the Lorsch Catalogue. However, it is right that we should examine the claims of the additional documents found in N and P.

In P the common series is preceded by a group of fourteen documents (I, X, IX, 37, 38, 10, V, VII, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, IV, VI), which is also found in cod. Paris. lat. 17350 (saec. xii), cod. Paris. lat. 1657[1] (saec. xii–xiii), Brit. Mus. Addit. 21,077[2] (saec. xv), and in the Siena MS. F. V. 14[3] (saec. xiv–xv). It is quite possible—even likely—that this group perpetuates the tradition of an ancient archetype, for the text of P in the Treatises is on the whole very good, but that the group cannot be the counterpart of the series common to L N P is shown by the fact that the junction of the two sets of documents in P has necessitated the mutilation of the second set by the omission of Epp. 10, 37, 38.

[1] In this MS the series is not complete, but the table of contents shows that all the documents were contained in the archetype.

[2] This is the 'Codex Drurianus' which was used by Dr. Routh for his edition of some of the Treatises in the *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*.

[3] The contents of this MS are enumerated by Mr. C. H. Turner, in *Studia Biblica*, vol. iii, p. 325. The order is for the most part identical with that of Brit. Mus. Addit. 21,077.

Ep. 58 follows Ep. 39 in the Siena MS and in Brit. Mus. Addit. 21,077: it is natural, therefore, to suppose that P has derived the text of the Epistle from the MS which furnished the text of the Treatises.

In N the common series is preceded by Ep. 10, App. XI (*Oratio ii*), and the *ad Fortunatum*; it is followed by the *Caena* and by a second version of App. XI. (*a*) Ep. 10 is introduced with the extraordinary, and as it would seem the unique, title INCIPIT EPL̄A CIPRIANI AD SILVANVM ET REGIANVM MARTYRES IN METALLO CONSTITVTOS. The text of the Epistle is also peculiar and certainly has no affinity whatever with that given in L, which may safely be taken as the standard of the common series for this document. (*b*) If we may regard L as continuous with the MS of the treatises mentioned in the Lorsch Catalogue, the *ad Fortunatum* would be separated from the *Testimonia* only by Ep. 58, and since there is in N no objective contrast between the *ad Fortunatum* and the *Testimonia*, we might have hoped to find in N a text of the *ad Fortunatum* related to that of the lost MS. But a detailed examination of the text of N would lead us to connect it rather with the tradition represented by R. In any case we do not find in the *ad Fortunatum* as given in N the readings which are peculiar to L N P in the *Testimonia*. (*c*) If the two documents 10 and IX are to be denied to the tradition of the common series, it is probable that the first version of *Oratio ii* which occupies a position between them should be dismissed in their company. (*d*) The second version of *Oratio ii* which concludes the collection is in a different and probably later hand. It has obviously been forcibly crushed into what was once the last page of the MS in order to fill a vacant space. (*e*) On the other hand the *Caena* may possibly have been written continuously with the documents which precede it, but I take it that this highly interesting but grotesque work cannot be of sufficient antiquity to merit serious consideration in connexion with the ancient line of tradition that we are investigating.

To sum up. It would appear, from a general examination and comparison of the three MSS, that their agreements and their differences are best explained on the supposition (i) that in respect of contents, order, and arrangement, the Lorsch collection of Cyprianic documents *in two volumes* must be taken as the adequate standard of the tradition to which L N P owe their common element; (ii) that N P derive nothing from that line of tradition but what is proper to the second part of the collection, i. e. what is actually contained in L.

(3) It only remains to determine the *character* of the relationship existing between L N P. If these MSS in their order and their text betray unmistakable signs of special relationship, they witness no less clearly to the fact that their relationship is collateral and not that of direct descent. A glance at the *apparatus criticus* is sufficient to show

that the textual differences between the three MSS are as striking as their coincidences. Here I can call attention only to some of the more obvious differences. In the *Testimonia* N is the only MS of the group which retains the Greek numerals for the chapters [1], while in P only do we find the form *cata lucanum* [2] instead of *cata lucan* or *cata lucam*. L is characterised by the grouping of Epp. 73, 71, 70 as Epistles 'ad Iuuaianum,' N by the unification of the two parts of Ep. 69. In some of these cases we cannot be sure that the differences noticeable in the three MSS existed also in their immediate archetypes. Far more significant, therefore, are the *lacunae* which occur in our MSS.

In L there is a curious displacement whereby a part of Ep. 60 has found its way into the middle of Ep. 76.

In P the scribe passes from 482. 10 *anima et cor.* to 636. 8 *sacrificatis*, thus omitting the latter part of Ep. 6 and the first half of Ep. 55 [3]: he also omits several pages of the *de Laude Martyrii* (App. 26. 10 *ingenii* . . . 30. 6 *suppeditat*).

In N there is a *lacuna* in Ep. 55 which deprives us of the long passage 628. 12 *non tantum* . . . 639. 3 *ruperunt ut.*

There can be little doubt that these defects are reproductions of corresponding defects in the respective archetypes of the three MSS—defects of which the copyists were not conscious. Certain irregularities in the text of the *Testimonia* as given in N tell a different tale. In that MS three several portions of the text (corresponding to 81. 11–93. 8; 105. 18–127. 22; 174. 2–175. 22 in Hartel's edition) are in a different hand from the rest of the Treatise; they are also differentiated by an absence of rubrication and by a disuse of the Greek numerals [4]. It further appears, on examination of the MS, that these portions of the text must have been inserted in spaces left blank by the original scribe. Thus in the third passage the later scribe has obviously spread out his concluding lines in order to make them reach to the continuation of the text which had been already written. Similarly at the end of the second insertion there is a blank space of six lines between the concluding words of the second hand and the continuation by the original hand. In the case of the first insertion the junction between the new and the old has been more successfully effected, but here also there are sufficient indications that the passage is subsequent to the rest of the text. Hence it follows (*a*) that the MS from which the first scribe of N copied the *Testimonia* must have had three *lacunae*—two of them of considerable

[1] In N the use of the Greek numerals commences with Book ii.

[2] P has this form consistently.

[3] The *lacuna* on fol. 85 *b* of P whereby the scribe passes from the middle of *de Zelo* to the middle of *de Habitu Virginum* belongs to a different line of tradition.

[4] In N the rubrication begins with Test. ii 3. From Test. ii 7 to the end of the third Book, it is regularly employed except in the interpolated passages.

extent; (*b*) that the first scribe of N was not only aware of the defect of his archetype, but must also have had the means of calculating how much of the text was missing[1].

The existence of these defects in the three MSS—each MS possessing its own unshared by the others—seems to place the relative independence of L N P beyond question; and since the defects evidently come to our MSS by inheritance, perhaps it is not altogether unjustifiable to infer that the MSS in whose mutilation the defects originated were probably already ancient at the time when the copies were made from them[2]. In that case it is obvious that the *common* archetype of L N P must have been of very early date, and the recovery of its text would be a matter of corresponding importance.

I make no attempt to arrange L N P in 'order of merit.' Such comparisons are more often misleading than useful, and in the present case our chief concern should be to secure a recognition of the fact that for the reconstruction of the common archetype the three MSS must be regarded as so many independent and therefore indispensable witnesses.

H. L. Ramsay.

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ—ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΝ.

A MS note by F. J. A. H. Passages in [ ] added by J. O. F. M.

Philo is fond of the words *εὐχαριστία, εὐχαριστεῖν* (*εὐχαριστικὸς ὕμνος* &c.): but see especially *de victimis* §§ 1–9. He evidently uses them in place of the LXX [*περὶ*] *αἰνέσεως, θυσία αἰνέσεως* (cf. § 9 *ἡ λεγομένη τῆς αἰνήσεως*), and speaks of *εὐχαριστίαι* as including 'hymns, eudaemonisms, prayers, sacrifices, &c.' (§ 9 *ὕμνοις τε καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοῖς τε καὶ εὐχαῖς θυσίαις τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐχαριστίαις εὐαγῶς ἀμείβεσθαι, ἃ δὴ πάντ' ἀθρόα συλλήβδην ἓν ὄνομα τὸ αἰνήσεως ἔλαχε*). In § 3 he speaks of the morning and evening oblation as *ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας*, and the victims themselves (*τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα* as distinguished from the incense) as *εὐχαριστίαν*. Cf. also § 4 *Εἰ γὰρ βούλοιτό τις ἐξετάζειν ἀκριβῶς τὰς αἰτίας ὧν ἕνεκα τοῖς πρώτοις ἔδοξεν ἀφικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς διὰ θυσιῶν εὐχαριστίας ὁμοῦ καὶ λιτὰς ἐλθεῖν, εὑρήσει δύο τὰς ἀνωτάτω*. [The references to the subjects to be included in the thanksgiving according to § 6 are interesting. If the subject is *περὶ γενέσεως κόσμου*, the thanksgiving is to go into detail, taking note of the heaven with sun, moon and stars, the earth with its living creatures and plants, the seas and rivers, the air and the various seasons—quite in the spirit of the

[1] For critical purposes these insertions must be clearly distinguished from the rest of the text. The type of text contained in them is very similar to that of the Codex Bambergensis (B).

[2] This remark applies with special force to the ancestor of N.

Benedicite. In the same way, if the thanksgiving is for the whole race of men or for a single individual, it is to be carefully dissected like the sacrificial victim into its natural divisions.]

Aquila uses εὐχαριστίαν evidently as a thank-offering in Amos iv 5 (where LXX has νόμον, doubtless reading תורה for תודה, which is translated αἰνέσεως Lev. vii 12 13 15 and elsewhere). Aquila also replaces αἴνεσις of LXX by εὐχαριστία in Lev. vii 12; Ps. xxv (xxvi) 7; xlix (l) 14; lxviii (lxix) 31; cvi (cvii) 22 as the translation of תודה [cf. xli (xlii) 5; xcix (c) 1; cxlvi (cxlvii) 7 = LXX ἐξομολόγησις].

The passage from Lev. vii 12 13 15 (the law of the peace-offerings) is quite in point [cf. Philo *l.c.* § 9], and may have been before Justin's mind in the eucharistic passage (*Dial.* 41), though the primary reference is doubtless to Lev. xiv (the offering for the cleansing of the leper).

[We may add for the sake of completeness that εὐχαριστία is found for זבח תודה in Lev. xxii 29 in the margin of Cod. X, where LXX = θυσίαν or θυσίαν αἰνέσεως.]

Εὐχαριστία is unknown to LXX in all senses; as it is also to the Apocrypha as applied to sacrifices, even in Sir. xxxii 1–9 where it might have been expected.

Possibly the classical word χαριστήρια may have helped the change from the somewhat obscure αἴνεσις to εὐχαριστία. For instance, Celsus (Orig. *c. Cels.* viii 57) urged the Christians εὐχαρίστους εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς τῇδε δαίμονας, thinking that they ὀφείλειν αὐτοῖς χαριστήρια. Origen refers in reply to the Eucharist as a thanksgiving to God (see below).

Thus naturally εὐχαριστία in Christian usage has two concrete senses besides the abstract sense: (1) a thanksgiving in words, and (2) a thanksgiving in offerings; and in early times it appears to denote always the offering or thing offered itself, not the ceremony or service or the institution.

So Ps.-Ign. *Philad.* 4. [In the shorter Greek recension, to which in spite of the *Ps.* before Ign. there is no doubt that the note refers[1], the passage runs Σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ· ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος κ.τ.λ.]

Smyrn. 6 [MS 7 by error] (εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ): and even *Smyrn.* 8 ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα.

Justin *Apol.* i 66 ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία.

[1] [All Dr. Hort's other references are to ante-Nicene literature: and the second of these references to 'Ps.-Ign.' is in fact altogether absent from the longer Greek. There is no indication of the date when this note was first written. It most probably goes back to the time when the Syriac recension was in possession of the field in the Ignatian question. See Dr. Hort's Article 'Lightfoot,' vol. 33, p. 239, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*]

[illegible]

Clem. Paed. ii [illegible] (Two [illegible] of water and wine, of spirit and man; [illegible])

Strom. i 5 [illegible] and probably *Strom.* iv [illegible]

Origen Hom. in Num. v 1 [1 40 Lom.]. Sed et eucharistiae sic percipiendae sive eo ritu quo geritur explicandae . . . quis facile explicet rationem?

c. Cels. viii 57 [see above] ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστίας ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος.

The verb εὐχαριστέω when applied to the Eucharist seems to

mean 'to offer as a thank-offering.' So Just. *Apol.* 65 (μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου); 66 (τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν). So probably Iren. *l. c.*: eum panem in quo gratiae actae sint corpus esse Domini sui=τὸν εὐχαριστηθέντα ἄρτον κ. τ. λ. [(Cf. *Tert. ad Marc.* i 23 quoted by J. B. L. on Ign. *Philad.* iv 'super alienum panem alii deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur.')]

Also Clem. (*Strom.* iv 130, p. 623) speaks of the martyr's blood as poured out at last as a thank-offering (κυρίως δι' ἀγάπης γνωστικῆς εὐχαριστηθέντος αἵματος: where Dindorf has restored the reading of the MS in place of εὐχαρισθέντος).

Strom. i 95, p. 375 εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν. The verb is also used (as quoted by L. Dindorf in *Stephanus*) in various votive inscriptions, in one of which occurs an accusative (Belzoni *Voy.* ii 90 B) ταῦτα πάντα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Σάραπι.

Of course the Christian choice of the word εὐχαριστεῖν was determined by its use in the Gospels and 1 Cor. at the original institution: cf. a singular use of ποιεῖν in Just. *Dial.* 70, evidently derived from τοῦτο ποιεῖτε. [The whole passage is worth quoting: ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ λέγει ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προφητείᾳ περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου ὃν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς ποιεῖν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ σεσωματοποιῆσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν, δι' οὓς καὶ παθητὸς γέγονε, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὃ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν εὐχαριστοῦντας ποιεῖν φαίνεται. This reference should be added to the others, *Apol.* i 66, *Dial.* 41, 117 collected by Professor Swete, *J. T. S.* vol iii, p 165.]

[For the sake of completeness it will be well to add references to some passages in the Didachè and in early Apocryphal literature which bear on the questions raised in this note.

1. Didachè c. ix περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· . . . περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος . . . μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες κ. τ. λ. If its meaning in the first line is ambiguous, there can be no doubt that εὐχαριστία = 'thank-offering' in the concluding sentence of the chapter.

2. Acta Iohannis ch. 110 καὶ κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον ἐπέδωκεν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπευχόμενος ἄξιον ἔσεσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ κυρίου χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἁγιωτάτης εὐχαριστίας. Here three MSS read τῆς τοῦ κυρίου εὐχαριστίας.

In ch. 84 the meaning is ambiguous. ἀπὸ λουτροῦ ἁγίου· ἀπὸ εὐχαριστίας· ἀπὸ τροφῆς σαρκός· ἀπὸ πότου κ. τ. λ.

In ch. 109 the combination of words is peculiarly interesting. Καὶ αἰτήσας ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν οὕτως· Τίνα αἶνον ἢ ποίαν προσφορὰν ἢ τίνα εὐχαριστίαν κλῶντες τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ἐπονομάσωμεν ἀλλ' ἢ σὲ μόνον κύριε Ἰησοῦ; Here εὐχαριστία must, I suppose ='a thanksgiving in words.'

3. In the older form of the *Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 27, we have μόνον

[illegible]

In the later form this becomes [illegible]

On the other hand, in c. 25, after the reading of the Gospel, the older form gives [illegible] But in the later form we find [illegible]

4. We may compare also the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (Wright, pp. [illegible]).

5. Brightman's Index will supply illustrations of the similar use of [illegible] for the elements both before and after consecration.

6. From the same source I derive the following reference: [illegible] S. Macarius, *de Charitate* [illegible] (Migne 34. [illegible]).

The Papyri have as yet thrown no light on this use of the word.]

F. J. A. Hort.
J. O. F. Murray.

TERTULLIAN AND PURGATORY[1].

[illegible]

The reviewer suggests that I have not given sufficient weight to the evidence of the whole chapter of Tertullian *de Anima* [illegible] in which the doctrine of Purgatory has been discussed. 'Let the reader,' he says, 'study the whole chapter in Tertullian and see in the light of the context whether anything [illegible] will satisfy him as to Tertullian's

[1] [illegible]

meaning.' I would myself wish the reader to study, not that chapter only, but the whole book—especially chapters 7 and 35, and from chapter 53 onwards. He will then be fortified against that mischievous practice by which textbooks too often impose upon the unwary, by giving brief quotations, torn from their context. The chapter of Tertullian to which Mr. Gayford refers has too often been served in that fashion. Harnack, for instance, or his English translator (*Hist. of Doctrine*, II, p. 296, E. Tr.), quotes the words *modicum delictum illuc* (sic) *luendum*, without the explanatory *mora resurrectionis*. The Swiss Protestant Grétillat (*Exposé de Théol. Systématique*, iv 544) innocently quotes *Nemo dubitabit animam aliquid pensare penes inferos* to show that Tertullian held the notion of Purgatory. Others quote other scraps. Most of the textbooks content themselves with referring, as Mr. Gayford apparently would have them do, to the chapter in general. Even Schwane does so in his careful and excellent *Dogmengeschichte* (i 388).

Now that chapter in general has nothing to say about Purgatory. The doctrine of Purgatory is either contained in the one sentence which I quoted in my lectures, or it is found nowhere in the chapter, the purpose of which as a whole, in accordance with the philosophy of the book, is to insist that souls can suffer, as well as enjoy, during their abode among the dead. But the sufferings of which it speaks are the sufferings of those who are awaiting the condemnation of the Judgement Day. The classes that Tertullian names (except in the one sentence quoted) are not the perfect and the imperfect among the saved: they are the saved and the lost. *Velis ac nolis, et supplicia iam illic* (i. e. *penes inferos*) *et refrigeria; habes pauperem et divitem.* The opponents whom Tertullian had in view were men who could not understand how there could be pains for any one in the intermediate state. He shows how this can be. *Cur enim non putes animam et puniri et foueri in inferis interim sub expectatione utriusque iudicii in quadam usurpatione et candida eius?* There is not a word about a suffering for the imperfectly good—a suffering that will end at or before the resurrection. Those who *fouentur* are those who will be acquitted in the Judgement Day; those who *puniuntur* are those who will be condemned. The objection which Tertullian sees is that the Judgement Day is thus forestalled. '*Quia saluum debet esse*,' *inquis*, '*in iudicio diuino negotium suum sine ulla praelibatione sententiae*': the objector thinks that no rewards or inflictions should take place until the flesh is restored to share in them—that flesh which had its share in deserving them. In the rest of the passage Tertullian argues against this view. The intermediate state, he says, is no sleep of the soul; it is no inaction. It would be an *iniquissimum otium*, that of 'hell,' if the guilty were still in comfort and the innocent not yet in comfort. Souls there must be sure of

[illegible] This is [illegible] the only sentence in which Tertullian speaks of [illegible] which is [illegible], and [illegible] one. The [illegible] of [illegible] is [illegible] and perplexing to [illegible], but it is Tertullian's way of proving by the case of [illegible] that the [illegible] suffer in the intermediate state. If those whose resurrection is delayed, because they have not yet paid the last farthing, are conscious of the [illegible] of their prison—if, in fact, it is any punishment to have the resurrection postponed—it cannot, he says, be doubted that the [illegible] are already suffering some torments of the soul, though awaiting greater when the body shall rise to participate in them. This last is the main point—that the torments of the lost begin directly after death.

It is only then, by 'studying the whole chapter' that the reader will be put in a position to understand it better than from the single sentence quoted. In order to understand the bearings of this one sentence—the only one which touches upon the sufferings of men who will ultimately be saved—the reader must go to the whole treatise, and to the doctrine of Tertullian in general. He will then find that Tertullian considered the *inferi*, the 'hell', in which all the dead, good and bad, are confined, with the partial exception of the martyrs, to be in itself a state of restriction and privation, however tempered and alleviated by the *refrigeria* which are given there; and that he laid great stress upon the doctrine of a first and a second resurrection, separated by the interval of the millennium. Those who yet had restitution to make, whose last farthing was not yet paid, could not have part in the first resurrection—they were obliged to wait to the second. The prayers and oblations of the Church on behalf of the departed were largely directed to this end—to obtain for them a share in the first resurrection (*de Monog.* 10: *pro anima eius orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium*). That Tertullian may have conceived of them as undergoing some retributive, rather than purgatorial, pain in the course of this delay, is far from improbable; but there is nothing in the immediate context, or elsewhere in his works, to suggest it—unless it be that he shows, in the chapter at large, that souls in the intermediate state are capable of suffering. Earlier in the treatise, as here, he shows that he knows of no other punishment than

that of waiting for the second resurrection:—*unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso* (35). The same is seen in the *de Res. Carnis* 42, where Tertullian assumes that the state of death is for all the saved a payment of the last farthing of their debt:—*Quis enim non desiderabit dum in carne est superinduere immortalitatem et continuare uitam, lucrifacta morte per uicariam demutationem, ne inferos experiatur usque nouissimum quadrantem exacturos?* Even the Roman Catholic, Bautz, in his *Fegfeuer* (p. 54), renounces all attempt to find purgatory in any other part of *De Anima* 58 than in that one sentence. 'Was nämlich die Stelle in der Schrift *de Anima* betrifft,' he says, 'so gehört dieselbe zum Theile gar nicht hierher.'

A. J. MASON.

THE FORTHCOMING CAMBRIDGE SEPTUAGINT.

As we hope within a few months to begin the work of printing the larger edition of the Cambridge Septuagint, we have taken the opportunity, kindly afforded us by the editors of this JOURNAL, of publishing two specimens of text and apparatus selected from the Octateuch, viz. Gen. xlviii. 1–9 and Judges v. 23—vi. 24. The former is an average example of text free from exceptional difficulties; while the latter shows on the one hand the effect of printing the B and the A texts on opposite pages, and dividing the apparatus between them according to the affinities of the various authorities quoted (cf. Lagarde's *Septuagintastudien*, pp. 3–72), and on the other hand the working out of our methods of citation in a case where the textual problems are unusually complicated, as in the verses taken from the song of Deborah. Our desire is to obtain at the present stage of our work as much advice and criticism as possible from students of the Septuagint.

The general plan of the edition has been explained by Dr. Swete in his *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, pp. 188–190. The only preface therefore which is needed here is a list of the symbols used in the notes and an explanation of their meaning. All *uncial MSS* of the Octateuch whose existence is known to us have been quoted wherever extant. Our selection of thirty *cursives* for the Octateuch is based on a preliminary examination of selected passages in all known MSS: we have endeavoured to represent every group, and every important subdivision of a group. The collations for this edition are wholly independent of those made for Holmes and Parsons: but in

order that the list of readings found in Greek MSS may be as complete as possible, we propose throughout the edition to quote on the authority of the Oxford editors the comparatively few readings which are found *only* in MSS other than those we have selected. In these cases the MSS are quoted by Holmes's numbers, and the readings placed within angular brackets 〈 〉. Examples will be found in the Genesis specimen below: we have not yet formulated this evidence in Judges.

Our selection of cursive MSS then is one of the points on which we would specially invite criticism: another is our manner of quoting the evidence of the *ancient versions*. The subject is a complex one, and consistency of treatment is hard to attain, even in dealing with one and the same version. Nor would it be right, even were it possible, to treat the different versions in the same way. Thus the Old Latin claims a specially full exhibition of its evidence, not only because of its intrinsic importance, but also because of its relation to the Scripture citations of the Latin fathers. The Syro-hexaplar again should be fully quoted for quite a different reason, viz. its extreme literalness, and the certainty with which it can be retranslated into Greek. The Armenian has the same quality though in a less degree: there are many instances where its evidence is too uncertain to be worth much. The Ethiopic is often too free to be quoted without great caution. The Egyptian versions are on the whole accurate translations, though they do not follow the Greek so slavishly as the Syro-hexaplar, and the Sahidic sometimes betrays a tendency to paraphrase. The evidence for some unimportant variants is very uncertain, e.g. as regards the copula before verbs (particularly in narrative), the article, and pronouns affixed to nouns and verbs. In all these cases the evidence of the version has been neglected unless it is supported by other authority. Where the weak article is used in Coptic, the version has not been cited for or against the presence of the article in Greek. In general, our aim has been to include evidence from the versions only where there is reasonable probability that they represent different Greek from that of our text, or where the paraphrastic renderings seem to contain useful or interesting information. In cases where the rendering of a version most naturally suggests a particular reading, but can probably be used to represent other readings as well, we have quoted the version only where there is Greek authority for the variant it specially suggests.

The *patristic citations* in these specimen pages are not complete, as the full collections are not yet in our hands: but we have given, where we know it, the evidence derived from the writings of those fathers whom we propose to quote. Even in the edition this part of the evidence will necessarily be incomplete, as in the case of many of the fathers satisfactory editions are still wanting. The volumes

of the Berlin Corpus will, of course, be used as they become available.

The symbols used by Holmes are given in brackets.

UNCIAL MSS.

A (III) Codex Alexandrinus. British Museum, Reg. I. D. v–viii.
D (I) Codex Cottonianus. British Museum, Cotton MSS, Otho B. vi 5–6.
D = Grabe's collation (published by Dr. H. Owen, London, 1778).
*D*sil = readings inferred from Grabe's silence.
E Codex Bodleianus. Oxford, Auct. T. infr. ii 1.
F (VII) Codex Ambrosianus. Milan, Ambrosian Library, A. 147 infr.
Fa = corrections in uncial hands.
Fb = corrections in cursive hands.
G (IV, V) Codex Colberto-Sarravianus. Leyden, Univ. Lib. Voss. Gr. Q. 8.
" " " Paris, Bibl. Nat. Reg. Gr. 17.
" " " St. Petersburg, Imp. Lib. v 5.
H Codex Petropolitanus: St. Petersburg, Imperial Library, fragments of Num.
K Leipzig, Univ. Lib. cod. Tisch. ii, fragments of Num.–Ju.
L (VI) Codex Purpureus Vindobonensis. Vienna, Imp. Lib. Theol. Gr. 2 (Lamb.), fragments of Gen.
M (X) Codex Coislinianus. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Coisl. Gr. 1.
N (XI) Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus. Vat. Gr. 2106.
S Codex Sinaiticus (א). Leipzig and St. Petersburg.

CURSIVE MSS.

a (15) Paris, Bibl. Nat. Coislin. Gr. 2.
b (19) Rome, Chigi, R. vi 38.
c (38) Escurial, Υ. II. 5.
d (44) Zittau, A. I. I.
e (52) Florence, Laur. Acq. 44.
f (53) Paris, Bibl. Nat. Reg. Gr. 17a (not quoted in Judges specimen).
g (54) Paris, Bibl. Nat. Reg. Gr. 5.
h (55) Rome, Vat. Regin. Gr. 1.
i (56) Paris, Bibl. Nat. Reg. Gr. 3.
j (57) Rome, Vat. Gr. 747.
k (58) Rome, Vat. Regin. Gr. 10.
l (59) Glasgow Univ. BE. 7b. 10.

m (72) Oxford, Bodl. Canon. Gr. 35 (formerly at Venice).
n (75) Oxford, Univ. Coll. 52.
o (82) Paris, B. N. Coisl. Gr. 3 (not quoted in Judges specimen).
p (106) Ferrara, Bibl. Com. Gr. 187.
q (120) Venice, St. Mark's, Gr. 4.
r (129) Rome, Vat. Gr. 1252.
s (131) Vienna, Theol. Gr. 1 (Nessel 23).
t (134) Florence, Laur. v 1.
u Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre, 2.
v Athos, Pantocrator, 24.
w Athens, Bibl. Nat. 44.
x London, Brit. Mus. Curzon, 66.
y (29) Venice, St. Mark's, Gr. 2.
z (85) Rome, Vat. Gr. 2058.
a_2 St. Petersburg, Cod. 62. / London, Brit. Mus. Add. 20002 } (continuation of E).
b_2 (31) Vienna, Theol. Gr. 4.
c_2 (135) Basle, AN. III. 13.
d_2 (93) London, Brit. Mus. Reg. i. D. 2.

For cursive MSS. the following indices have been used to distinguish different hands:

* = first hand.
^{a} = corrections by first or contemporary hand.
^{b} = corrections by later hands.

Versions.

𝔄 = Armenian (ed. Zohrab, Venice, 1805).
𝔅 = Bohairic.
- $𝔅^l$ = Lagarde's edition, Leipzig, 1867.
- $𝔅^w$ = Wilkins's edition, London, 1731.
- $𝔅^p$ = Paris MS (Bibl. Nat. Copt. 1, quoted for Gen. only).
- $𝔅^r$ = Rome, Vat. Copt. 1, quoted for Deut.

ℭ = Sahidic.
- $ℭ^c$ = Ciasca's edition, Rome.
- $ℭ^m$ = Maspero's edition (Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, Tom. vi. Paris, 1892).

[In these specimen pages the passage from Gen. is extant only in Ciasca's edition, which is represented by $ℭ^{ed}$: in his notes he quotes the readings of a Bodleian MS, cited here as $ℭ^{cod}$. The passage from Ju. is extant only in Maspero's edition and is cited as ℭ.]

𝕰 = Ethiopic.
- 𝕰[d] = Dillmann's edition.
- 𝕰[c] = Codex C, as quoted by Dillmann.
- 𝕰[f] = Codex F " "
- 𝕰[p] = Paris, Bibl. Nat., Eth. 3 (Zotenberg), collated throughout Genesis for our edition.

𝕷 = Old Latin.
- 𝕷[r] = Robert's edition of the Lyons Octateuch.
- 𝕷[v] = readings cited by Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones*.
- 𝕷[z] = Ziegler's edition of the Munich fragments.

𝕾 = Syro-hexaplar (ed. Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*).

List of early writers whose quotations from the LXX are mainly used, with the names of the editions followed.

(1) *Greek*.

Philo—Cohn and Wendland, completed from Mangey.
Josephus—Niese.
N.T. authors—Westcott and Hort.
Apostolic Fathers—Lightfoot and Harmer.
Justin Martyr—Otto.
Clement of Alexandria—Potter.
Origen, *C. Celsum*, &c.—Koetschau.
" *Philocalia*—Robinson.
" *Comm. in Joann.*—Brooke.
completed from Delarue.
Hippolytus—Achelis.
Eusebius—Gaisford.
Cyril of Jerusalem (**Cyr Hier**)—Touttée.
Chrysostom—Savile.
Athanasius—Padua edition, 1777.
Theodoret—Schulze.
Cyril of Alexandria—Aubert.
Theodore of Mopsuestia—Migne, Sachau.

(2) *Latin*.

Irenaeus—Stieren.
Cyprian—Hartel.
Lucifer of Cagliari—Hartel.
Verecundus—as quoted in Vercellone.
Tyconius—Burkitt.

(1) GENESIS xlviii 1–9

XLVIII 1 [1] § Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Ἰωσὴφ ὅτι §
Ὁ πατήρ σου ἐνοχλεῖται· καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, τὸν
2 Μανασσὴ καὶ τὸν Ἐφράιμ, ἦλθεν πρὸς Ἰακώβ. [2] ἀπηγγέλη δὲ τῷ
Ἰακὼβ λέγοντες Ἰδοὺ ὁ υἱός σου Ἰωσὴφ ἔρχεται πρὸς σέ· καὶ
3 ἐνισχύσας Ἰσραὴλ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην. [3] καὶ § εἶπεν Ἰακὼβ τῷ §
Ἰωσήφ Ὤφθη μοι ὁ θεός μου ¶ ἐν Λοῦζα ἐν γῇ Χανάαν, καὶ εὐλόγη- ¶
4 σέν με [4] καὶ εἶπέν μοι Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ σε αὐξανῶ καὶ πληθυνῶ καὶ ποιήσω
σε εἰς συναγωγὰς ἐθνῶν, καὶ δώσω σοι τὴν γῆν ταύτην καὶ τῷ σπέρ-
5 ματί σου μετὰ σὲ εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον. [5] νῦν οὖν οἱ δύο υἱοί σου

2 κλεινην B* (κλιν. B^{b})

ADFM a–c_2 𝔄𝔅$^{pl w}$ ℭ$^{cod\ ed}$ 𝔈^{cfpd} 𝔏^{r}.

1. ταυτα] + και AD^{sil} FM rell 𝔈^{p} 𝔏 Cyr | απηγγελη] απηγγελθη bw : ανηγγελη AD (ανηγ.... D) FM dhi^{b}k^{a}lnp–vya_2c_2 Cyr : αναγγελουσι f | τω ιωσηφ] om τω egj : + λεγοντες v^{mg} 𝔅 | οτι–ενοχλειται] *aegrotat pater-noster* 𝔈 | οτι] + *Iacob* 𝔄 | σου] αυτου *D* 𝔏 Cyr^{ed} | ενοχλειται] + αρρωστεια n | αναλαβων] λαβων Chr ⟨20⟩ : *cepit* 𝔈 : παραλαβων M^{mg} : + *Ioseph* 𝔄𝔈 | αυτου] + μετ αυτου AM^{mg} ckmxc_2 : + μεθ εαυτου *D*F^{b}afi^{mg}rsy : + ※ *secum* 𝔄 | om τον 1° c_2 | μαννασση An : μαννιαση q : μανασσην ey : *Manassem* 𝔏 | om ηλθεν προς ιακωβ F$^{a?}$ (hab F^{ab}) 𝔈 | ηλθον Mn | ιακωβ] pr τον π̄ρ̄α αυτου m : *eum* 𝔏 ℭ^{ed} : *patrem suum* ℭ^{cod} : + τον π̄ρ̄α αυτου ka_2

2 απηγγελη δε] ανηγγελη δε a_2c_2 : απηγγειλαν δε m : *et nuntiauerunt* 𝔏 : + τουτο Chr | om τω m | ιακωβ] *Esrāēl* 𝔈 | λεγοντες] λεγοντος j^{mg} : λεγοντων c_2 : om ℭ^{ed} | ιδου] οτι a_2 : om ℭ^{ed} | ιωσηφ ο ῡς σου 𝔅^{pl} ℭ^{ed} 𝔈^{p} | om ο n | om ῡς σου x | om ιωσηφ l 𝔅^{l} 𝔏 | και ενισχυσας] *inualuit autem* ℭ^{ed} | ῑη̄λ] ιακωβ efgjv^{mg} | ανεκαθισεν bsw | την κλινην] της κλινης bo : την κοιτην gj : της κοιτης e

3 και ειπεν] om και c : ειπεν δε bw | ωφθη–μου B*] ο θ̄ς μου ωφθη μοι B^{ab} AF (ο θ̄ς μου ωφθη.) Ma(ωφθαι) c–l n–v x–c_2 𝔄𝔅ℭ^{cod} Chr Cyr ½ : ο θ̄ς ωφθη μοι *D*+*D*^{sil} bw 𝔏 : ο θ̄ς μου ο οφθεις μοι m 𝔈 | ο θ̄ς] ισχυρος ικανος F^{b} | om μου ℭ^{ed} Cyr ½ | εν γη χ. εν λουζα A | om εν λουζα d ℭ^{ed} | λουζη h^{b} : *Lyza* 𝔏 | ηυλογησεν AM flva_2 | με] μοι cms : om b_2

4 και ειπεν] *dicens* ℭ^{cod} | om μοι 𝔄^{ed} ℭ^{cod} | om ιδου a ℭ^{cod} Chr | om εγω 𝔅ℭ | σε αυξανω] αυξ. σε AD^{sil} Macdeghj-mo-vx–c_2 𝔄𝔏 Chr : αυξησω σε Cyr^{ed} | και πληθυνω] *et cresces* ℭ^{ed} | πληθυνω] + σε AD^{sil}Macdeghj-mo-vx–a_2c_2 𝔄𝔅ℭ𝔏 Chr Cyr^{ed} : πλυνω σε b_2 | om και ποιησω σε lm | συναγωγην oqub_2 | ⟨εθνων] αυτων 30⟩ | om ταυτην dp | om και 5°—μετα σε 𝔄 | κατασχεσιν αιωνιον] τας γενεας αυτων n

5 νυν ουν] + ουτοι 𝔈 (uid) Chr | υιοι σου] σου υιοι ⟨25⟩ Cyr ½ : *fili* + ras 1 ! 2 !

1 ενοχλειται] ἀ αρρωστει F^{b} (sine nom) M jv : σ' νοσει M j (sine nom) v

οἱ γενόμενοί σοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πρὸ τοῦ με ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς σὲ
ἐμοί εἰσιν, Ἐφράιμ καὶ Μανασσή, ὡς Ῥουβὴν καὶ Συμεὼν ἔσονταί
μοι· 6 τὰ δὲ ἔκγονα ἃ δ' ἂν γεννήσῃς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσονται ἐπὶ τῷ
ὀνόματι τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν, κληθήσονται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων κλήροις.
7 7 ἐγὼ δὲ ἡνίκα ἠρχόμην ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας τῆς Συρίας, ἀπέθανεν
Ῥαχὴλ ἡ μήτηρ σου ἐν γῇ Χαναάν, ἐγγίζοντός μου κατὰ τὸν ἱππό-
δρομον χαβραθὰ τῆς γῆς τοῦ ἐλθεῖν Ἐφράθα· καὶ κατώρυξα αὐτὴν ἐν
8 τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου· αὕτη ἐστὶν Βηθλέεμ. 8 ἰδὼν δὲ Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς
9 υἱοὺς Ἰωσὴφ εἶπεν Τίνες σοι οὗτοι; 9 εἶπεν δὲ Ἰωσὴφ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ
Υἱοί μού εἰσιν οὓς ἔδωκέν μοι ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακώβ
Προσάγαγέ μοι αὐτοὺς ἵνα εὐλογήσω αὐτούς.

7 βεθλεεμ 9 προσ|αγαγε B* προσα|γαγε B^{b}

𝔏 : + ουτοι a_2 | γενομενοι] γεγεννημενοι dlpt: ⟨γεννωμενοι 18⟩ | σοι] σου dlpb_2 : om 𝔄 Phil | αιγυπτω] pr γη AM dhklnptvza_2 ℭ^{ed} : pr γη αιγη r : γη αιγυπτου egjqub_2 Cyr ½ | om προ του—προς σε 𝔅 Chr Cyr ⅓ | με ελθειν] ελθειν με ot Cyr ½ : με εισελθειν c_2 | προς σε εις αιγυπτον D^{sil}Ma–e ghj–c_2 ℭ^{cod} 𝔏 Ath Cyr | εις αιγυπτον] *huc* 𝔈 : om ℭ^{ed} | om προς σε 𝔄 Phil | om εμοι εισιν l 𝔈 | ⟨om και 1° 130⟩ | μαννασση A : μανασσης ac–gi*jlmqtuy^{b}(uid) a_2 𝔏 Phil^{ed} Ath Chr Cyr^{ed} ⅔ Thdt^{ed} : μαννασσης n | ως] + και Cyr ⅓ : ⟨νυν 121⟩ | ρουβειν c : ρουβιν x ℭ^{ed} Thdt^{cod} : ρουβημ hk Cyr ⅓ : ρουβειμ p Chr Cyr^{ed} ⅔ Thdt^{ed}: ρουβιμ d–gijlntb_2 Phil^{codd} : ρουμιμ m | συμεων] pr ως AD fhikstvxza_2 𝔅 Cyr^{cod} ⅓ : συμαιων n | μοι] σοι a_2 : μου c_2

6 τα δε εκγονα] *fili* 𝔏 | τα δε] + εις το εξης Chr | εγγονα acik–nqru Cyr^{cod} ½ : εγονα b | α] om kn Cyr^{cod} ½ : οσα ⟨20⟩ Chr | δ αν] αν AD dfhimnprsxy Chr : εαν M acegjkoqtuvzb_2c_2 Cyr : om blwa_2 : om δ 𝔄𝔈 | γεννησης] γεννησεις bdghln pwa_2 : γενηται σοι ℭ^{ed} Cyr ½ | om μετα ταυτα Cyr ½ | εσονται—κληροις] *uocabuntur nomine tuo uocabuntur nomine fratrum tuorum et dicent nomen tuum in sortibus illis* ℭ^{ed} | εσονται B ℭ^{ed} 𝔈] pr σοι AD M a–qs–c_2 Chr Cyr 𝔄𝔏 : + σοι r 𝔅ℭ^{cod} | ⟨επι 1°—αυτων] των αδελφων αυτων το ονομα αυτων 30⟩ | κληθησονται—κληροις] *et-uocabuntur et-erunt in portione fratrum-suorum* 𝔈 | επι 2° B i^{a} ℭ^{ed}] εν AD M a–hi^{b}j–c_2 𝔄(uid)𝔅ℭ^{cod}𝔏(uid) Chr Cyr | κληροις] κληρωσιν d : *sorte* 𝔅^{1}

7 om δε zb_2 | εκ μεσοποταμιας] εκ της μεσ. 𝔅 Cyr^{ed} : εν μεσοποταμια y | εκ] απο f | της συριας] pr ÷ z : om της D s | απεθανεν] + επ εμε z^{mg} | η μη̄ρ σου ραχηλ D ackmxyc_2 𝔄 | ραχιηλ l | εγγιζοντος μου] εγγ. δε μου r : εγγιζοντι μοι bw : om l : om μου a_2 | ⟨om κατα 84⟩ | χαβραθα της γης] *terrae Chabratha* 𝔄 : *regionis Ephratha* 𝔈 | χαβρατα D : χαυραθα p : ⟨γαβραθα 20⟩ : καβραθα 𝔅 | της γης του ελθειν] *appropinquante me* ℭ | γης] πηγης a | του ελθειν] pr προ bkmw | εφραθα] sup ras B$^{1?a?b}$: pr εις γην n Cyr : pr εις acde gh^{b}joptvyzc_2 𝔄 : pr εν a_2 : εβραθα v^{txt} ⟨εις εφρανθα 79 : εν ευφρανθα 18⟩ | κατωρυξαν a_2 𝔄^{codd} | αυτην] + εκει bw | τη] γη k | οδω] γη bdfhi^{mg}lprtxc_2^{txt}𝔄𝔖(ap Barh^{cod}) | ιπποδρομου] ιπποδρομιου i* : υποδρομου f : ιππου i^{mg} | αυτη] + δε r | βηθλεεμ] η ex corr yb_2 : βιθλεεμ nr : *Bethel* 𝔏 : + *sepeliuerunt ibi Abraam sepeliuerunt et Isaac ibi in spelunca duplici quam emit Abraam a filiis Cheth* ℭ^{ed}

8 ιδων δε] και ιδων 𝔏 Chr | ι̅η̅λ] ιακωβ f | τους] + δυο v^{mg}z^{mg}b_2 | ειπεν] + *ei* ℭ^{cod}𝔈 | τινες σοι ουτοι] *qui sunt isti tibi* 𝔏𝔄 | σοι] ησιν D : εισιν c_2 : υιοι f : om bdjkw Cyr^{cod} | ουτοι] + εισιν k 𝔈^{p} : pr *sunt* 𝔅ℭ

9 ειπεν δε] και ειπεν 𝔏 Chr | ιωσηφ—αυτου] om Chr : *ei* ℭ^{ed} : *Ioseph ei* ℭ^{cod} | om τω π̅ρ̅ι̅ αυτου dp | ⟨υιοι] pr οι 20. 32⟩ | μου] μοι r | εισιν] om 𝔈 Chr : + ουτοι km | ⟨δεδωκε 16. 77. 130⟩ | ο θ̅ς̅] *Dn̄s* 𝔏 | om ενταυθα Chr | και ειπεν] ειπεν δε ℭ^{cod} Cyr | ιακωβ] *Istrahel* 𝔏 : *ei* ℭ^{ed} | προσαγαγετε d | μοι αυτους] *eos ad me* 𝔏 : + ωδε k | ινα] και n

(2) Judges v 23–vi 24 (A-text).

V 23 [23] Καταράσαι Μαζώρ, εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου, A
καταράσει καταράσασθε τοὺς ἐνοίκους αὐτῆς·
ὅτι οὐκ ἤλθοσαν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν Κυρίου,
βοηθὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος ἐν μαχηταῖς δυνατοῖς.
24 [24] εὐλογηθείη ἐκ γυναικῶν Ἰαήλ, γυνὴ Χαλὲβ τοῦ Κειναίου·
ἐκ γυναικῶν ἐν σκηνῇ εὐλογηθείη.
25 [25] ὕδωρ ᾔτησεν αὐτήν, καὶ γάλα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ·
ἐν λακάνῃ ἰσχυρῶν προσήγγισεν βούτυρον.
26 [26] τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν ἀριστερὰν εἰς πάσσαλον ἐξέτεινεν,
τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς εἰς ἀποτομὰς κατακοπῶν,

23 *καταρασαι*] *καταρασαιαι* | *καταρασασθαι* 24 Ιαηλ] $\overline{\iota\eta}$λ 25 *προσηγγεισεν*

MNabcdghklmnptvwxy 𝔄𝔈^{cld}𝔏^{r}𝔖

23 *καταρασαι—αυτης*] pr *ιδοιεν αρας ιδοιεν οδυνας κατοικουντες αυτην υπερηφανους υβριστας αρατε απολεσατε* gln(p)tv(w) ⟦*αρας* 1°] + *ιδοιεν αυτας* p | *αυτην*] *αυτον* w⟧: pr *ειδοισαν οδυνας ειδοισαν αρας αμα λαω* k (*λαων* k*) : pr *αρατε απολεσατε* d : *uideant dolores uideant maledictiones maledixit angelus Dñi habitantes in ea* 𝔏 | *καταρασαι*] *καταρασθε* amx : *καταρασθαι* b : *καταρασει καταρασθε* k : *καταρασασθε* dghlptv : *καταρασασθαι* MNcny Thdt : *καταρασσεσθαι* w : *maledicite* 𝔄𝔖 Ver : *maledicant* 𝔈 | *μαζωρ*] *μαρωζ* MN𝔄𝔖 : *ναρωθ* c : *μαζουρωθ* h : *Mazorhot* Ver^{cod} : *μαηρζωρ* k : *κραταιων* w : *Manzor* Ver^{cod} | *καταρασει—αυτης*] *επικαταρατος πας ο κατοικων αυτην* h : om d | *καταρασει*] *καταρασσει* w | *καταρασασθε*] *καταρασασθαι* Mny : *καταρασσεσθαι* w : *καταρασθε* amx : *καταρασθαι* c | *ενοικους*] *ενοικουντας* MNagklnptvwy : *κατοικουντας* m : *inhabitantes* 𝔖 Ver | *αυτης*] *αυτοις* N : *αυτην* Magklmptvwy : *εν αυτη* n : *in ea* 𝔖 Ver | *οτι*] pr *υπερηφανους υβριστας αρατε απολεσατε* k | *ηλθον* a–dgklnptvwx : *ηλθεν* MNmy | *εις*] *εν* b | *την*] *γην* m : om h | *βοηθεια* m | $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ 2°] $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ bcx 𝔏 Ver : + $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ dglnptvw | *βοηθος ημων* $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$] *εις βοηθειαν* h : om 𝔈 | om *ημων* MNmy 𝔄 | $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ sub ÷ 𝔖 | *μαχηταις*] *μαχηται ο* d : om h | *δυνατοις*] *δυνατος* a–dglnptvwx 𝔄𝔖 Ver : om MNkmy

24 *ευλογηθειη* 1°] *ευλογημενη* a 𝔄^{cd} 𝔈$^{(uid)}$ 𝔏 Ver : *και ευλογημενη* k | *εκ γυναικων* 1°] *εκ γυναικος* N* (*ων* N^{a}) c : *εν γυναιξιν* ahkx 𝔄^{codd} 𝔏𝔖 Ver | *ηαηλ* n | *γυνη*] pr *η* lw | *χαλεβ* A𝔈^{f}] *χαβερ* MN rell 𝔄𝔈^{c}𝔏 : *Abel* Ver | *του κειναιου*] *fili Cenei* 𝔏 | *κιναιου* Na–dghkmnptvxy : *κινναιου* w : *κενναιου* l : *Chinei* Ver | *εκ* 2°—*ευλογηθειη* 2°] pr *εκ δευτερου εν επαινω ευλογημενη* k : om d : + *εν επαινω* gn : + *εκ δευτερου εν επαινω* lptvw | *εκ* 2°] *απο* h : *εν* n | *ευλογηθειη εν σκηνη* MN | *σκηναις* ghklnptvw 𝔏 Ver | *ευλογηθειη* 2°] *ευλογημενη* a 𝔈𝔏 Ver : *ιαηλ* k

25 *αυτην και*] sub ÷ 𝔖 : om MNhmy | *αυτην*] *αυτη* gn : om 𝔄𝔈 Ver | *και*] om 𝔏 : + *illa* Ver | *γαλα*] *γαλααδ* N | *αυτω*] sub ÷ 𝔖 : om MNhmy 𝔄 | *εν λακανη ισχυρων*] *εν εσχατοις μεγισταναων* gln : *εν εσχατω δυνατω* k : *in peluem aquarum* 𝔏 : *et-in-pelui magna* 𝔈 | *εν λεκανη*] *ελκανη* d | *εν*] *ε* p : *επι* w | *λεκανη* MNah^{b} [illegible] ptvwy : *λυκανη* m | *ισχυρων*] *ισχυρον* b : *δυναστων* MNmptvy : *δυνατων* d : *potentium* Ver : *υπερεχοντων* w : *υπερεκχυοντων* h | *προσηγγισεν*] *προσηνεγκεν* MNacdhptv–y 𝔏 Ver : *προηνεγκε* k : *προσηνεγκαν* m | *βουτυρον*] *βουτηρον* dpw : + *εν εσχατοις μεγιστανων προσηγγισε βουτηρον* w : + *βοων εκστασιν ηγγικε θερμως* k : + *principi adpropimquauit calide* 𝔏

26 *την χειρα*] *τη χειρι* k : + *την* l : om *την* MNhmy | *την αριστεραν*] om *την* Mahmy : *αριστερα* N : om bkx 𝔏𝔖 | *εξετεινεν εις πασσαλον* gln (*πασαλον*) w 𝔄𝔈 | *εις πασσαλον*] *τω πασσαλω* k : *ad palum* Ver | *πασαλον* c | *την δεξιαν—κατακοπων*] *et-dextrâ-suâ percussit* 𝔈 | *την δεξιαν*] pr *θερμως και* dgln (*θερμος*) ptvw : pr *και* a : *και δεξιαν* MNhkmy : *et dexteram* 𝔄 Ver : *manum* 𝔏 | *αυτης* 2°] sub ※ 𝔖 : om a | *εις αποτομας κατακοπων*] pr *του εις τελος αχρειωσαι* a : *εις σφυραν κοπιουντων* (*αυτων* h^{b}) h : *του εις τελος αχρειωσαι* MNkmy 𝔄 : *usque in finem donec impetraret* 𝔏 : *ad malleum ut in finem exterminaretur* Ver : *super lanceas secantium* 𝔖 | *κατακοπων*]

(2) JUDGES v 23–vi 24 (B-text).

23 [23]Καταρᾶσθε Μηρώζ, εἶπεν ἄγγελος Κυρίου, καταρᾶσθε· B
ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κατοικῶν αὐτήν·
ὅτι οὐκ ἤλθοσαν εἰς βοήθειαν Κυρίου,
εἰς βοήθειαν ἐν δυνατοῖς.
24 [24]εὐλογηθείη ἐν γυναιξὶν Ἰαήλ,
γυνὴ Χάβερ τοῦ Κειναίου·
ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐν σκηναῖς εὐλογηθείη.
25 [25]ὕδωρ ᾔτησεν, γάλα ἔδωκεν, ἐν λεκάνῃ
ὑπερεχόντων προσήνεγκεν βούτυρον.
26 [26]χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἀριστερὰν εἰς πάσσαλον ἐξέτεινεν
καὶ δεξιὰν αὐτῆς εἰς σφῦραν κοπιώντων,

23 *καταρασθε* 1°] *καταρασθαι* 24 *κιναιου* B^b

eijqrsuza$_2$ 𝕮^m

23 *καταρασθε* 1°] *καταρασθαι* qrsz : *καταρασασθαι* ja$_2$: + *eam quae appellatur* 𝕮 | *μαρωζ* ejua$_2$: *μαρωζον* s : *μαζωρ* z : *μαρωs* 𝕮 | *αγγελος*] pr *o* ejsuza$_2$ | *καταρασθε* 2°] *καταρασθαι* j : *καταρασασθε* q : *καταρασασθαι* a$_2$ | om *πας* sz 𝕮 | om *o* ejsz | *αυτην*] *εν αυτη* i 𝕮 (uid) | *ηλθοσαν*] *ηλθον* u : *ηλθεν* eijrsza$_2$ | *κ̅υ̅* 2°] *κ̅ς̅* 𝕮

24 *ευλογηθειη* 1°] *ευλογηθι* *ι̅η̅λ* a$_2$ | *χαβελ* a$_2$ | *κιναιου* eiqa$_2$: *κινναιου* 𝕮 (uid)
25 *εδωκεν*] + *αυτω* 𝕮 | *λακανη* s : | *υπερεχοντων*] *υπερεκχεοντων* ejqsz : *δυνατων* 𝕮 (uid) | *προσηνεγκεν*] *προηνεγκεν* ejsz ; + *ει* 𝕮
26 *χειραν* i | *δεξιαν αυτης*] *manum suam dextram extendit* 𝕮 | *σφυραν*] *σφαιραν* e | *κοπιωντων*] *κοπιοντων* irsua$_2$;

23 *καταρασθε* 2°—*αυτην*] *θ′ καταρασει καταρασθαι τους ενοικουντας αυτην* z | *εις βοηθ. εν δυνατοις*] *ο′ βοηθος κ̅ς̅ εν μαχηταις* : *θ′ εν δυνασταις* z 25 *υπερεχοντων*] *ο′ δυναστων* : *θ′ ισχυρων εκχεοντων* z 26 *αυτης* 1°] *παντ χω* z

καὶ ἐσφυροκόπησεν Σεισαρά, B
διήλωσεν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπάταξεν,
διήλωσεν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ.
27 [27]*ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς κατεκυλίσθη,*
ἔπεσεν καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς·
κατακλιθεὶς ἔπεσεν·
καθὼς κατεκλίθη, ἐκεῖ ἔπεσεν ἐξοδευθείς.
28 [28]*διὰ τῆς θυρίδος παρέκυψεν μήτηρ Σεισαρὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τοξικοῦ*
Διότι ᾔσχύνθη ἅρμα αὐτοῦ;
διότι ἐχρόνισαν πόδες ἁρμάτων αὐτοῦ;
29 [29]*αἱ σοφαὶ ἄρχουσαι αὐτῆς ἀπεκρίθησαν πρὸς αὐτήν,*

27 *κατακλισθεις* B* (*κατακλιθεις* B^{ab}) 29 *αυτην*] *την* sup ras B^{ab}

eijqrsuza$_2$ $\mathfrak{C}^m$

τουεις τελος αχρειωσαι z^{mg} | *εσφαιροκοπησε* e : *εσφυροκοπη εν* z | *σισαρα* eijrsuza$_2$: *σισαραν* q | *διηλωσεν* 1°] *διηλασεν* eijrua$_2$: *καθηλωσεν* q | *κεφαλην*] *κοτραφον* i : *κροταφον* ru | *και επαταξεν—αυτου* 2°] *διηλασεν κεφαλην αυτου και επαταξεν* iru | *διηλωσεν* 2°] *διηλασεν* a$_2$

27 *αναμεσον* 1°] pr *cecidit* $\mathfrak{C}$ | *κατεκυλισθη*] pr *και* q | *επεσεν* 1°] *conuolutus est* $\mathfrak{C}$ | *εκοιμηθη*] *εκοιμηθησαν* u | *κατακλιθεις*] pr *και* q : *κατακληθης* i : *κατακλισθεις* r : *κατακλεισθεις* u | *καθως*] *κακως* e | *κατεκλιθη*] *κατεκληθη* u : *κατεκλισθη* r : *κατεκλησθη* i | *επεσεν* 2°] *mansit* $\mathfrak{C}$ | *εξοδευθεις*] *εξολεθρευθεις* a$_2$

28 *παρεκυπτεν* irua$_2$ | *μητηρ*] pr *η* eijsruza$_2$ | *σισαρα* eijqrsuza$_2$ | *διοτι* 1°] *διατι* irua$_2$ | *αρμα*] pr *το* irua$_2$: *αρματα* q $\mathfrak{C}$ | *αυτου*] + *ελθειν* eijrsuza$_2$ $\mathfrak{C}$ | *διοτι* 2°] *διατι* irua$_2$: *οτι* ejsz : om $\mathfrak{C}$ | om *ποδες* q | *αρματων*] *αρματα* q

29 *αι σοφαι*] *εσομαι* q | *αρχουσαι*] *αρχου-*

26 *εσφυροκοπησεν*] *ο' συνετελεσεν* z | *διηλωσεν* 1°—*αυτου* 2°] *θ' απετεμεν την κεφαλην αυτου και εθλασεν και διηλασεν τον γναθον αυτου* : *θ'* ('immo c'' Field) *δια του κροταφου τον πασσαλον και εθλασε την κεφαλην αυτου* z 27 *κατεκυλισθη επεσεν*] *ο' βαρυνθεις επεσεν* z | *κατακλιθεις*] *θ' συγκαμψας* z | *εκει επεσεν*] *ο' αφυπνωσεν* : *α' εκαμψεν* : *ο' θ' εν ω εκαμψεν* : *παντ χω* z | *εξοδευθεις*] *ο' θ' ταλαιπωρος* z 28 *εκτος του τοξικου*] *ο' θ' δια της δικτυωτης* z | *διοτι ησχυνθη*] *ο' διοτι ησχατησεν* z | (*ελθειν*)] *ο' θ' παραγενεσθαι* z | *εχρονισαν*] *ο' θ' διοτι ποδες* z

V καὶ ἀπέτεμεν Σισαρά, A
ἀπέτριψεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέθλασεν,
καὶ διήλασεν τὴν γνάθον αὐτοῦ.
27 [27] ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς συγκάμψας ἔπεσεν,
ἐκοιμήθη μεταξὺ ποδῶν αὐτῆς·
ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμψεν, ἐκεῖ ἔπεσεν ταλαίπωρος.
28 [28] διὰ τῆς θυρίδος διέκυπτεν
καὶ κατεμάνθανεν ἡ μήτηρ Σισαρὰ διὰ τῆς δικτυωτῆς,
ἐπιβλέπουσα ἐπὶ τοὺς μεταστρέφοντας Σισαρά
Διατί ἠσχάτισεν τὸ ἅρμα αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι;
διατί ἐχρόνισαν ἴχνη ἁρμάτων αὐτοῦ;
29 [29] σοφαὶ ἀρχουσῶν αὐτῆς ἀνταπεκρίναντο πρὸς αὐτήν,

26 κεφαλης

MNabcdghklmnptvwxy 𝔄𝔈[dl]𝔏[r]𝔖

κατακοπτων b : κατακοπτοντος εις τελος αχρειωσαι l : om d : + του εις τελος αχρειωσαι gnptvw | και απετεμεν—αυτου 2°] και τη σφυρα διηλασε τον κροταφον αυτου και συνεθλασε την κεφαλην αυτου και επαταξε τον σισαρα d(g)(l)(n)ptv(w) [[τη σφυρα] την χειρα αυτης n | επαταξε] συνετελεσεν glnw | σισαρρα l] : και συνετελεσεν σισαρα διηλασεν κροταφον αυτου διηλασεν κεφαλην αυτου και επαταξεν M(N) kmy 𝔄 (uid) [[κοτραφον N]] : και εσφυροκοπισεν σισαρα καθειλωισεν κεφαλην αυτου και επαταξεν διηλασεν κροταφον αυτου h : *et confecit Sisarra confecit capud eius dissipauit cerebrum eius* 𝔏 : *occidit Sisaram per palum et malleum Sisara iugulatur perforauit tempus eius perforauit caput eius* Ver | σεισαρα c | απετρεψε c | om και διηλασεν a

27 om αναμεσον—αυτης 1° n | αυτης 1°] + εσκιρτησεν dgptvw : + εσκιρτησας l | συνκαμψας] συγκαψας cdglptv : συγκυψας b : βαρυνθεις MNkmy 𝔄𝔏 : και κατεκυλισεν h : *palpitauit* Ver | om εκοιμηθη—εκαμψεν a | om εκοιμηθη—αυτης 2° glnw 𝔈 | εκοιμηθη] και εκολληθη h : και αφυπνωσεν MNdkmptvy : *et obdormiuit* 𝔏𝔄 Ver (*dormiuit*) | μεταξυ ποδων] *sub pedes* 𝔏 Ver | μεταξυ] ανα μεσον των MNhkmy : εν μεσω των dptv | ποδων 2°] σκελων MNdkmptvy 𝔄 | αυτης 2°] + εκαμψεν επεσεν bcx 𝔖 (επεσεν sub ※) | εν ω—ταλαιπωρος] *miser factus est et expirauit et cecidit* Ver | εν ω—εκει] om εν ω εκαμψεν d : κατακλειθεις h : *palpitans* 𝔏 | εν ω] *ubi* 𝔖 | εκαμψεν] + καθως κατεκλιθη MNky : + καθως κατεκλιθην m : + καθως κατεκλεισθη ptv : + *donec prostratus est* 𝔄 | εκοψεν l* (εκομψεν l[b?]) | επεσεν 2°] + εταλαιπωρησεν καθως εσκιρτησεν d (εταλαιπωρωσε) glnptvw | ταλαιπωρος] ταλαιπορας b : εξοδευθεις h

28 δια 1°—δικτυωτης] *mater Sisarae prospiciens obseruabat e cancellata fenestra* 𝔄 : *per fenestram retiatam prospexit mater eius* Ver | om δια της 1°—δια της 2° m | om της 1° l | διεκυπτεν] διεκυψε n : εκυπτεν a : παρεκυψεν h | και κατεμανθανεν] sub ※ 𝔖 : om MNadghklnptvwy 𝔈𝔏 | om η h | σισαρα 1°] σεισαρα c : σισαρρα l : *eius* 𝔏 | om δια της 2°—σισαρα 2° dkp | om δια της δικτυωτης 𝔏 | της δικτυωτης] του τοξικου h | επιβλεπουσα—σισαρα 2°] sub ÷ 𝔖 : om MNhmxy | επιβλ. επι] *respiciens autem* 𝔏 | μεταστρεφοντας] επιστρεφοντας lntvw : υποεπιστρεφοντας g | σισαρα 2°] pr μετα abcgntvw 𝔏𝔖 Ver : επι σισαρρα l : σεισαρα c | διατι 1°] διοτι MNdghk–nptvwy 𝔄𝔏 | ησχατισεν το αρμα] *tardabant currus* 𝔏 Ver (*tardabat*) | ησχατισεν] ησχατησεν aglmp : εσχατισε c : εσχατησε k : ισχυνθη h | το αρμα] τα αρματα c : αρματα h | αυτου 1°] *Sisarae* 𝔈 : + διατι εχρονησαν αρματα αυτου h | διατι 2°] pr *et* 𝔈 Ver : διοτι dghk–nptvwy 𝔏 | εχρονισαν] εχρονησαν Ncn : εχρονισεν dx : *morantur* Ver | ιχνη αρματων] pr δισσοι αναβαται αυτου ghnw : pr δισσοις αναβαταις αυτου l : *bini ascensores* 𝔏 | αρματων] *currus* Ver

29 om σοφαι—(30) δυνατοις d | σοφαι—αυτην] *sapientia virtutis eius respondebit ei* 𝔏 | σοφαι αρχουσων αυτης] *sapientes mulieres principes sensus virtutis suae* Ver | σοφαι] pr αι h | αρχουσαι h | ανταπεκριναντο] ανταπεκρινοντο alx 𝔖 : ανταπεκριθησαν MNky : αντεπεκριθησαν m : απεκριθησαν h : ανταπεκρινατο bg : *et responderunt* 𝔈[r] | om προς αυτην x 𝔄[codd] |

καὶ ἐσφυροκόπησεν Σεισαρά, B
διήλωσεν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπάταξεν,
διήλωσεν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ.
27 ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς κατεκυλίσθη,
ἔπεσεν καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς·
κατακλιθεὶς ἔπεσεν·
καθὼς κατεκλίθη, ἐκεῖ ἔπεσεν ἐξοδευθείς.
28 διὰ τῆς θυρίδος παρέκυψεν μήτηρ Σεισαρὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τοξικοῦ
Διότι ᾐσχύνθη ἅρμα αὐτοῦ;
διότι ἐχρόνισαν πόδες ἁρμάτων αὐτοῦ;
29 αἱ σοφαὶ ἄρχουσαι αὐτῆς ἀπεκρίθησαν πρὸς αὐτήν,

27 *κατακλισθεις* B* (*κατακλιθεις* B[ab]) 29 *αυτην*] *την* sup ras B[ab]

eijqrsuza₂ 𝔈[m]

εις τελος αχρειωσαι z[mg] | εσφαιροκοπησε εσφυροκοπη εν z | σισαρα eijrsuza₂ : αραν q | διηλωσεν 1°] διηλασεν eijrua₂ : ηλωσεν q | κεφαλην] κοτραφον i : κροφον ru | και επαταξεν—αυτου 2°] διηλασεν αλην αυτου και επαταξεν iru | διηλωσεν διηλασεν a₂
27 αναμεσον 1°] pr *cecidit* 𝔈 | κατεκυθη] pr και q | επεσεν 1°] *conuolutus est* | εκοιμηθη] εκοιμηθησαν u | κατακλιθεις] και q : κατακληθης i : κατακλισθεις r : κατακλεισθεις u | καθως] κακως e | κατεκλιθη] κατεκληθη u : κατεκλισθη r : κατεκλησθη i | επεσεν 2°] *mansit* 𝔈 | εξοδευθεις] εξολεθρευθεις a₂
28 παρεκυπτεν irua₂ | μητηρ] pr η eijs ruza₂ | σισαρα eijqrsuza₂ | διοτι 1°] διατι irua₂ | αρμα] pr το irua₂ : αρματα q 𝔈 | αυτου] + ελθειν eijrsuza₂ 𝔈 | διοτι 2°] διατι irua₂ : οτι ejsz : om 𝔈 | om ποδες q | αρματων] αρματα q
29 αι σοφαι] εσομαι q | αρχουσαι] αρχου-

26 εσφυροκοπησεν] σ′ συνετελεσεν z | διηλωσεν 1°—αυτου 2°] θ′ απετεμεν την κεφαλην ου και εθλασεν και διηλασεν τον γναθον αυτου : θ′ (‘immo c′ ’ Field) δια του κροφου τον πασσαλον και εθλασε την κεφαλην αυτου z 27 κατεκυλισθη επεσεν] σ′ υνθεις επεσεν z | κατακλιθεις] θ′ συγκαμψας z | εκει επεσεν] σ′ αφυπνωσεν : α′ εκαμψεν : ′ εν ω εκαμψεν : παντ χω z | εξοδευθεις] σ′ θ′ ταλαιπωρος z 28 εκτος του τοξικου] θ′ δια της δικτυωτης z | διοτι ησχυνθη] σ′ διοτι ησχατησεν z | (ελθειν)] σ′ θ′ παραεσθαι z | εχρονισαν] σ′ θ′ διοτι ποδες z

καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέστρεψεν λόγους αὐτῆς ἑαυτῇ· B
30 [30] Οὐχ εὑρήσουσιν αὐτὸν διαμερίζοντα σκῦλα;
οἰκτείρμων οἰκτειρήσει εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρός·
σκῦλα βαμμάτων τῷ Σεισαρά,
σκῦλα βαμμάτων ποικιλίας,
βάμματα ποικιλτῶν αὐτά, τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ σκῦλα.
31 [31] οὕτως ἀπόλοιντο πάντες οἱ ἐχθροί σου, Κύριε·
καὶ οἱ ἀγαπῶντες αὐτὸν ὡς ἔξοδος ἡλίου ἐν δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.
Καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτη.

I 1 [1] Καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, καὶ
2 ἔδωκεν αὐτοὺς Κύριος ἐν χειρὶ Μαδιὰμ ἑπτὰ ἔτη. [2] καὶ ἴσχυσεν

30 *τω σει|σαρα σκυλα βαμματω̄*] sup ras B^{ab} 31 *δυναμι* B* (*δυναμει* B^{ab}) | *τεσσακ.* B^b

eijqrsuza₂ 𝕮^m

σιν q : om 𝕮 | *αυτης* 2°] *εαυτης* esz | *εαυτη*] *εαυτης* i

30 *αυτον*] *αυτην* q | *οικτ. οικτειρησει*] *φιλιαζοντα φιλοις* z^{mg} | *οικτειρμων*] *οικτιρμων* eijrsuza₂ : *οικτειρον* q | *ανδρος*] *αυτου* e | om *σκυλα* 2°—*σεισαρα* ir | *βαμματων τω*] *βαμμα οντων των* q | *σισαρα* ejqsuza₂ | om *σκυλα* 3°—*ποικιλιας* a₂ | om *ποικιλιας* 𝕮 | *ποικιλτων*] *ποικιλιων* ira₂ | *τω τραχηλω*] *περι τον τραχηλον* 𝕮 (uid) | om *τω* 2° s

31 *απολοιντο*] *απολοιτο* z : *απωλοντο* i | om *παντες* i | *αγαποντες* i | *αυτον*] *αυτων* z* : *κ̄ν̄* q : *te* 𝕮 | *εξοδος*] *εξοδον* e : *ortus* 𝕮 | *τεσσαρακοντα* jqsuza₂ : *σαρακοντα* i

VI 1 *και* 1°] *post haec autem* 𝕮

29 *απεστρεψεν*] *ο' θ' απεκρινατο* z 31 *ως εξοδος*] *ο' θ' καθως η ανατολη* z | *δυναμει*] *ο' θ' δυναστεια* z VI 1 *ενωπιον*] *ο' θ' εναντιον* z

VI ἴσχυσεν χεὶρ Μαδιὰμ ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ υἱοὶ
Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ προσώπου Μαδιὰμ μάνδρας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ τοῖς
3 σπηλαίοις καὶ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν. [3] καὶ ἐγένετο ὅταν ἔσπειρεν ἀνὴρ
Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἀνέβαινεν Μαδιὰμ καὶ Ἀμαλὴκ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ἀνατολῶν,
4 καὶ ἀνέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ παρενέβαλλον ἐπ' αὐτούς, [4] καὶ διέφθει-
ραν τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Γάζαν, καὶ οὐχ ὑπελεί-
ποντο ὑπόστασιν ζωῆς ἐν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ποίμνιον καὶ μόσχον καὶ ὄνον.
5 [5] ὅτι αὐτοὶ ⟨καὶ⟩ τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν ἀνέβαινον καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν
παρέφερον, καὶ παρεγείνοντο, ὡς ἀκρὶς εἰς πλῆθος, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ
ταῖς καμήλοις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός· καὶ παρεγείνοντο ἐν τῇ γῇ
6 Ἰσραήλ, τοῦ διαφθείρειν αὐτήν. [6] καὶ ἐπτώχευσεν Ἰσραὴλ σφόδρα
ἀπὸ προσώπου Μαδιάμ. Καὶ ἐκέκραξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς
7 Κύριον· [7] καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπεὶ ἐκέκραξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Κύριον

VI 2 *μανδρας*] *ανδρας* 5 om *και* 1° 7 *επι*

MNabcdghklmnptvwxy 𝔄𝔈^{efd}𝔏^{r}𝔖

2 om *και* 1°—*ιηλ* 1° y | *ενισχυσεν* h | *χειρ*] pr *η* c : *χειρι* n | *μαδιαμ* 1°] *μαδιαν* x : + *ualde* 𝔏 Luc | *ιηλ* 1°] pr *τον* k : + *σφοδρα* dglnptvw 𝔖 (sub ÷) | om *και* 2° bx 𝔖 | *απο προσ. μαδιαμ εποιησαν εαυτ. οι υιοι ιηλ* bx (*μαδιαν*) 𝔖 | *αυτοις* h | om *οι*—*προσωπου* 𝔈^{f} | *οι υιοι*] om *οι* p : om Luc | *απο προσωπου*] *ante faciem* 𝔏 Luc | *μανδρας*] pr *συν* c : pr *τας* Nakmy : *τας μανδρας τας* x 𝔖 (*τας* 2° sub ※) : *τας τρυμαλιας τας* h : *criptas* Luc : *speluncas et cryptas* 𝔏 : *speluncas et-munitiones* 𝔈 | *ορεσιν*] + *τρυμαλιας* g | *και* 3°—*οχυρωμασιν*] *et monitiones* 𝔏 : *et-in locis-praeruptis* 𝔈 | *τοις σπηλαιοις*] pr *εν* bdglnptvw : *τα σπηλαια* h Luc | *τοις οχυρωμασιν*] pr *εν* dglnptvw : om *τοις* m : *τα κρεμαστα* h : *monumenta* Luc : + *του κατακρυπτεσθαι εν αυτοις* MN

3 *εγενετο*] *εγενοντο* g : *fiebat* 𝔄 | *οταν*] *οτε* MNabckmxy : *ως αν* h | *εσπειραν* dh : *διεσπειρεν* k* | *ανηρ*] sub ※ 𝔖^{cod} : sub ÷ 𝔖^{ed} : om k 𝔏 Luc : *οι υιοι* dh | om *και* 2° dkmy 𝔄𝔈 Luc | *ανεβαινεν*] *ascendebant* 𝔈 Luc : *ε* 2° ex corr n^{a} | *μαδιαν* x | om *οι* Mpxy | *αντολων* N | *και ανεβαινον*] *συνανεβαινον* h : *και ανεβενε* n : *et audiebant* 𝔏 | om *επ αυτον και* n | *επ αυτον*] *επ αυτων* clx* : *μετ αυτων* h : *super eos* 𝔄𝔈 | *παρενεβαλλον επ αυτους*] *committebant cum eis* 𝔏 Luc | *παρενεβαλον* Nabdgklmptvw : *παρεμβαλον* n

4 *διεφθειρον* MNdgk–nptvwy 𝔄𝔈𝔏𝔖 Luc : *κατεφθειρον* h | *τα εκφορια της γης*] *τους καρπους αυτων* h : *fines terrae* 𝔏 Luc | *εφορια* n | om *του* h | *ουχ υπελειποντο*] *ουχ υπελιποντο* N (*ουκ*) bklx : *ου κατελειπον* h | *ουκ* M | *υποστασιν*—*ιηλ*] *ad uitam huic Istrahel* 𝔏 Luc | om *εν* 𝔄^{ed}𝔈 | *ιηλ*] pr *τω* l : pr *γη* h : pr *τη γη* k | *και* 3°] *ουδε* h : *ουτε* dglnptvw : om 𝔄𝔏 Luc | *και* 4°] *nec* 𝔏 Luc | *μοσχον*] + *και ταυρον* h : + *ταυρον* m | om *και ονον* MNy | *και* 5°] *nec* 𝔏 Luc | *ονον*] *υποζυγιον* dglnptvw : *iumentum* 𝔏

5 om *οτι*—*ανεβαινον* n | *οτι*] + *και* a | *αυτων* 1°] *αυτον* t | om *ανεβαινον*—*και* 3° h | *τας σκηνας*] *αι σκηναι* MNmy : *ad tabernacula* 𝔏 | *παρεφερον*] sub ÷ 𝔖^{ed} : om MNmy : + *και τας καμηλους αυτων ηγον* dglnptvw 𝔖 (sub ÷ 𝔖^{ed}) Luc | *παρεγινοντο* 1° MNadk*ptv–y : *παρεγενοντο* bcglmn | *ακριδες* b 𝔏 Luc | *και* 4°—*αυτων* 3°] *quorum* 𝔏 : *quoniam* Luc | *τας καμηλους* n | *ταις*] *τοις* admptvy | *αριθμος ουκ ην* km | *αριθμοι* n | *παρεγινοντο* 2° Nacghptvwx : *παρεγενοντο* Mbdk–ny | *εν τη γη*] *εις την γην* d 𝔄 : *super terram* 𝔏 Luc : *οι υιοι* bn | *ιηλ*] pr *του* dglptvw : om 𝔏 Luc | *του*—*αυτην*] om *του* d : om n | *διαφθειραι* MNabdghkmptvy

6 *επτωχευσαν* n 𝔈 | om *ιηλ* 1° n | om *σφοδρα* 𝔈^{f} Luc | *μαδιαμ*] pr *του* w : *μαδιαν* x | *οι υιοι ιηλ προς κν εκεκραξαν* MNmy | *οι υιοι ιηλ εκεκραξαν* h | *εκεκραξαν*] inter *ε* 1° et *κ* 1° ras 7 n : *εκραξαν* w | *οι υιοι ιηλ*] *παντες* d

7 om *και*—*μαδιαμ* dk | om *και*—*κν* nw Luc^{cod} | om *εγενετο* p 𝔈 | *επει*] *οτε* mptvxy : *οτι* MNh Luc | om *οι*—*μαδιαμ* p | *περι*] *δια* Nabcghlmntv–y 𝔏 Luc : om M | *μαδιαν* x

VI χεὶρ Μαδιὰμ ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ B
προσώπου Μαδιὰμ τὰς τρυμαλιὰς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ τὰ σπήλαια
3 καὶ τὰ κρεμαστά. [3] καὶ ἐγένετο ἐὰν ἔσπειραν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ
ἀνέβαιναν Μαδιὰμ καὶ Ἀμαλήκ, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ἀνατολῶν συνανέβαινον
4 αὐτοῖς· καὶ παρενέβαλον εἰς αὐτούς, [4] καὶ κατέφθειραν τοὺς καρποὺς
αὐτῶν ἕως ἐλθεῖν εἰς Γάζαν, καὶ οὐ κατέλιπον ὑπόστασιν ζωῆς ἐν τῇ
5 γῇ Ἰσραὴλ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ποιμνίοις ταῦρον καὶ ὄνον. [5] ὅτι αὐτοὶ καὶ
αἱ κτήσεις αὐτῶν ἀνέβαινον, καὶ αἱ σκηναὶ αὐτῶν παρεγίνοντο, καθὼς
ἀκρὶς εἰς πλῆθος, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς καμήλοις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός·
6 καὶ ἤρχοντο εἰς τὴν γῆν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ διέφθειρον αὐτήν, [6] καὶ ἐπτώ-
7 χευσεν Ἰσραὴλ σφόδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου Μαδιάμ. [7] Καὶ ἐβόησαν
8 οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Κύριον ἀπὸ προσώπου Μαδιάμ. [8] καὶ ἐξαπέ-

VI 5 παρεγεινοντο B* (παρεγιν. B^b)

eijqrsuza₂ 𝔈ᵐ

2 μαδιαμ χειρ u | ιηλ 1°] pr τον ejrsuza₂ | om απο προσωπου μαδιαμ i* | om τας 2° irua₂ | τα κρεμαστα] ⲛ̄ϩⲏ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧⲱⲡⲉ 𝔈
3 και εγεν.] *factum est autem* 𝔈 | εαν] αν ir : οτε z^{mg} | εσπειραν] + *agros suos* 𝔈 | om και 2° ijrsuza₂ | ανεβαινεν eijrsuz 𝔈 : ανεβεννεν a₂ | om οι 2° i | συνανεβεννεν a₂ : συνεβαινον i* | αυτοις] *Madiam* 𝔈 | και παρενεβαλον] και παρενεβαλλον iru : *effusi sunt* 𝔈 | εις] επ irua₂
4 κατεφθειραν] κατεφθειρον iqrua₂ 𝔈 (uid) : διεφθειραν z^{mg} | τους καρπους αυτων] τα εκφορια της γης z^{mg} | αυτων] ων sup ras q : *terrae* 𝔈 | γαζα a₂ | ου κατελιπον] ου κατελειπον rs^b? ua₂ : ουχ υπελειποντο z^{mg} | τη γη] om τη q | ουδε—ταυρον] και ποιμνιον και ταυρον z^{mg} | ταυρον και ονον] ταυρων και ονων ej : καινον u | και 3°] *neque* 𝔈
5 om οτι—ανεβαινον ir | οτι] + και q | αι κτησεις] αι κρισεις a₂ : τα κτηνη 𝔈 | ανεβεννον a₂ | και αι σκηναι] *ad tabernacula* 𝔈 | παρεγενοντο i*q | καθως] ως a₂ | ακρις] ακριδες 𝔈 | εις πληθος] *multae* 𝔈 | τοις] ταις r^asua₂ | ηρχοντο] ηλθον a₂ | την γην] om την q | ιηλ] pr του ejsz
7 om και—μαδιαμ i* (hab i^a?) | και—κν] και εγενετο οτε εκεκραξαν οι υιοι ιηλ προς κν z^{mg} | ανεβοησαν q | om προς κν q | μαδιαμ] + και εγενετο οτε εκεκραξαν οι υιοι ιηλ προς κν δια μαδιαμ ir

2 τρυμαλιας] ο′ θ′ μανδρας z | τα σπηλαια] ο′ τοις σπηλαιοις z | τα κρεμαστα] ο′ τοις οχυρωμασι : c′ τα φρουρια z 3 οι υιοι] θ′ ανηρ z 5 και αι κτησεις] ο′ και τα κτηνη z και 2°—παρεγινοντο] θ′ και τας σκηνας αυτων παρεφερον z | ηρχοντο—διεφθειρον] ο′ θ′ παρεγενοντο εν τη γη του διαφθειραι z

VI 8 περὶ Μαδιάμ, 8 καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν Κύριος ἄνδρα προφήτην πρὸς τοὺς A
υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τάδε λέγει Κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ
9 Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀναβιβάσας ὑμᾶς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· 9 καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων
τῶν θλιβόντων ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ προσώπου ὑμῶν, καὶ
10 ἔδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. 10 καὶ εἶπα ὑμῖν Ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς
ὑμῶν, οὐ φοβηθήσεσθε τοὺς θεοὺς τοῦ Ἀμορραίου, ἐν οἷς ὑμεῖς ἐνοι-
11 κεῖτε ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν· καὶ οὐκ εἰσηκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς μου. 11 Καὶ
ἦλθεν ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν
Ἐφραθά, τὴν τοῦ Ἰωὰς πατρὸς Ἀβιεζρί· καὶ Γεδεὼν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
ἐράβδιζεν πυροὺς ἐν ληνῷ τοῦ ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ προσώπου Μαδιάμ.
12 12 καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν Κύριος μετὰ
13 σοῦ, δυνατὸς τῇ ἰσχύι. 13 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεών Ἐν ἐμοί
Κύριος, Κύριος, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν Κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἱνατί εὗρεν ἡμᾶς
πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα; καὶ ποῦ ἐστιν πάντα τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ὅσα
διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν λέγοντες Οὐχὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξή-
γαγεν ἡμᾶς Κύριος; καὶ νῦν ἀπώσατο ἡμᾶς Κύριος καὶ παρέδωκεν

10 φοβηθησεσθαι   11 εκαθεισεν

MNabcdghklmnptvwxy 𝔄𝔈^cfl𝔏^r𝔖

8 om και 1° abclpwx 𝔈𝔖 Luc | κ̅ς̅ 1°] αυτοις d | om προφητην k | om προς—ι̅η̅λ̅ 1° d | ο αναβιβασας] ο αναγαγων n : *qui adduxi* 𝔏 Luc : *qui eduxi* 𝔈 | εξ] εκ γης kmy 𝔄 | αιγυπτου] + και εξηγαγον υμας εξ οικου δουλειας MNabcghkl (και εξαγαγων) mnptv–y 𝔄𝔏𝔖 Luc : + *e domo seruitutis* 𝔈

9 και 1°] pr και εξειλαμην υμας εκ χειρος αιγυπτου MN (a)(b)c(g)(h)k(l)m(n)(p)(t)(v)(w)xy (𝔄)𝔈(𝔏)𝔖 [εξειλομην agh^b? ln ptvw | χειρος] γης l : + *regis* Luc | αιγυπτιων bglnptvw 𝔄𝔏] : + εξειλομην υμας d | om χειρος 𝔈 | θλιβοντων] μισουντων dhptv | και 2°—υμων] post αυτων d | εξεβαλα x | αυτους] + παντας n | εκ 2°] απο dptvx 𝔏 | εδωκαν w

10 ειπα] ειπον dlptvw : ειπων g : εγω ειπον n | om εγω—υμων n | εγω] + ειμι Na–dghklmptvwy 𝔄𝔈𝔏𝔖 Luc | υμων] + και MNhkmy 𝔈 | φοβησεσθε d | τους θεους] τους υιους k : om l : + *alienos* 𝔄^cod | του αμορραιου] του αμμοραιου w : των αμορραιων bcdh(αμμορραιων)mn 𝔄𝔈𝔏𝔖^ed Luc : τους αμορραιους p : *alios* 𝔖^cod | ενοικειτε] κατοικειτε abdghk–nptv–y : κατασκηνουται c | τη γη αυτων] pr ταυτη m : αυτη n | μου της φωνης glnw

11 και 1°] + μετα ταυτα m | αγγελος] pr ο bhlp | επι A] υπο MN rell 𝔄𝔈𝔏𝔖 | δρυν] γην την b | εφρανθα c : εφραν y : εφρα b 𝔄 : *Gofera* L | την του] τη του 𝔖 (uid) : om την x : η ην του dptv : η ην glnw : *quae fuit* 𝔏 | ιωνας nw | π̅ρ̅ς̅] του glnw | αβιεζρι] αβριεζρι w : αβιεζην l : εζρι MN : εζρει x : εσδρι d : εσδρει c : εσρι h* 𝔄𝔏 : ιεσρι h^b : ιεσρει a : ερει b : του εσζρι my : του εζρη k | γεδαιων g | om ο glmnw | ερραβδιζεν a^b?dtv : εραβδιζε n | εν ληνω] εκ λινων h* : εν σηλω g : εν σιλω nw : + και εσπευδεν dglnptvw 𝔖 (sub ÷) | του 2°] που n | φυγειν ghlnw | εκ] απο bdghlnptvw𝔏 | μαδιαμ] pr του c : μαδιαν x

12 ευρεν αυτον A] ωφθη αυτω MN rell 𝔄𝔈𝔏𝔖 | αγγελος] pr ο MNghlptxy | δυνατος μετα σου m | τη ισχυι] *in uirtute* 𝔏 : + σου M | τη] pr εν b : εν lw : om ghn

13 γεδεων προς αυτον cm | om προς αυτον d | κ̅ς̅ κ̅ς̅] κ̅ς̅ l : κ̅ς̅ μου c : κ̅ε̅ κ̅ε̅ b : κ̅ε̅ agnw 𝔏 Luc : κ̅ε̅ μου MNdhkmptvxy 𝔄𝔖 | om και 2° 𝔄 | ει] η b : om m | εστιν 1°] *erat* 𝔄 | μεθ ημων] εν ημιν Thdt | ινατι] pr και MNa–dghptv–y 𝔖 Luc | om παντα 1° M | om που εστιν b | εστιν 2°] εστε l : εισι dptv | om παντα 2° Thdt Luc | θαυμαστα h | οσα] α hkmy 𝔄(uid) 𝔏𝔖 Luc | διηγησατο h | om ημιν Thdt^cod | ουχι] οτι Thdt : om 𝔈 | εξηγ. ημας] ημας ανηγαγε g | εξηγαγεν] ανηγαγεν MNa–dhk–nptv–y 𝔖 : *adduxit* 𝔏 Luc | ημας 2°] *patres-nostros* 𝔈 | om κ̅ς̅ 4° MNky | om και νυν—κ̅ς̅ 5° w | om απωσατο—και 5° d | απωσατο] pr *quare* 𝔄 : αποσατε c | κ̅ς̅ 5°] sub ※ 𝔖 : om MNahky 𝔄𝔏 Luc | παρεδωκεν] + κ̅ς̅ l

I στειλεν Κύριος ἄνδρα προφήτην πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ, καὶ εἶπεν B
αὐτοῖς Τάδε λέγει Κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Ἐγώ εἰμι ὃς ἀνήγαγον
ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐξήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἐξ οἴκου δουλίας ὑμῶν,
9 [9] καὶ ἐρρυσάμην ὑμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν
θλιβόντων ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ προσώπου ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔδωκα
10 ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν· [10] καὶ εἶπα ὑμῖν Ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, οὐ
φοβηθήσεσθε τοὺς θεοὺς τοῦ Ἀμορραίου, ἐν οἷς ὑμεῖς καθήσεσθε ἐν
11 τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν· καὶ οὐκ εἰσηκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς μου. [11] Καὶ ἦλθεν
ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὑπὸ τὴν τερέμινθον τὴν ἐν Ἐφραθὰ ἐν
τῇ Ἰωὰς πατρὸς τοῦ Ἐσδρεί· καὶ Γεδεὼν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ῥαβδίζων σῖτον
12 ἐν ληνῷ εἰς ἐκφυγεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Μαδιάμ. [12] καὶ ὤφθη αὐτῷ
ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, ἰσχυρὸς τῶν
13 δυνάμεων. [13] καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεών Ἐν ἐμοί, κύριέ μου, καὶ
εἰ ἔστιν Κύριος μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, εἰς τί εὗρεν ἡμᾶς τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα; καὶ
ποῦ ἐστιν πάντα τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ἃ διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες
ἡμῶν λέγοντες Μὴ οὐχὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀνήγαγεν ἡμᾶς Κύριος; καὶ νῦν
14 ἐξέρριψεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡμᾶς ἐν χειρὶ Μαδιάμ. [14] καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν

8 δουλειας $B^{a\,(uid)b}$ 9 υμας] υ sup ras B^{ab} 11 σειτον B^{*} (σιτ. B^{b})

$eijqrsuza_2$ $\mathfrak{C}^m$

8 απεστειλεν $iqrua_2$ | om προς τους υιους ιηλ i | ος ανηγαγον] om ος iru : ο αναβιβασας a_2 | εκ γης] εξ q | εξηγαγον] ανηγαγον q* | δουλειας $eijqrsuza_2$
9 ερυσαμην ia_2 | αιγυπτου] αιγυπτιων e : φαραω i* | εκ 3°] απο ejsz | υμων] + *duximos* ℭ
10 υμιν] αυτοις q | εγω] + ειμι ejsz ℭ (uid) | ου φοβηθησεσθε] pr και $irua_2$: μη φοβεισθε q | των αμορραιων $iruz^{mg}a_2$ ℭ | καθησεσθε] καθησθε iqru : κατοικειτε z^{mg} ℭ (uid)
11 και ηλθεν αγγελος] *angelus autem* ℭ | αγγελος] pr ο q | om και 2° ℭ | εκαθησεν q | την τερεμινθον την] την δρυν την ουσαν z^{mg} | τερεβινθον eqa_2 : τερμινθον u | om την εν a_2 | εν εφραθα] om εν ej : *Ephraim quae in Sicima* ℭ | εφρα ua_2 : αφρα z : αφραθα s | εν τη] την του eijr $suza_2$: εν γη q ℭ | om του 1° ej | εσδρι eirsz ℭ : εσδρειμ q : εσρι a_2 : εσζρι u : εσφρι j | υιος] pr ο eijrsuz : pr ras I a_2 : ουτως a_2 | ραβδιζων σιτον] εραβδιζεν πυρους z^{mg} ℭ (uid) | εις] του ejz^{mg} a_2 | απο] εκ z^{mg} | om του 2° eqa_2
12 om ο $eijqa_2$ | ισχυρος] pr ο ej : ισχυροι q
13 om γεδεων q | εν εμοι] *audi me* ℭ | om μου q | μεθ ημων] μετ εμου i | ευρεν] ευρον ejsz : *uenerunt super* ℭ | τα κακα] pr παντα $ejqrsuza_2$ ℭ | om παντα ejz | om ημιν i*q | om μη $eijrsuza_2$ | και νυν—ημας 3°] om $eijra_2$: + $\overline{κς}$ suz ℭ : και συνετριψεν ημας q
14 επεστρεψεν] επεβλεψεν ℭ | ειπεν] +

8 ος ανηγαγον υμας] ο′ αναβιβασας σε : οι λ′ ανηγαγον z 9 ερρυσαμην] ο′ θ′ εξειλαμην z 12 ισχυρος των δυναμεων] ο′ θ′ δυνατος τη ισχυι : α′ τη ευπορια : c′ ανδρειος τη ισχυι z 13 εξερριψεν] ο′ θ′ απωσατο z | εδωκεν] ο′ θ′ παρεδωκεν z

VI 14 ἡμᾶς ἐν χειρὶ Μαδιάμ. [14] καὶ ἐπέβλεψεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος A
Κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Πορεύου ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου, καὶ σώσεις τὸν
15 Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ χειρὸς Μαδιάμ· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξαπέστειλά σε. [15] καὶ εἶπεν
πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεών Ἐν ἐμοί, Κύριε, ἐν τίνι σώσω τὸν Ἰσραήλ; ἰδοὺ
ἡ χιλιάς μου ταπεινοτέρα ἐν Μανασσῇ, καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι μικρὸς τῷ οἴκῳ
16 τοῦ πατρός μου. [16] καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου Κύριος
17 ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ καὶ πατάξεις τὴν Μαδιὰμ ὡσεὶ ἄνδρα ἕνα. [17] καὶ
εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεών Καὶ εἰ εὗρον χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, καὶ
18 ποιήσεις μοι σημεῖον ὅτι σὺ λαλεῖς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, [18] μὴ κινηθῇς ἐντεῦθεν
ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν με πρός σε καὶ οἴσω τὴν θυσίαν μου καὶ θήσω ἐνώ-
πιόν σου. καὶ εἶπεν Ἐγώ εἰμι καθήσομαι ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι σε.
19 [19] καὶ Γεδεὼν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἔριφον αἰγῶν καὶ οἰφὶ ἀλεύρου,
ἄζυμα, καὶ τὰ κρέα ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ κανοῦν, καὶ τὸν ζωμὸν ἐνέχεεν
εἰς χύτραν, καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν δρῦν· καὶ προσεκύ-
20 νησεν. [20] καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου Λάβε τὰ κρέα καὶ

14 σαι   15 ταπινοτερα   18 κεινηθης   19 αιριφον   20 εκχαιον

MNabcdghklmnptvwxy 𝔄𝔈$^{c[d]}$𝔏^{r}𝔖

εν χειρι] εις χειρας 𝔏 Thdt | μαδιαμ] μαδιαν x : + *Dns* Luc

14 και 1°—κ̅υ̅] sub ÷ 𝔖^{cod} : om d | ανεβλεψεν m | om κ̅υ̅ mn | αυτω] προς αυτον bchm : om k : + ο αγγελος d | σου] + ταυτη a-dgklnptvwx 𝔄𝔖 Thdt | εκ χειρος μαδιαμ] sub ※ 𝔖^{cod} : om MNabhmy | μαδιαν x | om και ιδου—σε d | και 4°] ουχ MNh* y : ουκ km : *nonne* 𝔄𝔏 Luc : om bptv | ιδου] *ego* 𝔏 : + *ego* 𝔄 | εξαπεσταλκα pv : εξαπελταλκα t : εξαποστελω n : *mitto* Luc

15 om προς αυτον d | κ̅ε̅] + μου bcx 𝔖 (sub ※) | σωσον n | ιδου] pr ουχ h* (ουκ h^{b}) : pr και c 𝔄 : ει χιλιαδες ωλοντο εν μανασση και (d)g(l)(n)(p)tv(w) ⟦ει] εις n : αι corr ex η uid l : εν dp | om ωλοντο d : ολοντο np | εν] ε n | μαννασση w⟧ η—ταπεινοτερα] *milia minorata sunt* 𝔏 | ταπεινοτερα] μικρη h* (μικρα h^{b}) | εν μαννασση] εν ι̅η̅λ̅ k^{mg} | μανασση MNa-dghklnptvxy : μαναση m : *Mannase* 𝔏 | και 2°] + γε dptv | μικρος ειμι c 𝔄 | om ειμι glnw 𝔈𝔏 | μικροτερος k^{mg} : *minimus* 𝔏 | τω οικω] pr εν a-dglnptv-y : εν οικω MNhkm : *in domo* 𝔏𝔄𝔈𝔖 | om του hk

16 ο αγγελος κ̅υ̅ προς αυτον c | om προς αυτον d | om ο αγγελος κ̅υ̅ MNabhxy 𝔄𝔏𝔖 | om κ̅υ̅ dkm | κ̅ς̅] pr οτι glnptvw 𝔈 | εσται] οτι εσομαι abx 𝔏𝔖 : *ego ero* Luc : *est* 𝔈 : om MNy 𝔄 | μετα σου] μεθ υμων w | παταξεις] αποκτενεις glnw 𝔈 | την] τον n | μαδιαν x

17 προς αυτον] sub ÷ 𝔖 : om dp 𝔄^{ed} 𝔏 | γεδεων] sub ÷ 𝔖^{cod} | om και 2° 𝔄𝔈𝔏 | εν οφθαλμοις] pr ενωπιον σου και m : ενωπιον n : *coram* 𝔏 | om και 3°—εμου MNamy | om και 3° 𝔄𝔈 | σημειον] sub ※ 𝔖^{cod} : sub ÷ 𝔖^{ed} : pr σημερον c : σημερον dghklnptvw : om 𝔏 | οτι] pr παν dgklnptvw : παντα οσα h : *quaecumque* 𝔏 | συ λαλεις] ελαλησας dghklnptvw | om μετ εμου 𝔏

18 μη] + δη ahkmy | κινηθης] χωρισθης MNdhkmptvw : χωρισης y | om του 1° abchmx | με ελθειν gnw | om με d | οισω] θισω M | θησω] η sup ras y : θυσω bcdp | ειπεν] + αυτω ιδου dgklnptvw : + *ei* 𝔈𝔖 | εγω ειμι] om ειμι Mn : *ecce* 𝔏 | καθησομαι] καθισομαι ad : καθησωμαι Ncntv : και θισομαι σε l* : και θησομαι σε l$^{b?}$: καθησω m : καθισω b : *sedeo* 𝔏 : *et sedebo hic* 𝔄 | του 2°] ου am | σε 2°] + *ad me* 𝔄

19 γεδεωμ w | οιφι αλευρου] *placentam* 𝔈 | οιφοι d : ηφι l : υφη m | αζυμα] *azymi* 𝔏 | επεθηκε τα κρεα glnw 𝔈 | επεθηκεν] εθηκεν MNhkmy | το κανουν] τον κανουν m | το] τον cdh*nptvw | om τον m | ενεχεεν] επεχεεν c : εξεχεεν b 𝔏 : om 𝔄^{cod} | χυτραν] την κυθραν l* (την χυτραν l$^{b?}$) : χυθραν N | εξηνεγκεν] ηνεγκεν h : + αυτα km | υπο] επι ch | προσεκυνησεν] + αυτω dgnptvw 𝔈 : *obtulit ei* 𝔏

20 om προς αυτον d | κ̅υ̅] om d : + του θ̅υ̅ gn | τα κρεα] pr συν c : τα κρεατα l |

VI πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν Πορεύου ἐν ἰσχύι σου ταύτῃ, B
καὶ σώσεις τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ χειρὸς Μαδιάμ· ἰδοὺ ἐξαπέστειλά σε.
15 15 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεών Ἐν ἐμοί, κύριέ μου, ἐν τίνι σώσω
τὸν Ἰσραήλ; ἰδοὺ ἡ χιλιάς μου ἠσθένησεν ἐν Μανασσή, καὶ ἐγώ
16 εἰμι ὁ μικρότερος ἐν οἴκῳ πατρός μου. 16 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ
ἄγγελος Κυρίου Κύριος ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ πατάξεις τὴν Μαδιὰμ
17 ὡσεὶ ἄνδρα ἕνα. 17 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεών Εἰ δὲ εὗρον ἔλεος
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ποιήσεις μοι σήμερον πᾶν ὅ τι ἐλάλησας μετ'
18 ἐμοῦ, 18 μὴ χωρισθῇς ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν με πρὸς σέ· καὶ
ἐξοίσω τὴν θυσίαν καὶ θήσω ἐνώπιόν σου. καὶ εἶπεν Ἐγώ εἰμι
19 καθίσομαι ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι σε. 19 καὶ Γεδεὼν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ
ἐποίησεν ἔριφον αἰγῶν καὶ οἰφὶ ἀλεύρου, ἄζυμα, καὶ τὰ κρέα ἔθηκεν
ἐν τῷ κοφίνῳ, καὶ τὸν ζωμὸν ἔβαλεν ἐν τῇ χύτρᾳ, καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτὰ
20 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τερέμινθον· καὶ προσήγγισεν. 20 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς
αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ Λάβε τὰ κρέα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα καὶ θὲς πρὸς

14 ισχυει B* (ισχυι B^b) 15 χειλ. B* (χιλ. B^b) μεικροτερος B* (μικρ. B^{ab}) 18 καθιομαι 19 εισ|ηλθεν B* εισηλ|θεν B^b

eijqrsuza_2 $𝕮^m$

αυτω ejsza_2 𝕮 | ισχυι] pr τη eijrsuza_2 | σωσης i | ιδου] pr ουκ iruz$^{mg}a_2$ | σε] + *ut eas* 𝕮
15 εν εμοι] *audi me* 𝕮 | om μου 1° 𝕮 | om η u* | μικροτερος] μικρος z^{mg} : + των αδελφων μου q | οικω] pr τω iq | $\overline{πρς}$] pr του eiqr
16 ο αγγελος—εσται] ο $\overline{κς}$ οτι εσομαι z^{mg} | om $\overline{κυ}$ ua_2 | $\overline{κς}$] και q | παταξης iu | την] τον ir Cyr | ωσει ανδρα ενα] εν ημερα μια q | ωσει] ως ir
17 ει δε] ηδη i^b? | δε] δη ei*jrsz : om qa_2 | ελεος] χαριν a_2 𝕮 : + $\overline{κυ}$ q | εν οφθαλμοις] ενωπιον 𝕮 (uid) | οφθαλμοις] pr τοις i | ποιησης i | μοι] μετ εμου ir 𝕮 | παν ο τι] παντα οσα a_2 𝕮 : om παν i* | ο τι] ει τι ejz^{txt} | ελαλησας] συ λαλεις z^{mg} | μετ εμου] *mihi* 𝕮
18 μη χωρισθης] *ne exieris* 𝕮 | μη] + δη eijrsuza_2 | με ελθειν ejsz | την] υμιν q | θυσιαν] + μου eijrsuza_2 𝕮 | om και θησω qa_2 | θησω] θυσω Cyr | και ειπεν] ex corr i^v : *dixit angelus autem ei ecce* 𝕮 | om ειμι 𝕮 | καθισομαι] καθησομαι z^{mg} : καθιουμαι jqsza_2 Cyr : καθιουμαι καθιουμαι e : καθιωμι i : καθιομαι ru | εως 2°—σε] *dum uenias* 𝕮
19 om εισηλθεν και ei*jz | εισηλθεν] + *in domum suam* 𝕮 | εριφον] εριφων u | υφι e : οιφει z | αλευρου] + *et fecit* 𝕮 | αζυμα] pr και Cyr : + *ei* 𝕮 | τα κρεα εθηκεν] *posuit ea* 𝕮 | εθηκεν] επεθηκεν s : τεθεικεν Cyr | om τω 𝕮 | εβαλεν] ελαβεν e : ενεθηκεν a_2 : ενεχεεν iruz ^{mg} : *effudit* 𝕮 | εν τη χυτρα] εις χυτραν z^{mg} | χυθρα r : κυθρα suz | τερεβινθον eqa_2 Cyr : τερμινθον u | προσηγγισεν] προσεκυνησεν a_2 : *posuit ea coram eo* 𝕮
20 του $\overline{θυ}$] $\overline{κυ}$ eq Cyr | τα αζυμα] τους

15 ησθενησεν] ο' θ' ταπεινοτερα z 17 ει δε ευρον ελεος] ο' και ει ευρον χαριν z 19 εν τω κοφινω] ο' επι τον κανουν z | τερεμινθον] ο' θ' δρυν z | και προσηγγισεν] ο' και προσεκυνησεν z 20 τα αζυμα] ο' θ' τους αζυμους z

VI τοὺς ἄρτους τοὺς ἀζύμους καὶ θὲς πρὸς τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην, καὶ τὸν A
21 ζωμὸν ἔκχεον. καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως. 21 καὶ ἐξέτεινεν ὁ ἄγγελος
Κυρίου τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου τῆς ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἥψατο τῶν
κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων, καὶ ἀνήφθη πῦρ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας καὶ κατέφαγεν
τὰ κρέα καὶ τοὺς ἀζύμους· καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ὀφθαλ-
22 μῶν αὐτοῦ. 22 καὶ ἴδεν Γεδεὼν ὅτι ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐστίν· καὶ εἶπεν
Γεδεών Ἆ ἆ, Κύριε, Κύριε, ὅτι ἴδον τὸν ἄγγελον Κυρίου πρόσωπον
23 πρὸς πρόσωπον. 23 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Κύριος Εἰρήνη σοι, μὴ φοβοῦ,
24 μὴ ἀποθάνῃς. 24 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐκεῖ Γεδεὼν θυσιαστήριον τῷ
κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Εἰρήνη Κυρίου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, ἔτι
αὐτοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἐφραθὰ πατρὸς τοῦ Ἰεζρί.

MNabcdghklmnptvwxy 𝔄𝔈^{efd}𝔏^{r}𝔖

τους αρτους] sub ÷ 𝔖 : om MNabhmy | *προς 2°*] *επι* glnw 𝔄𝔈 | om *εκεινην* 𝔈^{f} | *εκχεον τον ζωμον* gl(*εκχεε*)nw 𝔄𝔈 | *τον ζωμον*] pr *συν* c | *εποιησεν*] + *χεδεων* b* (*γεδεων* b^{b?}) | *ουτως*] + *Gedeon* 𝔏

21 *το ακρον—αυτου 1°*] *baculum-suum* 𝔈 | *ραβδου*] + *αυτου* h | om *της* 2° d | *ηψατο*] *το* c | *ανηφθη*] + *και ανεβη* g : *ανεβη* n 𝔏 | *τα κρεα—αζυμους*] *ταυτα* d : om *τα κρεα και* 𝔄^{ed} : pr *συν* c | *και τους αζυμους*] *asima* 𝔏 | *απηλθεν ο αγγ. κ̅υ̅* km 𝔈 | om *κυ* 2° d | *εξηλθεν* n | *εξ*] *απο* MNdptvy : *απο των* hkm

22 *ειδεν* Nabdhklptvwx | om *κ̅υ̅* 1° x* | *εστιν*] *εσται* n | *ειπεν*] *ειδεν* h* (corr h^{a}) | om *γεδεων* 2° dmp | *α α*] *α α α* MNy 𝔖 : *αλα* x : *ω* m : *οιμοι* bl : *οιμμοι* M^{mg}ghk^{mg}nw : *eu me* 𝔏 : om adptv | *κ̅ε̅* 1°] + *μου* k | om *κ̅ε̅* 2° MNhmy 𝔈𝔏 | *οτι 2°*] + *επι τουτω* cx : + *επι τουτο* b : + ※*super hoc* ◁ 𝔖 | *ειδον* Na-dghklmptvwx | om *τον* MNhy 𝔖 | *κ̅υ̅* 2°] *σου* dg*m | om *προσωπον 1°* g | *προσωπον 2°*] + *moriar* 𝔈^{c}

23 *αυτω*] *προς αυτον* n | *μη φοβου*] pr *ei* 𝔈 : *μη φοβηθης* w : om h | *μη 2°*] pr *ου* MNabdghk-nptvwy 𝔄𝔈𝔏𝔖 : + *σοι* h

24 *γεδεων*] *γεδαιων* n : om 𝔖 | *τω κ̅ω̅ θυσιαστηριον* k | *τω κ̅ω̅*] om *τω* h : *τω θ̅ω̅* l : *κ̅ω̅ τω θ̅ω̅* n | *αυτο*] *αυτω* cdhkntv | *ειρηνη κ̅υ̅*] *ειρηνην κ̅υ̅* dtv : *ειρηνη κ̅ς̅* m : *ειρηνη θ̅υ̅* n* : *κ̅υ̅ ειρηνη* abx : *κ̅υ̅ ειρηνην* c | *ημερας ταυτης*] *σημερον ημερας* ptv : *σημερον* d | *ετι*] pr *και* dglnptvw 𝔄𝔈 : + *δε* b | *αυτου οντος*] *οντος αυτου* km : *οντι αυτω* glnw | om *εν* c | *ευφραθα* bd : *Ephra* 𝔄 : *Gofera* 𝔏 | *π̅ρ̅ς̅ του ιεζρι*] *εν τω οικω του π̅ρ̅ς̅ αυτου αβιεζρι* d(g)(n)ptv (*αβιεζρει* g : *αβιαζρι* n) : *εν τω οικω αβιεζρι του π̅ρ̅ς̅ αυτου* l (*αβιεζην*) w : *patris sui Esri* 𝔄 | *π̅ρ̅ς̅*] *προς* c | *ιεζρι*] *εζρι* MN : *εζρει* bx : *εζρη* k : *εσζρι* my : *εσρι* h* 𝔏 : *ιεσρι* h^{b} : *εσρει* a : *ιεσβρει* c

I τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην, καὶ τὸν ζωμὸν ἐχόμενα ἔκχεε. καὶ ἐποίησεν B
21 οὕτως. [21] καὶ ἐξέτεινεν ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου τῆς
ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἥψατο τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων, καὶ ἀνέβη πῦρ
ἐκ τῆς πέτρας καὶ κατέφαγεν τὰ κρέα καὶ τοὺς ἀζύμους· καὶ ὁ
22 ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπορεύθη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ. [22] καὶ εἶδεν Γεδεὼν
ὅτι ἄγγελος Κυρίου οὗτός ἐστιν· καὶ εἶπεν Γεδεών Ἆ ἆ, κύριέ μου
23 Κύριε, ὅτι εἶδον ἄγγελον Κυρίου πρόσωπον πρόσωπον. [23] καὶ εἶπεν
24 αὐτῷ Κύριος Εἰρήνη σοι, μὴ φοβοῦ, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃς. [24] καὶ ᾠκοδό-
μησεν ἐκεῖ Γεδεὼν θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ
Εἰρήνη Κυρίου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, ἔτι αὐτοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἐφραθὰ
πατρὸς τοῦ Ἐσδρεί.

eijrsuza$_2$ ℭ^m

αρτους τους αζυμους ℭ (uid) | om *εχομενα* ℭ | *εκχεε*] *εκχεον* irua$_2$: *ε* 3° ex corr z$^{b?}$ | *και εποιησεν fecit autem* ℭ | *ουτως*] + *γεδεων* ℭ

21 *χειρι*] pr *τη* eiqrsu^{a}za$_2$ | om *και* 3° i* | *των αζυμων*] pr *panium* ℭ | *ανεβη*] *ανηφθη* ejsza$_2$: *exiit* ℭ | *κατεφαγεν*] *εφαγεν* u | *τους αζυμους*] pr *panes* ℭ | om *ο* 2° u* | om *κυριου* 2° ej | *επορευθη*] om i* : *ascendit* ℭ

22 *ειδεν*] *ιδεν* ua$_2$: *cognouit* ℭ | *οτι* 1°] + *οτι* q | *κ̅υ̅ ουτος εστιν*] *του θ̅υ̅ εστιν ουτως* a$_2$ | *ουτος*] *αυτος* ejsz : om iru | om *α α* eijqrsuza$_2$ | *μου κ̅ε̅*] *κ̅ε̅ μου* e : *deus* ℭ | om *μου* q | *ειδον*] *ιδον* ia$_2$ | *αγγελοι* s | *προσωπον* 2°] pr *προς* eijqrsuza$_2$ ℭ

24 om *γεδεων* a$_2$ | om *τω* qa$_2$ | *απεκαλεσεν* z | *αυτω*] *αυτο* ejqrsuza$^a_2$ | *κυριου*] *σοι* a$_2$ | *εφραθα*] *εφραιμ* q : + *terra* ℭ | *π̅ρ̅ς̅*] *προ* ir | *του*] *αυτου* q | *εσδρι* ejqsz ℭ : *εσζρι* u : *εσρι* a$_2$: *εζρι* r : *αζρι* i

21 *και ανεβη*] *θ' και ανεβη* z | *επορευθη*] *ο' θ' απηλθεν* z 22 *κ̅ε̅ μου κ̅ε̅*] *ο' θ' α α α κ̅ε̅* ; *κ̅ε̅ κ̅ε̅ οιμοι* z

A. E. Brooke.
N. McLean.

REVIEWS

NEW LIGHTS ON THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, edited by the REV. C. BIGG, D.D. (International Critical Commentary: Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1901.)

THE Catholic Epistles present to the critic a very large number of unsolved problems: and up to the present time comparatively little attention has been paid to them by English scholars. In spite of the work of Westcott, Hort and Mayor much remains to be done upon the Epistles which they edited, and perhaps the best service rendered by Dr. Bigg's commentary will be the stimulus which it should give to further inquiry into texts which no one scholar can exhaust.

Dr. Bigg speaks of the date of the First Epistle of Peter with some confidence: he is clear at least that it is earlier than the Neronian persecution. Now it is possible that Professor Ramsay's theory of the development of persecution is over-elaborate: persecution 'for the Name' may doubtless be older than the Flavian period, and if so 1 Peter need not be dated as late as A.D. 80. But to place it as early as A.D. 62 would bring us into conflict with the evidence of the Pastoral Epistles. Before the Neronian persecution came the crucial case of St. Paul's first trial. Are we to believe that St. Paul was acquitted and released at a time of 'fiery trial' when charges of theft and murder—and Christianity—were being successfully brought against the Church's members? Is it so plain as Dr. Bigg thinks that 'Christian blood had not been shed in any formal systematic way by the Roman government at the time when St. Peter wrote'? The very fact that 1 Peter warns Christians from Pontus to the Aegean that a πύρωσις is beginning for them seems to point in the other direction.

Still more difficulty will, we think, be felt over Dr. Bigg's dating of 2 Peter and Jude. There are no books of the New Testament to which most students would be so diffident in assigning a date as these two epistles: we are in fact no more advanced than Origen, who appears indeed to have made some homiletic use of these books, while reserving the scholar's right to be more sceptical than he would like his con-

gregation to become. From the fact that Dr. Bigg has placed the Didache in the fourth century we are prepared to find him original and vigorous in his treatment of literary chronology: but we doubt whether his present argument for the priority of 2 Peter will make many converts, supported though it is by the parallel reasoning of Dr. Zahn. The *criteria* in this matter are no doubt subjective: but we must here pit one subjectivity against another. St. Jude's letter is a general invective against certain antinomians—perhaps we may say antinomian Gnostics: 2 Peter is practically the same invective, with a special reference to persons who made light of the Parousia. St. Jude reminds his readers of an apostolic prophecy that in the last time mockers and immoral false teachers would be plentiful, and enforces his warning with references to Apocryphal instances: 2 Peter brings a far heavier battery into action. His letter comes from one who has seen the splendour of the Lord in the Transfiguration, and the prophecy of the evil teachers has in him a far weightier introduction: it is a word spoken before by the holy prophets, and a commandment of the apostles of the Lord and Saviour. Is then the specialised and emphasised form the original from which the weaker and more general copy was derived? We should at least require some collateral evidence for this view, and we do not think that any of Dr. Bigg's instances of St. Jude's indebtedness is incapable of inversion.

Stress has sometimes been laid on 2 Pet. ii 4 (*σειροῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας*), a passage from which it is supposed that Jud. 6 (*δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν*) is by misunderstanding derived. But it is just possible that the right text even in 2 Peter may be *σειραῖς*, and it is quite clear that St. Jude, who knew the book of Enoch, had his choice in that source between angels in pits and angels in chains; so that there is no real reason for supposing here that he borrowed from 2 Peter. It is possible in other places to say that St. Jude has 're-written rugged sentences, making them more clear and less forcible': but other critics will still feel that 2 Peter is the borrower, and has spoilt these passages in the borrowing. For instance, in Jud. 10 we read: *οὗτοι δὲ ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἴδασιν βλασφημοῦσιν, ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα ἐπίστανται, ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.* The parallel to this is 2 Pet. ii 12: *οὗτοι δὲ, ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα γεγεννημένα φυσικὰ εἰς ἅλωσιν καὶ φθοράν, ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦσιν βλασφημοῦντες, ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καὶ φθαρήσονται.* It is not easy to see how St. Jude's trenchant antithesis could have been constructed out of 2 Peter's 'rugged' clauses. St. Jude's *ἄλογα ζῶα* belong to the second half of the antithesis: they have a sort of knowledge but misuse it. This surely has some point: but *ἄλογα ζῶα* by itself in 2 Peter is almost pointless. Again, the phrase *οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους τετήρηται* in 2 Pet. ii 17 is hardly apposite to *πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι καὶ ὁμίχλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνόμεναι*: but in Jud. 13 the gloom of darkness which awaits the wandering stars

(recalling the sudden extinction of a meteor) is finely imagined: it is a complete phrase: why suppose that it was built up out of 2 Peter's unrelated fragment? Again, Dr. Bigg suggests that Hesychius misunderstands σπιλάδες (Jud. 12) when he gives it the meaning 'sunken rocks': we would suggest that 2 Peter's σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι is the fruit of another misunderstanding. Finally, he is not prepared to allow any weight to what in Germany is called the *Apokryphenscheu* of 2 Peter. Yet it is a significant fact that Jude is free in his use of apocryphal sources, and that by subtracting apocryphal elements from Jude and substituting references to canonical books, we could arrive at something like 2 Peter. On the other hand 2 Peter has a noticeable tendency to lay stress upon prophecy; its intrinsic and evidential value, its source and its interpretation are emphasised: the ἅγιοι προφῆται are adduced along with the apostles: and the general topic of the letter belongs to the prophetic sphere and is handled in the prophetic manner. Now we learn from Dr. Bigg's introduction to 1 Peter that St. Peter shows markedly little interest in prophecy: indeed, in Dr. Bigg's essay on doctrine, discipline, and organisation in 1 Peter we are told that 'Prophetism sums up in one word the difference between Paul the mystic and Peter the disciplinarian.' If this generalisation is to hold good, then the *Prophetenscheu* of 1 Peter would seem to indicate something of a difference between its author and that of the Second Epistle.

Other details both of internal and of external evidence indicate a similar conclusion, and we believe that their cumulative effect may fairly be called overwhelming. Let it be conceded that St. Paul's Epistles were collected at a very early date; the concession makes it easier to explain the ἐν πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς of 2 Pet. iii 16. 1 Peter seems to shew acquaintance with more than one of the Epistles: we should be inclined to say more definitely than Dr. Bigg that he was certainly influenced by the Epistle to the Romans: the composite quotation, in which Rom. ix 33 is so strikingly similar to 1 Pet. ii 6, 7, together with the coincidences between Rom. xiii and 1 Pet. ii, make this hard to deny. The writer of 2 Peter had also read the Romans: in 2 Pet. iii 15, τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μακροθυμίαν σωτηρίαν ἡγεῖσθε is quite close enough to Rom. ii 4 to fix the reference which is there made to St. Paul. It then might be argued that if the writer of 1 Peter had certainly read the Romans, and had also probably read other Pauline Epistles, the writer of 2 Peter might be in a position to speak of those Epistles as a collection. But even when this admission has been made, 2 Pet. iii 16 provides further and greater difficulties: the Epistles have not only been collected; men have perversely misinterpreted them ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς. It is not too much to say that this phrase carries us into the second century. If, like

Dr. Bigg, we argue ourselves back into the first, we are met by another phrase which demands one more effort of the same kind —the only phrase in the Epistle which directly suggests the period at which the author writes—*ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως* (2 Pet. iii 4). It is not enough to say that 'no forger would have fallen into so obvious and fatal a blunder' as to use this phrase in reference to the first generations of Christians. On that principle any pseudepigraphic work could be accepted as genuine, if only its anachronisms were sufficiently bold. Does not the point of the phrase lie in the word *ἐκοιμήθησαν*? The *ἐμπαῖκται* did not mean 'since the time of Abraham': they meant 'since the time when certain people died, whose dying was of some importance for the doctrine of the Parousia'; and their difficulty was not wholly unlike that of the Thessalonians to whom St. Paul wrote that *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες . . . οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας*. The most natural explanation of their complaint, we cannot but think, dissociates them from the first generations of Christians altogether.

A question of external evidence may also be raised here, as one which calls at least for further inquiry. In the reference to the Transfiguration in 2 Pet. i 16–18 the phrases *φωνῆς τοιᾶσδε* and *ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει* are somewhat striking. Now the Gnostic Acts of Peter (quoted by Zahn, *Einl.* ii 59 from Lipsius) contain a passage which clearly has some connexion with 2 Peter: 'dominus noster uolens me maiestatem suam uidere [cf. *ἐπόπται . . . τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος*] in monte sancto,' and a little further on, 'uocem eius audiui talem qualem referre non possum.' It may not perhaps be too fanciful to suggest that in 'qualem referre non possum' we may have a trace of the missing relative to which 2 Peter's *τοιᾶσδε* may have belonged: i.e. that 2 Peter may be later at least than the original form of the Gnostic Acts.

Those who regard the second century as rather more likely than the first to have given birth to 2 Peter are naturally challenged to find an historical context into which it would fit. The book cannot be much later than the middle of the century. It was known in the South of Gaul in 177 A.D.: and it was not the only pseudepigraphic Petrine book of prophecy circulating there at that time[1]. It cannot have been a new book when the Gallican Churches wrote their letter, with its incidental and almost unintentional quotations: but would not the circumstances of the middle of the century fit in fairly well with its tenor? The

[1] To the passages adduced by Dr. Bigg from the Letter of the Churches of Lugdunum and Vienna (Eus. *H. E.* V i) as *testimonia* to 2 Peter we may perhaps add the first words of the letter—*οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ κτλ . . . τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς.* This letter also quotes the Apocalypse of Peter.

success of Montanism was surely due, not to mere Asian fanatics, but to serious persons like Pinytus, with his taste for στερροτέρα τροφή: it was due, in fact, to the prevalence of a tone not unlike that of 2 Peter: a tone of reaction against secularism, of reviving desire for strictness of life, of reviving insistence on the nearness of the Parousia. We do not suggest that the writer of 2 Peter was a Montanist—Tertullian's silence forbids: but the causes which provoked and fostered the 'new prophecy' may also have called forth this vehement prophetic protest against the encroaching evils of the age.

Turning from literary chronology to a subject of deeper interest, we notice that in § 6 of his Introduction to 1 Peter Dr. Bigg presents us with a picture of two types of religious thought or modes of religious life, that of the Disciplinarian and that of the Mystic. The picture is admirably drawn, lifelike, and enlivening. It sets those who 'hear God speaking to them' over against those who 'feel the presence of God within.' On the one side is St. Peter, with Laud and Bishop Butler, and on the other stands St. Paul with George Fox. Dr. Bigg recognises the difficulty of classifying: 'many people use mystic language though they are really and truly disciplinarians.' St. Paul perhaps belongs to the class of those who are really mystics and use disciplinarian language: at any rate he seems to be much further from being an unmixed example of his type than St. Peter. Certainly the essence of the Gospel to him (as to St. John) is contained in the words ἐν Χριστῷ, Χριστὸς ἐν ἐμοί: but is the Predestinarian argument in Romans ix the work of a mystic, or is the doctrine of Church and Ministry in Ephesians untouched by 'disciplinarian' feeling? Among the leading Mystic ideas Dr. Bigg places that of 'discontinuity (Law and Gospel, Flesh and Spirit, World and God)': continuity belongs to the other side. Both the Roman and the Galatian Epistles, however, suggest difficulties in the way of associating St. Paul only with 'discontinuity.' In Galatians the contrast between Law and Grace, Judaism and Christianity, is vehemently asserted: but the point of the latter is surely not that it is a bad thing to be a Jew, but that the Judaizers are bad Jews who do not understand Judaism: it is an appeal to the original character of an institution, and in effect it taxes St. Paul's opponents with a vicious inclination towards 'discontinuity.' Further, when we read that by St. Peter 'the titles of the chosen people are transferred without hesitation to the Christian community,' and that 'the Christians are priests, kings, a holy nation, the people that God always had in view,' we cannot feel that in this respect St. Peter stands widely apart from St. Paul. St. Paul as a Christian writes of the Jewish fathers as his own kinsmen: 'our fathers were all under the cloud and all passed through the sea'; as a Christian he claims to be a true Israelite; to him, as to St. Peter, 'history flows on from the far past to the present

in a widening but continuous stream.' The Judaizers are his opponents, not because their conception of history is too continuous, but because they dam the stream where it ought to widen.

However, the justice of Dr. Bigg's generalisation is in the main not to be denied, and we recognise its truth especially with respect to St. Peter. 'The Petrine theology regards God as the object of Christian thought, aspiration, worship, rather than of experience, possession, inner realisation': it is 'predominantly objective.' And yet even here we feel that qualification is needed. The First Epistle of St. Peter is not theological in anything like the sense in which the word is applicable to Romans or Ephesians or Colossians. It implies a *Weltanschauung*, no doubt: but so does all conduct and all speech: and we are inclined to doubt whether St. Peter was at all deeply concerned with the theory of religion. If not, it seems somewhat misleading to treat his phraseology as though it were that of a theorist who had faced the same problems as St. Paul and had thought out a different answer. Dr. Bigg's treatment of 1 Pet. ii 1, 2 may be criticised in this connexion. St. Peter writes ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν . . . ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ αὐξηθῆτε εἰς σωτηρίαν. To Dr. Bigg this seems highly symptomatic. 'The passage marks better than any other the difference between St. Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and St. Paul.' In the Hebrews and in St. Paul, it is true, a contrast is drawn between γάλα and βρῶμα: both writers have to do with men who are living on a lower plane than befits Christians of their standing. The contrast which they draw does not reappear in St. Peter, but there is no reason why it should. He is merely endeavouring to stimulate the spiritual appetite of his readers: his context in no way suggests the discrimination between the food of children and that of adults in Christ; it is simply an exact parallel to St. James i 21 διὸ ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν . . . δέξασθε τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν. If it be urged that St. Peter's ἀποθέμενοι is enough to suggest the contrast between the *via purgativa* and the higher stages of spiritual life, we would suggest a comparison of the whole passage 1 Pet. i 13–ii 10 with Colossians iii 1–17. There the mystical phrases συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ, ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ are followed by νεκρώσατε τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . ἀπόθεσθε ὀργήν, θυμόν, κακίαν . . ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον . . ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον: and when this sequence is compared with St. Peter's μὴ συνσχηματιζόμενοι ταῖς πρότερον ἐπιθυμίαις . . ἀναγεγεννημένοι . . ἀποθέμενοι . . ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε, it is possible that the Petrine γάλα may seem hardly to bear the stress of contrast which Dr. Bigg's interpretation lays upon it.

Two small points of detail may be noticed in conclusion. Dr. Bigg need not perhaps have suggested 'prudery' as a motive for refusing to

interpret ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή (1 Pet. v 13) as referring to St. Peter's wife: on the contrary, the fact that Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου, mentioned in the same breath, is an individual, is almost the only reason for suggesting that interpretation. Against it we would urge that ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι reads like a local designation, a synonym for ἡ Βαβυλωνική. Was St. Peter's wife the only Christian lady in Rome? and if not, why should he choose to call her 'the lady in Babylon'? We imagine that even if he had so chosen, his readers would have been likely to misunderstand him: the symbolic ἐν Βαβυλῶνι would have suggested that the whole expression was a symbol, and συνεκλεκτή would have led them to suppose that the greeting came from a body co-ordinate with their own.

In the very difficult passage 2 Pet. iii 10 (στοιχεῖα δὲ καυσούμενα λυθήσεται, καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται), where κατακαήσεται and ἀφανισθήσονται, variants for εὑρεθήσεται, are mere corrections, Dr. Bigg believes the original reading to have been οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται. But perhaps neither this nor Westcott and Hort's conjecture ῥυήσεται is quite necessary. In 2 Clement xvi, in a closely similar passage, we find καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. May not the idea in 2 Peter be that when 'the heavens pass away with a roaring noise,' and the planetary world, like an envelope enclosing the earth, is burnt off and dissolved, then the earth and men's doings will be laid bare for judgement? This interpretation would fit in with σπουδάσατε . . . ἀμώμητοι αὐτῷ εὑρεθῆναι a few verses further on.

We have ventured in this notice to doubt the soundness of some of Dr. Bigg's results in the sphere of literary history: we ought not to omit an expression of gratitude for his work as a commentator, and for his introductions as a whole, which have a distinction and charm such as few commentaries possess. For freshness of conception and illustration this book has few parallels in recent literature: and if it does not exhaust its subject, it has the high merit of investing the study of it with a new fascination.

H. N. Bate.

A CRITICAL TEXT OF THE PESHITTA GOSPELS.

Tetraeuangelium Sanctum iuxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad fidem Codicum, Massorae, Editionum denuo recognitum. Lectionum supellectilem quam conquisiverat P. E. Pusey, A.M., auxit digessit edidit G. H. Gwilliam, S.T.B. (Clarendon Press.) Pages xvi + 608.

The work before us must be called the first critical edition of the Gospels according to the Peshitta Version. Walton's *Polyglot* and Schaaf's edition of the N.T. contain a few various readings, and

Greenfield supplied in an appendix to Bagster's Syriac Testament a list of readings in which the *Editio princeps* varies from Lee's text. Lee's N.T. (1816) offered a critically revised text which is much superior to Schaaf's. None of these however can be compared for a moment with the work of Pusey and Gwilliam, which gives us a text superior to all others, accompanied by an *Apparatus Criticus* which seems to leave very little to be desired.

Mr. Gwilliam, it is true, uses language which seems to belittle the labours of himself and his colleague. 'We have found' (so he writes in the Preface) 'that the text of the Editio Princeps of 1555 is almost identical with that current at the time when our MSS were written.' But Mr. Gwilliam is unjust to his own work. Though few of his changes in the text appeal to any besides professed scholars as important, yet the number of real improvements introduced is not inconsiderable. This is seen when we turn to Tischendorf's Apparatus in the Eighth (larger) Critical Edition of the N.T., and consider what changes must be made if we substitute Gwilliam for Schaaf as the basis of comparison with the Greek text. Thus:

Matt. xviii 29.	*και* Gw.
	add. *παντα* Sch.
Marc. ii 18.	*οι φαρισαιοι* Gw.
	οι των φαρισαιων Sch.
vi 17.	*εδησεν αυτον* Gw.
	εβαλεν αυτον Sch.
ix 7.	*εγενετο φωνη* Sch. Gw^{codd}
	ηλθεν φωνη Gw^{codd}
	φωνη (tantum) Gw.
24.	*πιστευω* Sch. Gw^{codd}
	add. *κυριε* Gw.
xi 23.	*αμην* Sch.
	add. *γαρ* Gw. Sch^{laud}
xiv 61.	*ο δε* Gw.
	add. *ιησους* Sch. Gw^{codd}

An interesting variation from Schaaf, which has no place in this list, is the punctuation of *ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ* (Marc. i 24) as a vocative. In Marc. x 52 the editor retains the ܚܙܝ (= Luc. xviii 42 *ἀνάβλεψον*), though there is good authority for Lee's ܙܠ, which agrees with the *ὕπαγε* of the Greek.

The Syriac text is clearly printed, fully pointed, and provided with interpunctuation marks after the most elaborate system, the evidence as to all doubtful details being supplied in the full quotations from Massoretic MSS which form a large part of the Apparatus Criticus. In such a book the difficulty of correcting all errors and misprints is

very great indeed; but the work seems to have attained a very hig degree of accuracy. Misprints, or slips, occur in the following places Matt. xviii 20; Marc. i 20, viii 36, xiv 43 (note, where ܘܚܘܛܪܐ seems t be translated *et fustibus*), 72; Luc. ix 59; Jo. xiii 10 (note). It woul have been better if the number of the chapter had been given abov each page of the Latin. It is not as easy as it should be to find one' place in the book.

The Apparatus is very full. Forty-two MSS (including seven Nestorian are quoted, in addition to four Massoretic codices (of which one i Nestorian). The oldest of the former class belongs to the fifth century the oldest of the latter to the ninth. The majority of the document belong to the British Museum, but three come from the Bodleian, tw from Florence, one from the Vatican, and one from Germany. Th editions used are the *Editio Princeps* of 1555, Schaaf's (first) edition o 1708, and the New York Nestorian edition of 1886. Lee's edition of 1816, the text of which is very good, is not referred to.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE DATE OF THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

1. *Die Adressaten des Galaterbriefes.* By Dr. VALENTIN WEBER. (Kitz: Ravensburg, 1900.)
2. *Die Abfassung des Galaterbriefes vor dem Apostel-Konzil.* By Dr. VALENTIN WEBER. (Kitz: Ravensburg, 1900.)
3. *Das Datum* (*Apg.* xiv 28) *des Galaterbriefes.* By Dr. VALENTIN WEBER. (From the *Theologisch-praktische Monats-Schrift.* Passau December, 1900.)
4. *Die biblischen Quellen für ein 'Leben Pauli' und der Grad ihre geschichtlichen Glaubwürdigkeit.* By Dr. VALENTIN WEBER. (Linz, 1901.)

THE above works by Dr. Weber, Professor of Theology at Würzburg are dictated by a common purpose, viz. to defend the authority of th Acts of the Apostles and of the Pauline Epistles as historical documents The supposed inconsistencies between these two sources (and in par ticular between Gal. ii and the Acts) have been made the ground fo discrediting either the Acts (Baur and the Tübingen School) or th Epistles (the later—chiefly Dutch—radical criticism). Dr. Webe contends that the inconsistencies are not real, but only the result o mistaken attempts at identification on the part of commentators. H own position is that the Epistle to the Galatians is addressed to th converts made on the First Missionary Journey, and was written fro Antioch during the 'no little time' of Acts xiv 28, i.e. shortly *befo*

the Conference at Jerusalem (Acts xv). The order of the events described in Gal. i, ii (=Acts ix–xiv) is then as follows. The first visit of the Apostle to Jerusalem after his conversion is described in Gal. i 18–20 (=Acts ix 26–29). It was followed by the period of missionary activity amongst Gentiles, at first from Tarsus (Acts ix 30), afterwards from Antioch (Acts xi 25–26=Gal. i 21–24) as the base of operations. Fourteen years after his conversion, the Apostle makes his second visit to Jerusalem (Acts xi 30, xii 25=Gal. ii 1–10) along with Barnabas and Titus. The errand was twofold. He was one of the deputies chosen to convey the money collected at Antioch for the famine relief fund (Acts xi 30): of this it is not to his purpose to speak in Galatians, and there is only a passing reference (ii 9). But also he went up 'by revelation' (Gal. ii 2) to secure 'the Gospel which I preach to the Gentiles' against a Judaizing attack by obtaining from the 'pillar' Apostles the assurance of their support. This was effected in a private conference (Gal. ii 2 ff.). Some time after the return to Antioch St. Paul made his First Missionary Journey, in which the Galatians were *twice* visited (Acts xiv 21–23; cf. Gal. iv 13). It was followed by a renewed outbreak at Antioch of the Judaizing agitation, made more dangerous by the arrival of 'certain from James,' and the consequent attitude of St. Peter and St. Barnabas (Gal. ii 11 ff.). About the same time also, the news reached St. Paul that his recent converts in Galatia were troubled by the Judaizing party; and it was this news which led him to write the Epistle to the Galatians. The opposition at Antioch came to a head at last with the definite demand that all Gentile converts should be circumcised and observe the Law of Moses. The leaders at Antioch were unable to quiet the disturbance, and therefore referred the decision of the matter to the Apostles and the mother-church at Jerusalem. Hence the Council of Acts xv. Gal. ii 1 ff. does not then disagree with Acts xv, since each refers to a different occasion. The slight similarity between the two is explained by the fact that both represent stages in the history of the same controversy. Seen in this light, the supposed inconsistencies fall to the ground; and with them falls the basis of the attacks both on the Acts and on the Epistle.

What are we to say of the positions which make this reading of the history possible? They are two: viz. that the Epistle to the Galatians was (i) addressed to the converts of the First Missionary Journey, (ii) written before the Council at Jerusalem. The first position has already been widely discussed and widely accepted. As far as we have been able to find out, Dr. Weber does not make any material addition to the arguments which have already been put forward in its favour. His peculiarity lies in the combination of this with the revival

of the theory suggested by Calvin, Beza, and adopted in the last century by Ulrich (1836) and Böttger (1837), that the Epistle was written before the Council took place[1]. He insists as strongly as any on the difficulties attending any attempt to identify Gal. ii 1–10 with Acts xv. On the other hand, he meets and answers the objections raised against the identification of Gal. ii 1–10 with the visit of Acts xi 30, xii 25. In both cases his arguments are strong, if not entirely convincing. Then he lays down his two chief reasons for dating the Epistle before the Council. (1) The manner in which the Judaizing attack is delivered (according to this Epistle) points to a time before the Church had pronounced a decision such as that of the Council. Dr. Weber perhaps makes rather too much of this argument. In places he seems to imply that the decision of Acts xv 28, 29 would necessarily stop the mouth of the Judaizers at once. It is true that the language of the Epistle does at times (see e.g. the strong ἀναγκάζουσιν of vi 12) suggest an opposition which insisted on the necessity of circumcision for salvation, and that this view, actually held before the Conference (Acts xv 1), can hardly have been openly held after it. But other passages (e.g. iii 3) favour the idea of an opposition pressing for circumcision as necessary for 'perfection' (as distinct from bare salvation): and this attitude is at least conceivable *after* the Conference. Dr. Weber is on surer ground when he asks: 'Why does St. Paul make no appeal or allusion either to the decisions of the Conference on the main question at issue (viz. circumcision) or to the qualifying clauses (Acts xv 20, 29)?' In view of Acts xvi 4, the most satisfactory answer to this question is certainly that which Dr. Weber gives, viz. because the Epistle was written before the Conference took place.

(2) A comparison is drawn between Galatians and the other three 'Hauptbriefe' (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians), as regards the method of the Judaistic opposition. Dr. Weber puts his case somewhat as follows. In Galatians, the opposition encountered is mainly concerning a doctrinal question, the pressing of circumcision on the Gentiles. There are few, if any, signs of a personal attack on the Apostle himself. But, on the other hand, in Romans and Corinthians the reply to a personal attack occupies the whole ground, while all signs of the clamour for circumcision have disappeared: the doctrinal opposition of Galatians has been meanwhile made untenable by the decision of the Conference. Dr. Weber goes so far as to say that even if we had no Acts of the Apostles, we should still have inferred from these four Epistles that some authoritative pronouncement in the sense of Acts xv

[1] In England the same combination has been lately suggested (I believe independently of Dr. Weber) by Mr. Vernon Bartlet (*Expositor*, Oct. 1899, pp. 263 ff., and his *Apostolic Age*, pp. 84 f.).

had intervened between Galatians and the other three. Once more Dr. Weber rather forces his proof. The personal attack undoubtedly implied in Gal. i 1 and elsewhere in the Epistle is under-estimated. Is it not the chief aim of the Apostle in cc. i–ii to show his independence of all, even the very highest, human agency? Does he not use words to this effect as regards both the Gospel which he preached (i 12) and his Apostolic commission (i 1)? Further, is it not possible that events took different courses in Corinth and in Galatia? And again, what are we to make of the reappearance of the doctrinal opposition in Phil. iii? But, once more, Dr. Weber's general conclusion is hard to shake. It is interesting to note that Dr. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 95, 98, 101) remarks upon the absence of warnings against militant Judaizing doctrine in 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans.

Dr. Weber disposes of many possible objections to his theory. The probability of two visits to the Galatians before the Epistle is allowed on the grounds of iv 13: but at the same time, it is shown that the second visit may be that of Acts xiv 21–24 i. e. during the return half of the First Missionary Journey. The chronological difficulty is also met by placing the conversion of St. Paul about the year 32—an early but not impossible date, in which too Dr. Weber does not stand alone.

The reader will perhaps have gathered already what is our chief ground of complaint against Dr. Weber. Everything he can lay hold of must be dragged in by the heels to add another probability. The result is that many of his arguments do not help him much. The explanation of the 'infirmity of the flesh' as the persecution to which the Apostle was subjected; the contention that Gal. v 2 could not have been written after the circumcision of Timothy; the attempt to identify the 'revelation' of Gal. ii 2 with 2 Cor. xii 1 ff.: these are instances of unconvincing arguments. Fortunately, however, for his theory, Dr. Weber relies upon a cumulative proof. In spite of the weak places in the defence, the main position is a strong one.

Erklärung von Gal. ii 6 a. By Dr. VALENTIN WEBER. (Kirchheim: Mainz, 1900.)

AN interpretation of the words *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι—ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει, πρόσωπον Θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει.* Dr. Weber refers the *ὁποῖοι* to the *οἷς* of the previous verse, and makes its subject not the Apostles but the 'false brethren.' In addition, he suggests that *ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν* is dependent on *ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων.* The general sense of the passage then runs: 'What reputation they might have from their connexion with (or as emissaries of) those who were held in honour (i. e. the Pillar Apostles) makes no difference to me; GOD respecteth no man's person. For to *me* (emphatic) those who were in honour

added nothing in conference.' This interpretation makes the passage fit in smoothly with the context and removes the difficulty of the violent anacoluthon. But it is in its turn surrounded by difficulties more serious than the anacoluthon which it removes. The chief objection to Dr. Weber's interpretation is his translation of ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν . . . ἦσαν. He does not make it clear whether ἀπό is to be understood (*a*) locally (as *infra v.* 12 τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου) 'what position they had as emissaries from those in honour,' or (*b*) like ἐκ (e.g. 2 Cor. xi 26), 'at the hands of,' 'what position they held from those in honour.' The former may safely be set aside as impossible in view of the Greek. The latter gives a very doubtful meaning to ἀπό. To both it must be said that the order of the Greek is all but fatal. There are also other weak points connected with Dr. Weber's suggestion. It may fairly be urged that there is a natural and obvious connexion between δοκούντων εἶναί τι and ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν (who *seemed* to be *somewhat*—of what sort soever they actually *were* makes no difference to me). The Apostle says 'not only their reputation, but even also their actual position does not affect me—the Apostle neither of man nor by man, who received not my Gospel from man.' Dr. Weber's rendering obliterates this connexion. Again he has to make the scene shift from Jerusalem (*vv.* 1, 2) to Antioch (*vv.* 3–6), back to Jerusalem (*vv.* 7 ff.), without any indication of such changes in the text.

On the whole, Dr. Weber asks us to concede more than the traditional interpretation demands. On the one side we have a harsh anacoluthon, but not without parallel (e.g. Marc. ix 20; Rom. xvi 25–27; 1 Tim. i 3 ff.; 1 Jo. ii 24, 27; and just above, Gal. ii 4, 5). On the other side, an unnatural order of words; a doubtful meaning of ἀπό; an unexplained shifting of the scene; and the destruction of an obvious connexion in the words. Dr. Weber seeks throughout these first two chapters of the Epistle to make as little as possible of the differences between St. Paul and the 'Pillar Apostles.' But while we agree in refusing to take ii 6 as a piece of gratuitous sarcasm on the part of St. Paul towards the Three, we cannot help thinking that the desire to put the best possible construction on the relations between the two parties has led Dr. Weber into an untenable interpretation of this verse.

S. C. GAYFORD.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) English.

Church Quarterly Review, April 1902 (Vol. liv, No. 107: Spottiswoode & Co.). English Coronations, Part II—Bible Reading—The Church and the Clergy before the Civil Wars—Novels of Irish Peasant Life—The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill—Some Tendencies of Modern Nonconformity—Teaching the Old Testament—Robert Louis Stevenson—Ecclesiasticus: the newly discovered Fragments—Episcopacy and Reunion—The new Education Bill—Short notices.

July 1902 (Vol. liv, No. 108). The Holy Eucharist: an Historical Inquiry, Part IV—John Richard Green—The Catholic Reaction in France—Regnum Dei—The early years of the reign of Elizabeth—Some aspects of the modern Novel—Maurice Maeterlinck—Missions to Hindus: I, The Problems—Religion and Politics in France—The Empire at Peace—Short Notices.

Jewish Quarterly Review, April 1902 (Vol. xiv, No. 55: Macmillan & Co.). S. A. Cook Israel and Totemism—S. Schechter Saadyana, III—F. Perles What Jews may learn from Harnack—H. Frank From the *Lieder un Gedanken* of Frug (translated)—W. Bacher Der südarabische Siddur und Jaḥjâ Ṣâliḥ's Commentar zu demselben—G. Margoliouth Note on *J. Q. R.* xiv 307–311—H. Hirschfeld Descriptive Catalogue of Hebrew MSS of the Montefiore Library, III.

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2. AMERICA

The American Journal of Theology, April 1922. Vol. [illegible], No. [illegible]: Chicago: University Press. [illegible] MacLaurin: The Present Religious Situation of Japan—[illegible] V. Bacon: The Transformation Story: A Study of the Problem of the Source of the Synoptic Gospels—[illegible] Mathews: The Jewish Restoration—[illegible] E. Burton: The Latest Work of Joseph Henry Thayer—Critical Notes: [illegible] Theological Movement within French Protestantism. [illegible] The Physical Reality of Man's Relation among the Modern Sciences—Recent Theological Literature.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, April 1922. Vol. [illegible], No. [illegible]: Philadelphia: Office of the [illegible]. [illegible] Davis: The Testimony Theology and Christian Tradition—[illegible] Griffith: Belief in an Ethical Personality—[illegible] A. Jordan: The Book of Daniel—[illegible] Warfield: The Founding of the Westminster Confession. II—[illegible] Wilson: The Meaning of Hebrew Words—[illegible] Schoonmaker: Revision—[illegible] Hodge: [illegible] Henry Hodge—[illegible] Jordan: The New Psychology—Recent Theological Literature.

3. SCIENCE AND RELIGION

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